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LX

LUCIANO PETECH

SELECTED PAPERS ON ASIAN HISTORY

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PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE

SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA

FONDATA DA GIUSEPPE TUCCI

DIRETTA DA

GHERARDO GNOLI

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LUCIANO PETECH

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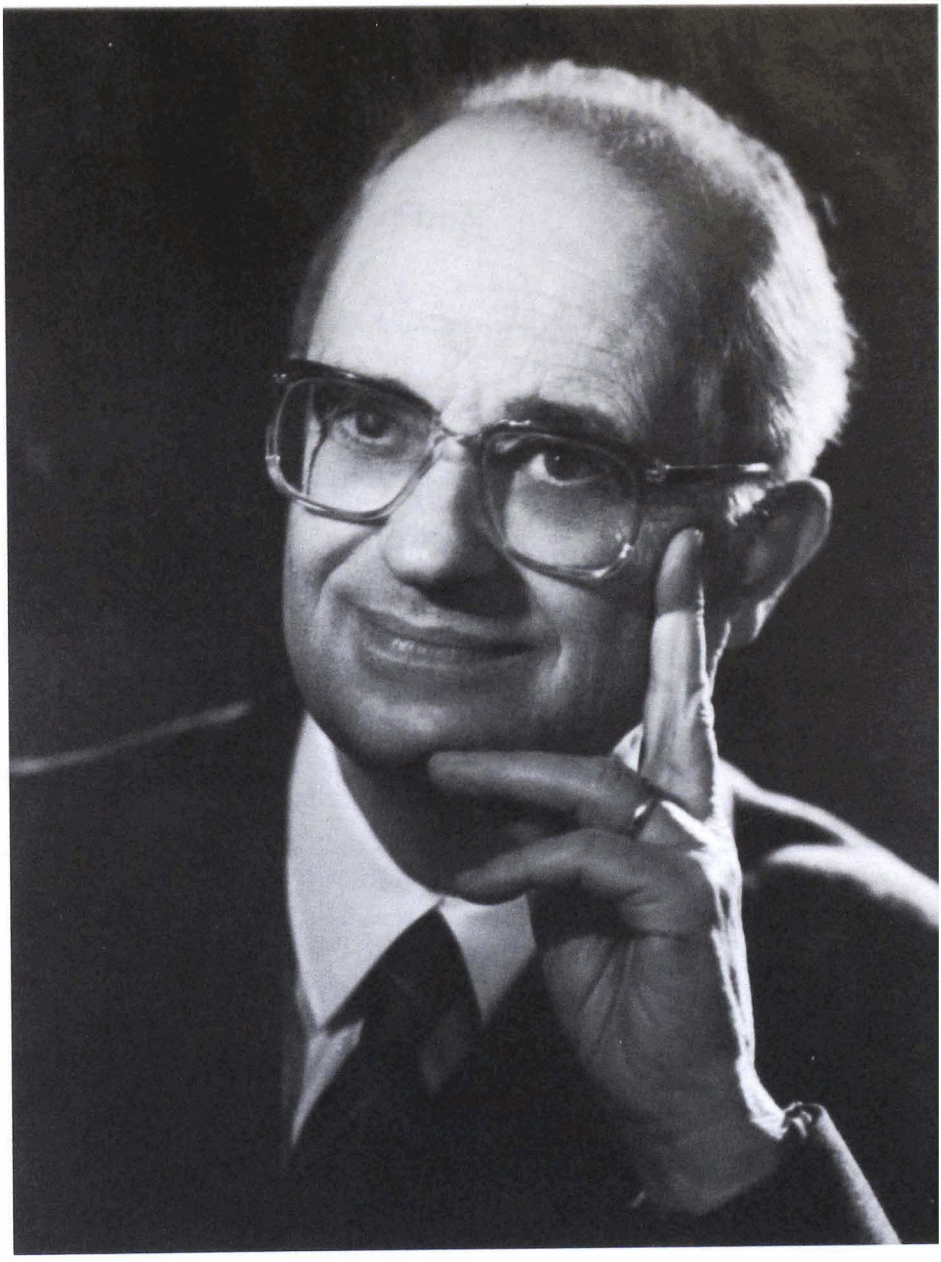

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FOREWORD

On 31st October 1984 Professor Luciano Petech retired from university teaching. On 19th December 1985 the Board of Directors of the Is.M.E.O. agreed unanimously to bring out an edition of a selection of his writings in honour of this scholar who has devoted so much of his talent and his learning to Oriental studies. The Institute's intention in so doing was to express the wish that 31st October 1984, as well as marking the successful completion of many years of excellent and painstaking work as a teacher in the Rome University, was also for Luciano Petech the beginning of another long period of activity devoted entirely to study and research.

To tell the truth, the decision to publish this volume was not only brought about by the desire to pay tribute to a great scholar or by the awareness of its usefulness in making more easily accessible a number of important works that, even over three or four decades in some cases, have lost nothing of their topical interest. As far as our Institute is concerned, I would say that it also springs from that natural pride that every scientific institution usually feels in looking back at its own history. In actual fact, Luciano Petech is not just an ordinary member of the Is.M.E.O.: he is and always has been an essential and vital part of it, a most valuable and irreplaceable part, perhaps more than anyone else, now that Professor Tucci is no longer with us.

The bond between him and Prof. Tucci goes back to the thirties, and he was one of the most loyal collaborators of the Institute right from the very beginning. His academic career was similar to Giuseppe Tucci's: to begin with a long stay in India (1938-1946) - where he had gone to take up a post as Lector in Italian at the University of Allahabad – though much of this time was spent, during the war, in a civil internment camp. This was followed by temporary teaching appointments at the Istituto Orientale of Naples (1947) and at the University of Rome (1948). In 1955 he was appointed to the chair of History of Eastern Asia in the Rome University, where he continued to teach for a further twenty-nine years.

His contribution to the Is.M.E.O. has been outstanding, both in his studies – one only needs to consult the catalogue of the Institute's publications or to glance through the thirty-six volumes of *East and West* – and on the courses of Oriental languages and culture run by the Institute; since 1972

he has been a member of the Board of Directors elected by the Assembly of the members of the Is.M.E.O.; since 1979 he has been a member of the Board of *East and West*. In addition, there have been countless occasions over the past forty years or so upon which the Institute has been able to avail itself of Professor Petech's experience and sense of commitment, in various committees and councils, in research activities and in missions abroad: it has always been able to take advantage of his objective, calm and sensible judgement, his willingness to cooperate, and his learning.

Luciano Petech, in the several decades of his scholarly career, has accumulated a vast first-hand knowledge of the countries whose history and civilization he has studied: in particular, India, Nepal and Tibet. In his historical research he has had the advantage of great philological precision and extraordinary linguistic qualifications, including the knowledge of Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Arabic, Hindi and Urdu, which has enabled him to gain direct access to the sources. Therein lies the main reason for the importance and the great value of his work, which is universally appreciated as one of the finest and most lasting contributions to the history of Tibet, Nepal, China, India and, generally speaking, of the Far East. It is hardly necessary for me to mention here his studies on Ladakh (1939 and 1977), on the historical outline of Chinese civilization (1957 and 1971), on Tibet (1966, 1970, 1973) and on the Italian Missionaries in Tibet and Nepal (1952-1956), on the relations between China and Tibet in the early 18th century (1950 and 1972), on the mediaeval history of Nepal (1958 and 1984); in international scientific circles these works are already renowned. Nor is there any need for me to dwell upon the numerous original contributions that Professor Petech has made to the study of various problems of Asian history, in works of a nicely specialist nature or in general works, or the many articles in encyclopaedias that have been published both in Italy and in other countries, and the book reviews that have appeared in large numbers, mostly in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, *Oriente Moderno*, *Bollettino dell'Is.M.E.O.*, *Asiatica*, and in *East and West*. Whoever wishes to gain an exact idea of the impressive work done by Professor Petech may do so by consulting the complete, up-to-date bibliography of his writings that is included in this volume (pp. XI-XVIII).

The Is.M.E.O. welcomes with pride the publication of *Selected Papers on Asian History*, as a token of admiration and affectionate tribute to Prof. Petech, to whom I express, on behalf of everyone – colleagues, friends, pupils – the most heartfelt thanks, with the sincerest good wishes that his activity may continue for many happy, busy years to come.

G. Gnoli

PRELIMINARY NOTE

Most of the papers included in this volume have been reprinted without change. This applies also to the abbreviations used for the titles of periodicals, which have been left as they were in the originals; thus they may vary slightly from one paper to the other. In some instances, however, the Author has deemed it advisable to introduce some changes and/or corrections, the most important concerning the following items:

Tibetan dates have been uniformly reduced to their Western equivalents by means of the tables of D. SCHUH, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung*, Wiesbaden 1973. The calendarical discussions in some papers have been omitted.

Some quotations refer now to more recent or better text editions.

All the translations of Oriental texts have been thoroughly revised.

In the paper «L'ambasciata olandese del 1655-1657 nei documenti cinesi» (pp. 63-74) some new sources have been indicated at the end.

Unfortunately it was not possible to obtain fresh photos of the map described in «Una carta cinese del secolo XVIII» (pp. 91-93). A reproduction of the tables in the original article could not be avoided, and this explains the rather unsatisfactory results.

The second part of the paper «Nugae Tibeticae» (pp. 91-93) has been omitted, being now of little interest.

Some new materials have been introduced in the paper «The Dalai-Lamas and Regents of Tibet» (pp. 125-147).

The passages in «Les marchands italiens dans l'empire mongol» (pp. 161-186) concerning the Yang-chou tombstones of the Ilioni family have been brought up to date.

The last paper «Sang-ko, a Tibetan statesman in Yüan China» (pp. 395-412) was subjected to some modifications, and the corrections published in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38 (1984) have been incorporated in the main article.

All the corrections and additions have been placed between square brackets.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LUCIANO PETECH
TILL 1986

Abbreviations

AION = *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli.*
AOH = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.*
BSGI = *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana.*
BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
EW = *East and West.*
IHQ = *Indian Historical Quarterly.*
OM = *Oriente Moderno.*
RANL = *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.*
RSO = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali.*
TP = *T'oung Pao.*

The articles marked with an asterisk * are reprinted in the present volume.

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IL TIBET NELLA GEOGRAFIA MUSULMANA

Credo che non sia mai stata chiaramente posta, e tanto meno risolta, la questione quali regioni stia precisamente ad indicare il nome Tibet nelle opere dei geografi arabi e persiani. Per quanto è a mia conoscenza, esistono solamente due studî sulla geografia del Tibet dal punto di vista musulmano. Uno è quello del Barthold nell'*Enciclopedia dell'Islam*, l'altro è di Sven Hedin in *Southern Tibet*, vol. I, cap. IV e V. Nessuno dei due discute a fondo il termine «Tubbat» dei geografi musulmani; tuttavia ambedue si accorgono che esso in molti casi non sta precisamente ad indicare il Tibet quale noi lo conosciamo oggi, e pensano (specialmente Sven Hedin) che alcuni dati si riferiscono piuttosto al Ladakh. Ad ogni modo l'equivalenza geografica Tubbat = Tibet non è del tutto ovvia e quindi non credo inutile approfondire un po' la questione.

Le notizie che i musulmani ebbero del Tibet si possono ricondurre a tre categorie di fonti:

1° La serie di notizie dovute ai diretti contatti politici e militari che il Califfato ebbe col regno tibetano ai confini tra Transoxiana e il Turkestan orientale. Per la parte importantissima avuta dal califfo al-Ma'mūn nella loro raccolta e sistemazione, esse possono giustamente essere chiamate col nome di tradizione di al-Ma'mūn.

2° La tradizione di Ǧaihānī, limitata ad un gruppo di autori connessi con l'odierno Afghanistan, col Khorasan e con la Transoxiana.

3° Notizie varie raccolte da viaggiatori musulmani in India, nei porti cinesi e sulle strade carovaniere del Kansu e delle regioni del Lop-nor.

Discuteremo ora partitamente queste tre categorie.

I. La tradizione di al-Ma'mūn

All'epoca della conquista araba della Transoxiana, cominciata nel 705 e praticamente terminata nel 739, l'odierno Sinkiang si trovava sotto l'alta sovranità cinese. Questo dominio cinese fin dal secolo precedente

era minato e battuto in breccia dagli assalti della giovane monarchia tibetana. Coll'indebolirsi progressivo della dinastia T'ang, la resistenza cinese crollò pezzo per pezzo, e tra il 766 e il 787 la regione passò progressivamente sotto il dominio diretto o indiretto del Tibet; solo Khotan continuò a riconoscere l'alta sovranità cinese fin circa il 791. Il dominio tibetano durò fino all'invasione uigurica (860-873), dopo di che la regione perdette ogni sembianza di unità politica.

Le notizie geografiche e storiche raccolte durante questo periodo dai funzionari arabi alla frontiera del Turkestan tibetano furono poi raccolte, utilizzate e corredate dalla grande raccolta di carte geografiche, vero Atlante dell'Islam (*aṣ-ṣūra al-ma'mūnīya* di Mas'ūdī), fatta eseguire dal Califfo al-Ma'mūn (813-833). Queste notizie costituiscono, come vedremo, il fondo comune che si ritrova in tutti i geografi arabi più antichi (IX e X secolo) e che dà un'identica fisionomia a tutte le loro descrizioni del Tibet. Come dice giustamente il Barthold [1] «after the tenth century Arabic geographical literature was chiefly of a compilatory character; moreover, these compositions were written in the western part of the Muhammadan world». Quindi i geografi posteriori non fanno che ripetere i più antichi, completandone talvolta le notizie con altre provenienti dalla seconda e terza categoria di fonti.

Tralasciando le vicende politiche delle relazioni arabo-tibetane, da me già studiate in altra sede [2], le prime tracce del Tibet nella letteratura araba sono rappresentate da notizie di carattere leggendario, che ci rivelano la strana reazione che la conoscenza del nuovo paese provocò nelle guarnigioni arabe della frontiera. Si tratta di una leggenda delle tribù yemenite, che viene riportata in varie opere storiche e geografiche arabe. Essa si può riassumere così: uno degli antichi re del Yemen, Tubba' al-Aqran [3], condusse una grande spedizione verso la Cina, e durante la marcia fondò una città, in cui lasciò i soldati inabili a continuare con lui il cammino; essa ebbe nome Tubbat, ed i suoi abitanti sarebbero i discendenti dei soldati yemeniti, sebbene tralignati e dimentichi della loro lingua d'origine. Quanto al nome Tubbat, Mas'ūdī ne dà due etimologie; secondo l'una esso discenderebbe da una corruzione di Tubba', secondo l'altra dal verbo *ṭabata* = rimanere. La leggenda ebbe origine probabilmente

[1] *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion* (Londra 1928), p. 34.

[2] *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh* (Calcutta 1939), pp. 63, 67, 73, 78.

[3] Così nella maggior parte degli autori. In Mas'ūdī, *Murūǧ aḍ-ḍahab*, vol. III, p. 224 e nella fonte yemenita adoperata dall'ANSALDI, *Il Yemen nella storia e nella leggenda* (Roma 1933), p. 60, il nome è invece Šammar Yur'iš, padre di Tubba' al-Aqran.

quando, all'epoca della conquista della Transoxiana, le truppe yemenite negli eserciti del Califfo vennero a sapere, dai racconti delle popolazioni locali, dell'esistenza di un paese al di là dei monti, il cui nome era affine a quello della dinastia yemenita dei Tubba'. A questa leggenda si riferisce un distico del poeta Di'bil ibn-'Alī al-Ḫuzā'ī (n. 765, m. 861-2), conservatoci da Mas'ūdī [4] e da altri autori:

> Ed essi (i yemeniti) composero degli scritti alla porta di Merw,
> e furono copisti alla porta della Cina;
> essi diedero a Samarqand il nome di Šammar,
> ed essi stabilirono in quel luogo i tibetani

Di'bil probabilmente venne a sapere di questa leggenda durante la sua permanenza nel Khorasan nel 789-792 [5]; quindi questa è cronologicamente la prima notizia del Tibet nelle fonti arabe.

Un'altra leggenda sul Tibet si ricollega invece al ciclo di Alessandro, così popolare nell'Asia musulmana. Secondo essa, quando Alessandro in India ebbe vinto Poro, egli stesso rimase sette mesi in India, ma inviò da questo paese delle truppe verso il Tibet e la Cina. Alcuni di quelli che egli aveva inviato ritornarono a riferirgli che tutti i re dell'Oriente avevano risolto di sottomettersi a lui, pagandogli tributo. Alessandro lasciò un corpo di 40.000 uomini in India e si diresse col grosso del suo esercito verso il Tibet. Il re del Tibet venne ad incontrarlo accompagnato dai suoi vassalli e gli fece atto di sottomissione. Alessandro lo accolse con benevolenza, e quindi gli chiese di guidarlo verso i Turchi abitanti i deserti, perchè i Turchi delle città s'erano già sottomessi. Il re del Tibet obbedì, e venne ad offrirgli i suoi doni, che consistevano in 4000 some d'oro ed altrettante di muschio. Quindi Alessandro pregò il re di precederlo con le sue truppe sulla via della Cina e di lasciare suo figlio Madābīk a governare il regno durante la sua assenza. Poi il re del Tibet prese parte alla spedizione di Alessandro in Cina [6]. Nessuna di queste due leggende contiene alcun elemento geografico che ci possa essere utile.

Passando dalle narrazioni leggendarie alla geografia propriamente

[4] *Murūğ aḏ-ḏahab (Les prairies d'or* ed. e trad. Barbier de Meynard, Parigi 1861-1877), vol. I p. 352.

[5] BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, Suppl.*, vol. I, p. 121.

[6] Riassunto del racconto di i b n -Ḫ o r d ā ḏ b e h, in «Bibl. Geogr. Arab.», vol. VI, p. 263. Recentemente il KRAMERS *(Enciclopedia dell'Islam, Supplemento,* s.v. «Djughrafīya») e il BROCKELMANN (*Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, Suppl.*, vol. I, pag. 404) hanno introdotto la forma ibn-Ḫorradāḏbeh, etimologicamente più esatta. Preferisco continuare ad adoperare la vecchia forma ormai consacrata dall'uso.

detta, dobbiamo distinguere tra la geografia astronomica di origine greca e la geografia pratica, di origine quasi puramente araba [7]. Nella geografia astronomica degli Arabi, il primo dato positivo sul Tibet ci è fornito dal *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* di Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn-Mūsā al-Ḫuwārizmī [8]. Il *Kitāb Ṣūrat al Arḍ* è il più antico trattato geografico arabo conservatoci e risale circa al periodo 817-826 [9]. L'opera consiste di tabelle indicanti i nomi di città, montagne, fiumi e mari con le loro coordinate geografiche. Tanto i nomi quanto le cifre sono estratti in gran parte da Tolemeo. Ma il *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* non è direttamente un rifacimento dell'opera del geografo greco; come dimostrato dal Nallino [10], Ḫuwārizmī probabilmente «fu incaricato di riprodurre in forma di libro, mediante tabelle di longitudine e latitudine, le carte riguardanti la terra» della raccolta cartografica di al-Ma'mūn. Nell'Estremo Oriente «il sistema oro-idrografico ha sempre i caratteri generali di Tolemeo; ma su questo fondo greco si innestano le città di cui mercanti e marinai portavano notizia» [11]. Fra queste aggiunte è da annoverare il nome T.b.t [12] che figura nella lista delle città al n. 405 dell'edizione del Mžik. C'è motivo di supporre che la sua inserzione non sia dovuta però a relazioni di mercanti, ma alle notizie sul Tibet raccolte direttamente da al-Ma'mūn durante la sua permanenza nel Khorasan (809-818) [13]. La sua posizione è: long. 130°, lat. 38°. Come già mes-

[7] KRAMERS, loc. cit.

[8] Edito dal MŽIK, *Bibl. arab. Historiker und Geographen*, vol. III (Lipsia 1926).

[9] NALLINO, *al-Ḫuwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo*, in «Memorie dell'Accademia dei Lincei», Sc. Mor., 1895. Ristampato in *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, vol. V (Roma 1944). Cito da questa ultima edizione: discussione sulla data a p. 487.

[10] Op. cit., p. 485.

[11] NALLINO, op. cit., p. 514.

[12] Negli autori arabi posteriori la pronunzia normale è Tubbat. Ma essa non dà alcun affidamento, perchè evidentemente ricalcata sul nome Tubba', in seguito alla leggenda di cui sopra; inoltre Y ā q ū t (*Kitāb mu'ǧam al-buldān*, vol. I, p. 817) ci ha conservato ricordo dell'esistenza di pronunzie alquanto diverse. Ḫuwārizmī ci dà solo lo scheletro consonantico T.b.t. Preferisco astenermi dal tentare di ricostruire il vocalismo originario e quindi adopero la forma T.b.t quando cito autori arabi, riservando il nome Tibet alla regione che oggi viene chiamata dagli europei.

[13] Al- Ma'mūn fu l'ultimo governatore arabo del Khorasan ad avere rapporti diretti con i tibetani; fu lui, alla vigilia di prendere le armi contro il fratello al-Amīn (nell'813), a por fine alla guerra contro il Tibet iniziata nel 768 da Hārūn ar-Rašīd (su questa guerra vedi *A Study in the Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 78). a l-Y a' q ū b ī (*Ibn Wadhih qui dicitur al-Ya'qūbī Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, Leyden 1883, vol. II, p. 250) parla di un tributo offertogli dal re del Tibet. Tra le fonti tibetane, solo il *bKa'-t'aṅ-sde-lṅa (o Padma-bka'i-t'aṅ-yig)* allude a questa pace. La sua data di composizione, che il Laufer pone tra il IX e

so in chiaro dal Nallino e dal Mžik, le coordinate di al-Ḫuwārizmī e dei geografi arabi non danno nessun affidamento, perchè le inserzioni di nuove località non ebbero luogo mediante osservazioni astronomiche, ma secondo dati molto incerti di direzione, distanze, giornate di marcia ecc.; e ciò senza prendersi nessuna cura della compatibilità o meno del vecchio col nuovo. Il tutto poi a sua volta viziato dall'incertezza della scrittura (nelle tabelle astronomiche arabe le cifre sono espresse con le lettere dell'alfabeto), per cui ogni errore di copista poteva venir ripreso e ingigantito dai copisti seguenti. È quindi molto difficile tentar di trarre qualcosa di positivo dai dati del *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*. La peggiore delle due coordinate è la longitudine; l'unica cosa certa da dedurne è che il T.b.t è molto più a est della città di confine dell'impero arabo. Nelle latitudini del *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* l'errore invece si mantiene di solito in limiti ragionevoli; confrontando le posizioni di città ben note, si può vedere che l'errore (di eccesso nella maggior parte dei casi) di rado supera i 4-5 gradi. Prendiamo ora a termine di confronto alcune città della Transoxiana, regioni in cui le posizioni furono determinate in modo quasi del tutto indipendente dalla cartografia greca [14]; si nota che il T.b.t è posto circa alla stessa latitudine di Merw (38° 35′), di Saraḫs (38°) e di Balḫ (38° 40′). Queste tre latitudini alla loro volta sono abbastanza approssimate, con un errore di meno di un grado in eccesso. Ora, delle città poste sul 38° parallelo o poco a sud di esso, dal Khorasan alla Cina non v'è che una sola città che in qualche modo possa essere posta in relazione con il Tibet; essa è Khotan. Delle città a sud del 38° parallelo, Khotan era ed è la più importante; essa era stata una delle famose Quattro Guarnigioni cinesi, ed all'epoca della compilazione del *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* era uno dei principali centri del dominio

il XII secolo e il Thomas «piuttosto verso il principio che verso la fine di questo periodo», è stata fissata dal prof. TUCCI (*Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 113) al 1347; ma non v'è dubbio che il *bKa'-t'aṅ-sde-lṅa* si basi su materiali molto antichi, di cui molti frammenti sembrano riportati verbatim. Esso ci dice che «all'ovest i re Ta-zig (Tāǧik, musulmani) colà stabiliti, cioè il re La-mer-mu ed il re Hab-gdal, essendosi assuefatti al comando tibetano, pagavano puntualmente senza fallo le loro gemme e ricchezze e some di medicamenti e provviste accettabili. Sotto il dominio tibetano essi fecero fiorire il loro stato; gli ordini loro trasmessi essi ascoltavano con rispetto» (THOMAS, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, vol. I, Londra 1935, p. 273). È chiaro dal confronto delle fonti arabe con quelle tibetane che la lotta fu chiusa con uno scambio di cortesie e di doni tra al Ma'mūn e i rappresentanti del re tibetano Sad-na-legs (804-817). Quanto ai nomi del *bKa'-t'aṅ-sde-lṅa*, La-mer-mu potrebbe essere una corruzione di al-Amīr al-Ma'mūn, mentre Hab-gdal trascrive Heptal, gli Eftaliti. Da tutto ciò risulta che al-Ma'mūn era in grado di conoscere i tibetani meglio di ogni altro sovrano e governatore arabo.

[14] NALLINO, op. cit., p. 529.

tibetano nel Turkestan. Essa è anzi l'unica città del Turkestan sulla cui amministrazione i documenti tibetani rinvenuti nel Turkestan orientale ci diano notizie relativamente abbondanti [15]. I capi dell'amministrazione tibetana a Khotan erano i *nań-rje-po* (Signori interni), che risiedevano normalmente a Šiń-šań, l'odierna Mazar Tagh; essi lasciavano i dettagli dell'amministrazione locale al principe vassallo della vecchia dinastia indianizzata di Khotan [16]. I documenti tibetani ci permettono ora di valutare nelle sue giuste proporzioni il passo di al-Ya'qūbī [17] che parla di una visita di omaggio fatta dal re del T.b.t ad al-Ma'mūn in una delle città del Khorasan. Ciò è a prima vista difficilmente credibile, dato che il re del Tibet era allora uno dei più grandi sovrani dell'Asia, potente quanto l'imperatore cinese; ma si spiega facilmente ammettendo che quello che gli arabi chiamavano re del T.b.t non era in realtà che il *nań-rje-po* tibetano di Khotan. Che non possa trattarsi di alcuna altra città del moderno Sinkiang, è indubbio. Kucha, Hami, Turfan, Aqsu e Karashahr sono troppo al nord. Inoltre sappiamo che queste città erano sotto l'alta sovranità, ma non sotto il diretto governo tibetano, poichè non vengono mai menzionate nei documenti tibetani del Turkestan [18]. Quest'ultima obbiezione vale anche per Kashgar e Yarkand, le quali inoltre erano città che i musulmani conoscevano bene fin dai primi tempi della loro espansione nel bacino dell'Amu Darya; essendo esse troppo vicine ai loro confini, gli arabi non potevano prendere abbaglio sul loro nome. Solamente Khotan risponde ai requisiti di essere poco più a sud del 38° parallelo, di essere stata un importante centro amministrativo tibetano e di non essere stata nel IX secolo direttamente conosciuta dagli arabi sotto il proprio nome. Io propongo quindi di identificare la regione T.b.t di questa categoria di fonti arabe con i possedimenti tibetani del Turkestan, e la città T.b.t con Khotan: questa identificazione è suffragata, come vedremo, da altri dati sul Tibet fornitici dalle opere di geografia pratica appartenenti a questa tradizione.

Una parola sull'applicazione del termine T.b.t. Nella geografia astronomica degli arabi, T.b.t, come assolutamente richiesto dalla natura stessa dei lavori, indica una città, bene individuata con le sue coordinate geografiche. In queste opere non v'ha normalmente luogo ad una descrizione della regione. Contemporaneamente però, in quegli autori che parlano del-

[15] THOMAS, *Tibetan Documents concerning Turkestan*, VII, in «JRAS» 1934, pp.85-86.

[16] Op. cit., p. 92.

[17] *Historiae*, vol. II, p. 550. Opera scritta tra il l'872 e l'897.

[18] THOMAS, op. cit., pp. 85-86

la capitale di essa, T.b.t è anche il nome della capitale; cosa questa comunissima nella geografia musulmana. Il *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* dà il nome di Lhasa, ma è testimonianza assolutamente isolata; inoltre Lhasa non viene indicata come capitale del Tibet (nel x secolo essa non lo era già più), ma come una piccola città. In tutti gli altri scrittori di geografia pratica è da tener presente che T.b.t è il nome della regione che della sua capitale.

al-Ḫuwārizmī può essere ritenuto il fondatore della geografia astronomica degli arabi. La sua inserzione del T.b.t nel sistema tolemaico venne accolta anche dai suoi successori ed imitatori, quali, per esempio, Suhrāb [19] ed al-Battānī [20]. I compilatori posteriori, che riunirono i dati delle due astronomie, accettarono fondamentalmente i dati di al-Ḫuwārizmī, ma incominciarono a correggerli (talvolta in peggio) secondo calcoli più tardi. Così, per esempio, Yāqūt [21] corregge il 38° lat. del *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* in 37° (quasi la latitudine esatta di Khotan), pur conservando la longitudine 130°. Nāsir ad-dīn at-Tūsī [22] rettifica la longitudine in 110°, ma storpia la latitudine in 40°. Ed altri ancora.

Nella geografia pratica, i più importanti scrittori del IX e X secolo sono: ibn-Ḫordāḏbeh (scrisse la sua opera nell'864-7 e ne pubblicò la seconda edizione, sola ora esistente, nell'885-6); al-Ya'qūbī (scrisse nell'891); ibn-al-Faqīh (scrisse nel 903), in ibn-Rusta (scrisse tra il 903 e il 913); al-Balḫī (scrisse nel 921; il suo racconto in lunghe citazioni di al-Iṣṭaḫrī); al-Mas'ūdī (scrisse il *Murūğ aḏ-ḏahab* nel 947 e il *Kitāb at-tanbīh wa'l-išrāf* nel 956); al-Iṣṭaḫrī (scrisse nel 951); ibn-Ḥauqal (scrisse nel 977). Di essi Ya'qūbī e Mas'ūdi non fecero scuola; l'influenza di al-Balḫī è attestata nelle opere dei suoi continuatori Iṣṭaḫrī e ibn-Ḥauqal; da ibn-Ḫordāḏbeh discesero la maggior parte degli autori posteriori [23]. Ma per quanto riguarda le notizie sul Tibet, tutti sembrano risalire alla stessa fonte: non un'opera geografica, ma la massa di notizie greggie fatte raccogliere e utilizzate da al-Ma'mūn.

[19] (x secolo). *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-aqālim as sab'a* , ed. Mžik in «B.A.H.U.G.», vol. V (Lipsia 1930) n. 356.

[20] †929. *Opus astronomicum*, ed. NALLINO (Milano 1899-1907), vol. II, n. 186.

[21] †1229. *Kitāb mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. WÜSTENFELD (Lipsia 1866-1873), vol. I, p. 818.

[22] †1274. In FERRAND, *Rélations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs rélatifs à l'Extrème Orient* (Parigi 1913-14), vol. II, p. 358.

[23] MINORSKY, *Une nouvelle source musulmane sur l'Asie Centrale au XI^e siècle*, in «Comptes Rendus, Acadèmie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres», 1937, pp. 318-319.

Le loro magre informazioni sul T.b.t sono le seguenti:

I. La leggenda di Tubba' al-Aqran [24].

II. La posizione del T.b.t è tra la Cina, l'India, i Ḫarluḫ (o Qarluq, tribù turca), i Toġuzġuz (Toquz-oġuz, Uiguri) e il mare [25].

III. Il re del Tibet porta il titolo (turco) di Ḫāqān [26].

IV. Chi entra nel T.b.t non cessa di ridere e di gioire senza saperne il motivo, finchè ne esce [27].

V. Pregi e qualità del muschio tibetano [27].

VI. Il Ǧaiḥūn (Amu Darya) nasce dalle montagne del T.b.t [29].

Tutte queste indicazioni sono talmente vaghe da non poterne cavare molto. Ad ogni modo dalla descrizione dei confini e della sorgente dell'Amu Darya risulta che il T.b.t comprendeva i possedimenti tibetani dell'Asia Centrale e quelli dell'Himalaya occidentale (Ladakh, Baltistan e Bolor, cioè Gilgit e Yāsīn); non si aveva invece un'idea precisa dei territori dietro a queste zone di confine, tanto che li si estendeva fino al mare [30]. Evidentemente questa descrizione corrisponde alla situazione territoriale prevalente durante l'apogeo della monarchia tibetana, circa dal 790 all'840. All'epoca in cui questi autori arabi scrivevano, la situazione era radicalmente mutata causa il collasso e la sparizione del dominio tibetano nel Turkestan e Kansu, in seguito al crollo della monarchia e all'invasione uigurica. Ma di ciò nessun autore sembra accorgersi. È chiaro quindi che gli autori della seconda metà del IX e dei primi tre quarti del X secolo non fanno altro che trasmettere intatte le notizie dell'epoca di al-Ma'mūn [31]. Pura geografia da tavolino, senza alcun contributo nuovo.

[24] IBN-AL-FAQĪH, *Muḫtaṣar Kitāb al-buldān*, «B.G.A.», vol. V, p. 326.
AL-IṢṬAḪRĪ, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, «B.G.A.», vol. I, p. 10.
IBN-ḤAUQAL, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, «B.G.A.», vol. II (seconda edizione curata dal Kramers, Leyden 1938-9), p. 15.
AL-MAS-ŪDĪ, *Murūǧ aḍ-ḍahad*, III, 224. Attribuisce la colonizzazione al re Šammar.

[25] IBN-ḤORDĀḎBEH, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, «B.G.A.», vol. VI, p. 263 (dice solo che il T.b.t è a sud dei Toġuzġuz); IṢṬAḪRĪ p. 10; IBN-ḤAUQAL p. 15.

[26] IBN-ḤORDĀḎBEH, p. 16. MAS'ŪDĪ, *Murūǧ aḍ-ḍahab*, I, 289.

[27] IBN-ḤORDĀḎREH, p. 170; IBN-AL-FAQĪH, p. 255. IBN-RUSTA, *Kitāb al-a'lāq*, «B.G.A.», vol. VII, p. 82, MAS'ŪDĪ, *Murūǧ aḍ-ḍahab*, I, 351.

[28] AL-YA'QŪBĪ, *Kitāb al-buldān*, «B.G.A.», vol. VII, p. 364; IBN-AL-FAQĪH, p. 225; IṢṬAḪRĪ, p. 280, 288.

[29] IBN-RUSTA, pp. 91, 93; AL-MAS'ŪDĪ, *Kitāb at-tanbīh wa'l-išrāf*, «B.G.A.», VIII, 64.

[30] Autori posteriori (per esempio ad-Dimašqī) chiamano la costa tibetana Tajā. Non è chiaro come gli arabi siano arrivati a questa strana perversità geografica.

[31] Mas'ūdī ha utilizzato in più la relazione di viaggio del mercante Sulaimañ (per cui vedi oltre)

Unico ad offrire un certo interesse è un passo di ibn-Ḫordāḏbeh (p. 30) in cui è menzionata una città Atbāš «sull'altopiano che separa il T.b.t dal Ferghana». Siccome il Ferghana non ha nulla a che fare con il sistema orografico del Tibet, è chiaro che si tratta anche qui del Turkestan orientale.

A quest'epoca appartiene anche il *Kitāb al-bad' wa't-ta'rīḫ* (ed. Huart, Parigi 1899-1919) attributo ad al-Balḫī, ma in realtà compilato da un Muṭahhar ibn-Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī a Bost nel 966. Sebbene non sia un'opera geografica (è una specie di enciclopedia storica, religiosa ecc.), essa è l'esemplare più completo di questa tradizione, e sembra averci conservato il più grande frammento delle notizie provenienti dalla raccolta di al-Ma'mūn. Oltre ai soliti particolari sopra elencati (I, IV, V, VI,), essa ci dà le seguenti notizie sulla geografia e sulla etnografia del T.b.t: «All'oriente si trova la Cina, al nord i Turchi, all'occidente Waḫān e Rāšt che sono le parti alte del Khorasan, al sud il Kashmir. La principale delle loro città è Khotan» (vol. IV, p. 59). Questo passo conferma in pieno le mie deduzioni da al-Ḫuwārizmī. Nella geografia di al-Ma'mūn, la capitale del T.b.t era Khotan e la regione T.b.t era principalmente il Turkestan ed il Bolor; il Tibet vero e proprio spariva dietro a queste zone.

Uno studio più attento di Mas'ūdī, il principe dei geografi arabi, rivela che anch'egli intende la questione allo stesso modo. In *Murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab*, I, 350-351 (cfr. Yāqūt, I, 818) egli dice che il luogo dove Tubba' fondò la città di T.b.t è «abbondante nelle acque e di pascoli». Ciò è verissimo per la fertile oasi di Khotan, mentre è assurdo per lo sterile e desolato pianoro di Lhasa. Poco più oltre egli dice: «La popolazione (del T.b.t) si compone in gran parte di Ḥimyariti mescolati ad alcuni discendenti dei Tubba'... Alcuni sono sedentarî ed abitano nelle città, gli altri sono nomadi e vivono nelle tende. Questi ultimi sono turchi d'origine e sono i più numerosi, potenti ed illustri di tutte le tribù nomadi della stessa razza. Essi sono onorati tra i turchi perchè il dominio era anticamente nelle loro mani e secondo i loro dotti il dominio ritornerà ad essi». Questa netta distinzione di razza tra i nomadi e gli abitanti delle città corrisponde perfettamente alle condizioni etnografiche del Turkestan orientale nel IX secolo. Questo paese, abitato prima d'allora in massima parte da popolazioni indo-europee, andava subendo una radicale trasformazione. Mentre la popolazione indo-europea (non le loro lingue che andavano perdendosi) rimaneva ancora intatta nelle città [32], la composizione della popolazione

[32] Anche oggi la popolazione di Khotan è composta prevalentemente del tipo Homo Alpinus con qualche influenza tibetana, ma quasi senza infiltrazioni turche. Cfr. STEIN,

delle campagne era soggetta ad un profondo progressivo mutamento per l'immigrazione in massa di nomadi di razza turca (Uiguri e Qarluq). Si potrebbe obiettare che una simile distinzione esisteva ed esiste tuttora nel Tibet tra la popolazione sedentaria ed i gruppi nomadi 'Brog-pa [33]. Ma da quando si può parlare di una nazione tibetana (inizio del VII secolo), il centro di gravità politico nel Tibet antico fu sempre costituito dai castelli e dalle città, come ora lo è dai monasteri e dalle città; nè i nomadi ebbero mai il potere politico nelle loro mani. Invece Mas'ūdi attribuisce loro un'alta posizione sociale ed un'antico dominio sul paese. Questo fatto, la chiara distinzione di razza tra i cittadini e i nomadi (mentre i 'Brog-pa non differiscono in nulla dal resto della popolazione), e la qualità di turchi attribuita ai nomadi rendono evidente che Mas'ūdi si riferisce anche qui al Turkestan.

Un altro passo di Mas'ūdi (*Murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab*, I, 289) afferma che «un'altra porzione (dei Ḥimyariti) andò a stabilirsi nel T.b.t e si diede un re che era sottomesso all'autorità del Ḫāqān; ma dopo che la supremazia di questo sovrano cessò, gli abitanti del T.b.t dànno al loro capo il titolo di Ḫāqān, in memoria degli antichi re turchi che portavano il titolo di Ḫāqān dei Ḫāqān». Qui abbiamo la prova precisa che il T.b.t fece parte dei domini turchi; anche in questo caso T.b.t non può essere il Tibet, ma bensì il Turkestan, che infatti fino alla conquista cinese del 632 aveva fatto parte del potente stato dei Turchi Occidentali [34]. Il titolo di Ḫāqān viene dato al re del T.b.t già da ibn-Ḫordāḏbeh; ma i re del Tibet non si sono mai sognati di portarlo, nè risulta dai documenti dell'Asia centrale pubblicati dal Thomas [35] che i loro sudditi del Turkestan li chiamassero con tale nome. È quindi evidente che il Hāqān del T.b.t all'epoca di al-Ma'mūn era in realtà il governatore tibetano (*naṅ-rje-po*) di Khotan, chiamato Khan dai nomadi turchi della regione. Questo titolo di Ḫāqān divenne così l'unico nome del re del Tibet presso i musulmani, i quali, anche quando ebbero conoscenza del Tibet vero e proprio, continuarono ad adoperarlo per i re tibetani del loro tempo.

Questo sbaglio di valutazione di Mas'ūdī sul centro di gravità dello

Ancient Khotan (Oxford 1907), pp. 147-150, e JOYCE, *Notes on the physical anthropology of Chinese Turkestan and the Pamirs*, in STEIN, *Serindia* (Oxford 1921), vol. III, pp. 1351-1361.

[33] Cfr. per il XV secolo TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. IV parte I (Roma, 1941), p. 48, e per l'epoca moderna qualsiasi viaggiatore europeo, per esempio SVEN HEDIN in *Southern Tibet*, vol. IV.

[34] Cfr. CHAVANNES, *Documents sur le T'ou-Kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903.

[35] *Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, I-VII in «JRAS», 1927-1934.

stato tibetano non influisce però sulla sua concezione della situazione geografica del paese. Così egli ci racconta (*Murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab*, I, 297) che durante la rivolta dell'878-879 in Cina l'imperatore fuggì nella città di Maḏ, in direzione del T.b.t (informazione tolta dalla relazione del mercante Sulaimān). Qualunque sia l'equivalenza fonetica del nome Maḏ, è certo che la città corrisponde all'odierna Ch'êng-tu, dove si rifugiò l'imperatore Hitsung cacciato dalla sua capitale Ch'ang-an dalla terribile di Huang Ch'ao, e dove rimase fino alla repressione della rivolta e al suo ritorno a Ch'ang-an nell'885 [36]. Il confine tibetano doveva correre a quei tempi non molto ad ovest di Ch'êng-tu; anche qui Mas'ūdī si mostra molto bene informato.

È inutile discutere i geografi posteriori (dal XI al XIV secolo); essi non fanno che ripetere le notizie riferite sopra, contaminandole con altre derivate dalle ultime due categorie di fonti.

II. La tradizione di Ǧaihānī

Mentre nel caso precedente si trattava di notizie dovute a rapporti fra autorità arabe e autorità tibetane nel Turkestan solamente, quanto segue è dovuto probabilmente alle notizie dirette dovute ai traffici commerciali tra i sudditi persiani (o di lingua persiana) dei Califfi e degli stati successori da una parte, e le popolazioni del Himalaya occidentale e del Turkestan dall'altra. Solo così si può spiegare il carattere totalmente differente di queste fonti; loro prima caratteristica è, oltre ad una conoscenza molto avanzata del Turkestan, una discreta famigliarità con la geografia del Tibet occidentale e anche orientale. Un'altra particolarità è la loro localizzazione geografica; sono in massima parte autori appartenenti alla nuova corrente letteraria persiana, nativi dall'estremo est dal mondo iranico e viventi nelle piccole e grandi corti dell'odierno Afghanistan, del Khorasan e della Transoxiana.

Questa tradizione, finora non bene studiata, sembra provenga quasi esclusivamente dall'opera (ora perduta) di Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad Ǧaihānī, wazīr e reggente dello stato sāmānide per qualche anno dopo il 914 [37]. Del *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik* di Ǧaihānī noi

[36] Sulla rivolta di Huang Ch'ao vedi Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches* (Berlino 1931-1938), vol. II, pp. 508-518. Discussione del Franke sui dati di Mas'ūdī in op. cit., vol. III, p. 421.

[37] Su Ǧaihānī vedi Barthold, *Turkestan* etc., pp. 12-13 e Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, pp. XVII-XVIII, e 23-28 (prefazione del Barthold).

conosciamo solamente lunghe citazioni in autori posteriori, che sole ci permettono di farci un'idea del suo contenuto. Ğaihānī per quanto riguarda l'Asia centrale ed orientale è indipendente dalle tradizioni facenti capo ad al-Ma'muñ e dispone di informazioni più dirette e più dettagliate, anche se non sempre più esatte. Da lui discendono [38] l'ignoto autore del *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, Gardīzī e Marwazī.

Il *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*, opera in lingua persiana di autore anonimo, scritta nel 982-3 e conservataci in un unico manoscritto, fu edita dal Barthold (Leningrad 1930) e magnificamente tradotta e commentata dal Minorsky (*Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, Londra 1937).

I suoi dati sono di difficile interpretazione. Ad ogni modo restano chiari i fatti seguenti: il *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* distingue nettamente il T.b.t da Khotan, della quale città esso dà una breve descrizione tra quelle della Cina (pp. 85-86), dicendo tra l'altro: «il re di Khotan vive in gran pompa e si chiama Signore dei Turchi e dei Tibetani; egli vive sul confine della Cina e del Tibet». Questa descrizione evidentemente si riferisce ad un periodo in cui Khotan aveva ripreso le proprie relazioni con la Cina (per la prima volta nel 938), ed aveva riacquistato anche una certa potenza, a giudicare dal titolo pretensioso, che ad ogni modo riflette bene, con l'omissione degli indo-europei, la composizione etnica dei suoi territorî. Siamo quindi in un'epoca di poco precedente la redazione del *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*. La descrizione del T.b.t nella sua parte generale non è che un ricalco delle solite notizie della tradizione di al-Ma'mūn, con quasi nulla di nuovo. Invece la lista delle province e città del T.b.t è assolutamente nuova ed indipendente dalle fonti arabe. Essa però si riferisce a un periodo più antico, cioè a quando la denominazione tibetana sul Turkestan era in decadenza, ma non ancora del tutto sparita: infatti il Turkestan a nord del Tarim è libero dai tibetani, mentre Yarkand ed altre località vicine appartengono ancora al Tibet; siamo dunque approssimativamente alla seconda metà del IX secolo. Il *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* menziona una ventina di località nel Tibet, tutte di difficile identificazione, con l'eccezione del Tibet Boloriano (Baltistan) e di Lhasa. Delle altre identificazioni l'unica che può sembrare a prima vista sicura è quella di Karsang con Ursang degli autori musulmani dell'India, cioè dBus-gTsaṅ (Tibet Centrale); ma in realtà a ciò si oppongono nel mondo più assoluto ragioni cronologiche. dBus e gTsaṅ sono è vero due nomi geografici abbastanza antichi (specialmente gTsaṅ), ma il loro accoppiamento in un unico termine stereotipato riferen-

[38] Direttamente oppure con degli intermediarî. Cfr. MARQUART, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Lipsia 1903), p. XXXI.

tesi ad un'unica regione è molto tardo. Nei testi tibetani questo accoppiamento comincia ad apparire solamente all'epoca dei primi Dalai Lama (XV e XVI secolo). La prima menzione del suo equivalente persiano Ursang si trova nel *Ta'rīḫ-i-Rašīdī* di Mīrzā Ḥaidar († 1551). La grande popolarità del termine dBus-gTsaṅ sia nel Tibet che tra i viaggiatori europei è dovuta all'organizzazione amministrativa cinese del Tibet nel XVIII secolo. Nell'epoca a cui si riferisce il *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (periodo della monarchia ed immediatamente seguente alla sua caduta) la suddivisione normale del Tibet era una circoscrizione militare, la cui unità più grande era chiamata *ru* (lett. corno; probabilmente = ala). Di queste ve n'erano quattro: dBu-ru (zona centrale), gYo-ru (dBus orientale), gYas-ru (gTsaṅ centrale) e gTsaṅ-ru oppure Ru-lag (gTsaṅ occidentale) [39]. Karsang quindi, ammettendo che sia davvero una corruzione di Ursang, non può riferirsi ad una suddivisione del Tibet che è molto posteriore al tempo del *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*; non può cioè corrispondere a dBus-gTsaṅ. Rimane aperta la questione della sua equivalenza, che non è qui il luogo di discutere.

Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Ḥayy ibn-Daḥḥāk Gardīzī scrisse in persiano intorno al 1050 il suo *Zain ul-Aḫbār*. L'edizione curata da Muhammad Nāzim a Berlino nel 1928 non comprende in realtà che una piccola parte dell'opera, solo 59 fogli (ff. 81-140) dei 209 di cui consiste il ms. del King's College di Cambridge. Ne resta escluso il passo riguardante il Tibet (nei capitoli etnografici sui turchi), che però era già stato pubblicato e tradotto in russo da Barthold [40]. È stato dimostrato dal Barthold e dal Minorsky che Gardīzī attinge alla stessa fonte del *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, cioè a Ǧaihānī, però con delle numerose differenze, specialmente nel capitolo sul T.b.t. Interessante la sua affermazione che «a proposito del titolo del Ḫāqān tibetano, si dice che egli arrivò dal cielo e su di lui c'era quasi un'aureola di luce» [41]. Questo passo ci dà la prova che l'informazione di Gardīzī e di Ǧaihānī proveniva direttamente da fonte tibetana, perchè essa non è altro che una riproduzione della leggenda di Ña-k'ri-btsan-po, il primo re mitologico del Tibet. Di Ña-k'ri-btsan-po si occupano quasi tutte le cronache tibetane, con particolari parzialmente varianti. Bu-ston [42] per esempio

[39] *Padma-bka'i-t'aṅ-yig*, parte V, cap. 4. Tradotto dal THOMAS in *Tibetan Literary Texts* ecc., pp. 276-281. Io ne ho dato un'interpretazione alquanto differente in base a dati gentilmente fornitimi dal prof. TUCCI, che discusse a fondo la questione nella sua opera *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*.

[40] *Otčët o poezdke v srednjuju Aziju*, in «Zapiski Akademii Nauk, ist. fil. otd.», VIII serie, vol.I, n.4 (St. Petersburg 1897), pp. 80-126.

[41] BARTHOLD, *Otčët ecc.*, p. 122.

[42] *History of Buddhism*, trad. OBERMILLER (Heidelberg 1931-2), vol. II, p. 182.

dice che egli era figlio di Udayana, re del Vatsa, venne esposto dal padre, allevato da contadini e quindi fuggì nel Tibet. Colà i preti Bon-po (dell'antica religione tibetana) gli chiesero donde venisse, ed egli accennò con il dito al cielo dopo di che egli venne riconosciuto di discendenza divina ed eletto re. Questa sembra l'unica leggenda tibetana che abbia trovato eco nella letteratura araba e persiana. Notevole anche il vecchio titolo di Ḫāqān, originario come vedemmo dell'Asia centrale, ma talmente ingranato nella tradizione musulmana da non poter essere eliminato e da venir impiegato anche per i re del Tibet vero e proprio. Il rimanente del passo sul Tibet è di scarsa importanza perchè si riduce alla descrizione di due itinerarî da Khotan e da Kashgar al massiccio tibetano. È menzionata, senza darne il nome, la capitale del T.b.t e Gardīzī si dilunga solo sul mal di montagna di cui il viandante soffre durante il viaggio ad essa. Dall'insieme e dal parallelismo degli itinerarî con quelli del *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, è chiaro che la descrizione si riferisce a Lhasa. La fonte è posteriore alla caduta della monarchia tibetana nell'842 perché ci vien detto che «nei tempi antichi i distretti vicini a Kashgar appartenevano al Khan tibetano».

Non ho avuto purtroppo a mia disposizione l'opera *Tabā'i' al-Ḥayawān* di Šaraf az-zamān Tāhir Marwazī, composta poco dopo il 1120 ed edita dal Minorsky [43]. Secondo la breve notizia datane anteriormente dal Minorsky stesso [44], si tratta di un'opera ricchissima di particolari sull'Asia centrale ed orientale, che risale per buona parte a Ǧaihānī, con in più molte notizie originali.

III. Notizie varie di viaggiatori musulmani.

Tramite informazioni di fonte cinese ebbe notizia del Tibet il mercante Sulaimān, che scrisse la sua relazione [45] nell'851. Il suo brevissimo accenno al T.b.t si riferisce quasi tutto al commercio del muschio, eccetto che per la menzione dei rapporti ostili tra la Cina ed il Tibet, e della città di confine Madū (su cui vedi indietro p. 11); come già avvertito, la sua relazione venne utilizzata da Mas'ūdī.

Abū Dulaf Mis'ar ibn al-Muhalhil, che riaccompagnò nel 942 un'am-

[43] *Sharaf ez-Zamām Ṭāhir Marwazī on China, the Turks and India*, James G. Forlong Fund, vol. XXII, Londra 1942. La parte cinese studiata da Chou Yi-liang, *Notes on Marwazi's account of China*, in «Harvard Journal of Oriental Studies», IX (1945).

[44] *Une nouvelle source musulmane etc.*, già citato.

[45] Ferrand, *Le voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān*. Parigi 1922.

basceria cinese da Samarqand in Cina toccò l'India al suo ritorno, ha una breve notizia (raccolta evidentemente nell'Asia Centrale) di un grande fiume di pericoloso passaggio che separa la Cina dal T.b.t. Questa è l'unica menzione del T.b.t nel suo racconto autentico conservatoci nel *Fihrist* [46]. In assenza di qualsiasi altro elemento è difficile inquadrare questa notizia isolata, che potrebbe riferirsi al Huangho o allo Ya-lung-kiang, a seconda che si pensi ai confini nord-ovest od ovest della Cina. Nella più ampia, ma in gran parte apocrifa, relazione di viaggio attribuita ad Abū Dulaf in Yāqūt, T.b.t (Tübät) evidentemente è qualche popolazione dell'Asia Centrale, e non ha nulla a che fare col Tibet o coi tibetani [47].

Abū'r-Raiḥān Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī († 1048), il più grande dotto musulmano dei suoi tempi e certamente quello più tollerante e dalle vedute più ampie, ebbe vaste possibilità di avere notizie sul Tibet, sia durante i suoi viaggi in India, sia per i rapporti continui tra l'India e la corte di Ghazna dove egli risiedeva. Unico tra i musulmani ad imparare il sanscrito, ebbe un tesoro di notizie sull'India dai suoi informatori indiani, e tra queste anche un itinerario [48] di un viaggiatore indiano da Kanauj al Nepal e al Tibet che è una buona descrizione della via commerciale d'allora tra l'India e il Tibet centrale. In un altro passo [49] egli accenna brevemente al confine kashmiro-tibetano. In tutto questo non v'è traccia alcuna delle solite notizie della tradizione di al-Ma'mūn; sono semplici racconti raccolti dalla viva voce dei mercanti indiani. Nella sua grande opera astronomica invece, nel *Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, egli si occupa scientificamente del Tibet. L'opera non è ancora stampata e nessun manoscritto mi è accessibile. Dalle varie posizioni del Tibet Interiore, di Khotan, di Yarkand e di località nel Tibet Esteriore citate dal Minorsky [50], sembrerebbe che, ruotando la sua carta di circa 30° verso sud-est, il suo T.b.t Esteriore potrebbe essere la regione di Lhasa ed il suo T.b.t Interiore il Bolor (Yasin e Gilgit). Non è incluso che si tratti di un tentativo di far concordare la geografia astronomica di tipo tolemaico con i dati sul T.b.t da lui stesso raccolti. Bīrūnī del resto fu forse l'unico geografo musulma-

[46] *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel (Lipsia 1871-2), p. 351. Non mi è stato dato di utilizzare il recente studio del ROHR-SAUER, *Des Abū Dulaf's Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestan, China und Indien* («Bonner Orientalistiche Studien», 26), Lipsia 1939.

[47] Cfr. MARQUART, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Lipsia 1903), p. 78.

[48] *Alberuni's India*, trad. SACHAU (Londra 1910), vol. I, pp. 201-202.

[49] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 206.

[50] *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*, pp. 248, 260, 295.

no che determinasse le coordinate di un luogo mediante calcoli accurati e critica coscienziosa [51].

Per questa via il mondo islamico occidentale non ebbe altre notizie sul Tibet. Più tardi però se ne trova menzione nelle opere (in persiano) degli storici musulmani dell'India, di cui non possiamo ora occuparci.

Per ultimo, dobbiamo parlare di due autori che occupano posizioni del tutto a sè: Kāšġarī e Idrīsī.

Maḥmūd ibn-al-Ḥusain Muḥammad al-Kāšġarī scrisse in arabo il suo *Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk* intorno al 1074 [52]. Originario della regione che senza dubbio ebbe nell'alto medioevo più stretti rapporti d'ogni altra col Tibet, è tuttavia piuttosto scarso di informazioni su di esso. A parte alcune esemplificazioni di modi di dire turchi [53], egli non parla del Tibet che in due passi. Nel primo (vol. I, p. 29), parlando di popolazioni bilingui per contaminazione col linguaggio delle città, ne menziona due gruppi; al primo appartengono i Sogdiani, i Kanǧāk e gli Arġū, al secondo Khotan, il T.b.t [54] e parte dei Tanguti. L'altro passo (vol. I, p. 296), di gran lunga più importante, merita di essere tradotto integralmente:

«Tubut; è una nazione numerosa nelle sedi dei Turchi. Presso di essi «ci sono le gazelle del muschio; si taglia il loro ombelico, ed esso è la ve- «scichetta del muschio. Essi sono dei discendenti di Ṭābit. Questi era un «uomo del Yemen; commise un delitto, ne ebbe paura e fuggì; andò per «mare in Cina, trovò piacevoli quelle sedi e le scelse a suo soggiorno, fin- «chè i suoi discendenti aumentarono molto. I suoi discendenti occuparono «con il loro gran numero 1500 farsakh del paese dei Turchi. All'est di essi «v'è la Cina, all'ovest il Kashmir, al nord gli Uiguri e al sud il mare del- «l'India. E poi nella loro lingua si trova l'arabo, perchè essi chiamano la «madre (arabo: *umm*) *amā* [55] e il padre (arabo: *ab*) *abā*».

Da questo interessante passo si possono trarre varie deduzioni. Esso ha in comune con la tradizione di al-Ma'mūn la menzione del muschio e la leggenda yemenita. Ma la leggenda è così differente, sia come nomi

[51] Cfr. SCHOY, *Aus der astronomischen Geographie der Araber*, in «Isis», vol. V (1921), pp. 51-74.

[52] Questa data però è dubbia a causa di contraddizioni interne. È certo però che l'opera è stata scritta nella seconda metà dell'XI secolo. Cfr. BARTHOLD, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* (Berlino 1935), p. 93.

[53] *Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk*, Istanbul 1333-1336 A.H. (1914/5-1916/7), vol. III, pp. 210 e 244.

[54] Nell'edizione di Istanbul sempre vocalizzato *Tubut*.

[55] Nel testo è vocalizzato *umā*, per evidente attrazione dell'arabo *umm*.

che come particolari, da quella di Tubba', da rendere indubbio che essa non è qui reminiscenza letteraria, ma vera tradizione popolare di Kashgar. I confini sembrano essere un ricordo tradizionale del periodo della massima espansione tibetana nella prima metà del IX secolo, quando il re del Tibet esercitava un'alta sovranità su alcuni stati della bassa valle del Gange. Infine Kāšġarī, sebbene fuorviato da false analogie arabe, conosce le due parole tibetane *a-p'a* (padre) e *a-ma* (madre), probabilmente da lui sentite nei bazar di Kashgar dai carovanieri tibetani. Kāšġarī non è un geografo e non ha alcuna influenza sulla geografia araba del Tibet; ma le sue scarse notizie sono, assieme a quelle di Bīrūnī, le sole in tutta la letteratura araba seriore che rivelino una conoscenza di prima mano del Tibet.

Completamente differente è il caso di Idrīsī. Vero geografo da tavolino, egli non fu mai nell'oriente musulmano. I suoi dati sul T.b.t [56], che non trovano riscontro in altre opere, sono relativamente molto dettagliati, ma oltremodo confusi. Come giustamente dice Sven Hedin [57] «ci si perde in questo fiume di geografia positiva che ha una somiglianza così affascinante con la realtà». Sven Hedin vorrebbe identificare il T.b.t di Idrīsī col Ladakh, la sua città di T.b.t con Leh, il fiume che scorre presso la città con l'Indo ed il lago di B.rwān, in cui esso si versa, col lago Manasarowar. Ma è molto difficile ammettere tutto questo, e soprattutto per la assoluta insignificanza del regno del Ladakh, specialmente nei suoi primi secoli d'esistenza, e per l'inaccessibilità e nessuna importanza politica della regione. Uno scambio per Khotan, quale successe ai primi geografi arabi, è ammissibile per l'importanza della regione nel quadro dello stato tibetano e per la sua vicinanza ai confini arabi del Turkestan; ma nulla di simile è possibile per il Ladakh, che è quasi completamente ignorato nelle cronache del Tibet centrale e non offrì mai alcun interesse per la monarchia tibetana. Nulla si può dedurre dai nomi, che in Idrīsī sono quasi sempre storpiati fino all'inverosimile. Ma dalla sua descrizione e dalle posizioni reciproche delle località sulla sua carta [58], mi sembra che si possa accettare con una certa confidenza un'identificazione del T.b.t col Turkestan, della città di T.b.t con Khotan, del fiume col Khotan-darya e più a valle col Tarim e del lago di B.rwān con le paludi del Lop-nor [59]. La fon-

[56] *Géographie d'Edrisi*, trad. Jaubert. (Parigi 1836-1840), vol. I, pp. 492-495. [Nell'edizione critica dell'*Opus Geographicum*, Napoli-Roma 1970-1984, i passi riguardanti il Tibet si trovano alle pp. 510-516].

[57] *Southern Tibet*, vol. I, p. 59.

[58] Ricostruita da K. MILLER, *Mappae Arabicae*. (Stoccarda 1926-1931), vol. I. La sezione contenente il T.b.t riprodotta da quattro mss., ibid., vol. VI, tav. 29.

[59] Questa interpretazione dei dati di Idrīsī fu già proposta nel 1900 dal GRÉNARD (*La*

te o le fonti di Idrīsī per questa zona sono ignote, nè si può sapere quanta parte di questa confusione di dati sia dovuta all'opera di compilazione di Idrīsī stesso [60].

Gli autori arabi posteriori non ci interessano più; essi non hanno più alcuna conoscenza diretta di queste regioni e si limitano a compilare le notizie dei loro predecessori.

La mia conclusione è questa: vi furono bensì notizie dirette sul Tibet vero e proprio, raccolte specialmente dagli autori della tradizione di Ğaihānī, ma esse non influirono che in piccola misura sulle grandi opere della geografia araba. Questa si basò per tutto il periodo della sua massima fioritura (IX e X secolo) sulle notizie raccolte nella Transoxiana all'epoca dell'alleanza dapprima, e della guerra poi con la monarchia tibetana. Queste notizie erano caratterizzate da un'inversione dell'importanza reciproca delle due parti ben distinte di cui allora si componeva lo Stato tibetano: Tibet vero e proprio e possessi esterni. Gli arabi fecero del Turkestan, con cui solamente essi avevano rapporti diretti, il centro dello stato tibetano; e Khotan, allora la città più importante del Turkestan tibetano, venne ritenuta la capitale del Tibet. Il Tibet vero e proprio rimase ignorato o tutt'al più trascurato come un'appendice di nessuna importanza.

Quando poi intorno al 1000 l'Islam cominciò a diffondersi nel Turkestan orientale e raggiunse Khotan, ci si accorse che questa città da molto tempo non aveva più nulla a che fare col Tibet, e quindi da allora in poi il nome T.b.t venne trasferito al vasto territorio abitato da popolazioni tibetane, dal Baltistan al confine della Cina, mentre Khotan cominciava invece ad apparire col proprio nome nelle opere dei geografi. Con questo nuovo significato il T.b.t compare quindi nelle prime opere degli storici musulmani dell'India (per esempio nel *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*), mentre tra gli autori arabi e persiani esso divenne sempre più una pura reminiscenza letteraria. Più tardi (XVI secolo) negli autori musulmani dell'India, il nome T.b.t si localizza nel Baltistan (Piccolo Tibet) e Ladakh (Grande Tibet), mentre per il Tibet centrale appare qualche volta il nome di Ursang, dai nomi tibetani delle due province centrali di dBus e gTsaṅ. Ciò perdura fino all'estinguersi della storiografia musulmana dell'India alla fine del XVIII secolo.

légende de Satok Boghra Khan), in «J.As.», 1900, pp. 65-66 n.) e accettata con qualche modifica dal Pelliot e da altri. [Per interpretazioni differenti si veda R. RUBINACCI, *Il Tibet nella Geografia d'Idrīsī*, in *Gururājamañjarikā, Studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci*, Napoli 1974, pp. 195-220].

[60] Non sembra sostenibile, almeno per quanto riguarda il Tibet, l'ipotesi dello Sprenger di una sua dipendenza da Ğaihānī

THE TIBETAN-LADAKHI-MOGHUL WAR

(1679-1683)*

In an earlier work [1] I have already touched upon the three-cornered conflict between Ladakh, Tibet and the Moghul empire in the early eighties of the 17th century. This conflict was till now little known to historians. Its only mention by modern writers is to be found in the *History of Western Tibet* (London 1907) by Francke, an obsolete work which is only a paraphrase of the Royal Chronicle of Ladakh (*La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*), with no other source used. There is also a passing reference in Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* [2], based on Moghul sources only and marred by the wrong identification of Great Tibet (Tibet-i-Kalān) with Central Tibet [3]. And yet this forgotten war had a great importance in shaping the destiny of the Western Himalayas. It determined the ruin of the short-lived Himalayan empire of the Ladakhi kings and established the paramountcy of the Lhasa government over the whole length of the northern slope of the mountains. The border between Tibet and Ladakh, as settled in the peace which closed this war, is the modern border between Tibet and India, and the whole territorial status determined at that time has remained the same to this day, except only that Kashmir has absorbed and supplanted Ladakh.

The sources for this war are unexpectedly numerous. They may be listed as follows:

* [In this reprint some dates have been replaced by the new ones found in *The kingdom of Ladakh*, Rome 1977. The whole discussion on chronology (pp. 187-189 of the original) has been omitted. The translations from Tibetan have been revised].

[1] *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh* (Calcutta 1939), pp 156-160.

[2] Vol. III (Calcutta 1928), p. 19, and vol. V (Calcutta 1924), p. 421.

[3] I repeat here what I have already pointed out elsewhere: for Indian historians of the Moghul period, Little Tibet is Baltistan and Great Tibet is Ladakh.

A. Ladakhi sources:

(1) The *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* (Royal Chronicle of Ladakh) edited by Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. II, Calcutta 1926). It will be quoted here by the initial *L*.

(2) Cunningham's *Ladak, physical, statistical and historical*, London 1854. His account of the history of Ladakh is based on a manuscript of *L* much more complete and accurate than those on which Francke's edition is based. This manuscript is now lost, and Cunningham's book ranks therefore as an original authority.

(3) A Ladakhi document, being an acknowledgement by the Ladakhi king Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal [1694-1729] of the merits and faithful services of Śākya-rgya-mts'o, prime minister and commander-in-chief of Ladakh during the war. It was published by Francke in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. II, pp. 242-244, and will be quoted here by the initial *S*.

B. Tibetan sources:

(4) The work called *dPal mi'i dbaṅ po'i rtogs pa brjod pa 'jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam*; a wood-print of 395 leaves of 6 lines per leaf. It was composed in 1733 by Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal, called also Ts'aṅs-sras dgyes-pa'i-blo-ldan, and is a biography of the Tibetan nobleman bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas of P'o-lha (usually known under his title of Mi'i-dbaṅ-po); he was a staunch friend of the Chinese, fought the civil war of 1727/8 and was the ruler of Tibet from 1728 to his death in 1747. Mi'i-dbaṅ-po's father Padma-rgyal-po took part in the Ladakhi war, and to this fact we owe a long account of the conflict (ff. 11-25), written in that bombastic and inflated style of later Tibetan literature. It is a rather confused and incomplete narrative, full of incredible particulars and loaded with long theological disquisitions (often in verse); nevertheless it is a priceless account of the war from the Central Tibetan point of view and is therefore one of our principal sources. It will be quoted here by the initial *M*.

(5) Not really belonging to Tibet, but to a state which was the ally of Tibet in this war, is a document (here published in appendix) found at Namgya in Kunawar by Prof. Tucci in 1933, of which he kindly placed a photograph at my disposal. It is a statement of the official intercourse and traffic conditions as settled at that time between the Tibetan government and the Raja of K'u-nu, i.e. Bashahr, now in Himachal Pradesh. The

document is not very important, but it gives some highly interesting details not to be found elsewhere. It was written out by a very ignorant copyist and its spelling is awful, so that my translation in several points is more a matter of guess-work than of interpretation. This document is identical whith the so-called treaty between Ladakh and Bashahr, of which Francke obtained a copy in 1909 [4], but which he never edited. It will be quoted here by the initial *N*.

C. Moghul sources:

(6) *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, official history of the latter period of the reign of Aurangzeb (ed. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1868). This is of little use for our purpose.

(7) *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri-i-Azami* by Muhammad Azam, written in 1148 A.H. (1735/6 A.D.). I used the Allahabad University Library manuscript.

Of these sources, those under A and C were already used by me in my *Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh*. But it is the Tibetan sources that enable us to complete the picture and to get a fairly accurate view of the whole course of this conflict.

The causes, of this war are related in a somewhat conflicting way by *M* and *L*. Let us review briefly the situation existing in Western Tibet about 1680. The territorial status then prevailing was the result of the conquest of the kingdom of Gu-ge by the Ladakhi king Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal in 1630. The whole of mṄa'-ris sKor-gsum, including the sacred pilgrimage sites of the Kailāsa and Mānasarovar lake, was a dependency of the Ladakhi state; the border with Central Tibet ran on or about the Maryum-la, the watershed between the Sutlej basin and the Tsangpo-Brahmaputra. Later Ladakh had to accept the Moghul suzerainty (1664), and Tsang and the rest of Central Tibet were conquered in 1642 by the Mongol chieftain Guśrī Khan, who ruled it under the suzerainty of, or rather in partnership with, the Dalai Lama. He was succeeded in 1655 by his son Dayan Khan, who ruled till 1668. He was then succeeded by his son Dalai Khan, under whose very weak suzerainty Tibet was at the time of the war; but the real rulers were the Dalai Lama and the Regent Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o. All these political changes had no deep influence on the situation at the border. In those vast, but very thinly populated territories, the only thing of real importance, both for government and subjects, was sheep raising and trade, chiefly the wool trade. It follows that any disturbing factor, such as

[4] *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. I (Calcutta 1914), p. 24.

disorders on the border resulting in the insecurity of the trade route Leh-Gartok-Lhasa, made itself keenly felt in both countries and even in the Himalayan states farther south. This is what the corrupted and perhaps lacunary text of *N* seems to convey with its insistence on the stipulation of unimpeded transit of messengers, envoys etc. in the territory of mṄa'-ris. Keeping in view this economic background, the immediate cause of the unrest on the border and hence of the war was a religious quarrel, which is differently related by *M* and *L*. The former says (f. 11a-b):

«In former times the king of Ladakh was not devoid of noble qualities; acting in conformity with the religion he protected his sacred kingdom. Now, if we go to the bottom of things, it is perfectly clear that the fruit of actions depends on the existence of these conditions, viz. a good fruit from a virtuous seed and a bad fruit from a wicked seed etc. Nevertheless, in the same manner as, when in a lake clear like pure crystal without impurities there is perturbation from bad and good patterns, the lake itself maintains its own splendour, even thus, because of his bad and wicked ministers (*mdun-na-'don*) and of their unbearable thoughts of evident envy towards the Doctrine spreading like the light of the sun through all the heavens being taught by the Yellows Caps, in those lands there had arisen a certain manner of behaviour founded on false reasonings. And because of this, the people of the regions of Glo-bo and Ru-t'ogs as well, like hares following thoughtlessly the noise, manifested their wicked designs, carrying out brigandage, and raiding with all their power and might the districts of Sa-dga' and 'Gro-śod» [5].

The above account may be summarized thus: the king of Ladakh, who we know from *L*. and Ladakhi inscriptions to have been a strong supporter of the 'Brug-pa sect, showed an increasing hostility against the dGe-lug-pa, the established church of Tibet. His subjects in the frontier regions took their cue from the attitude of the court and began to harass the inhabitants of the Tibetan districts on the other side of the border. We are further told that the Lhasa government took a serious view of the matter and sent the two brothers Mes-po A-gsum and K'ro-bo-dkar-po as governors of Sa-dga' with strict orders to pacify the district, a task which

[5] Glo-bo is a Tibetan-speaking district now included in Nepal, but right on the Tibetan border; it lies to the north of Muktināth, and its capital is Mendang (sMan-t'aṅ). Gro-śod (Troshot) it is upper valley of the Tsangpo, from the Maryumla to the Tsachu-tsangpo. Sa-dga' is the district further downstream, comprising the valley of the Chaktak-tsangpo; its capital is Sa-dga'-rdsoṅ (Saka-jong of the maps). Also the nearly contemporary *Vaidūrya-ser-po*, written by the Regent Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o in 1697, speaks (f. 366a) of persecutions of the dGe-lugs-pa by the king of Ladakh.

was swiftly and brilliantly carried out (*M*, f 11b). These events belong to a time several years before 1681, because Padma-rgyal-po, who took part in the Ladakhi war, was born to Mes-po A-gsum during the latter's governorship. Even after the pacification of Sa-dga', the potential cause of the trouble remained, and the fifth Dalai Lama Nag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mts'o (1617-1682), being directly interested in the matter in his spiritual capacity as head of the Yellow Church, decided on military action against the king of Ladakh [6].

The Tibetan sources quoted above complain of persecution of the dGe-lug-pa by Ladakh; it is but natural that the Ladakhi sources should complain of persecution of the 'Brug-pa by Tibet; *L* says that the 'Brug-pa incarnate, who at that time held spiritual and temporal sway over Bhutan, had a quarrel with Lhasa, and that the Ladakhi king, loyal follower and spiritual disciple of the 'Brug-pa, «sent a letter to Tibet saying that he was prepared to take up his quarrel». It does not matter who was in the right; so much is sure, along other factors there was a conflict between the 'Brug-pa of Ladakh and the dGe-lug-pa of Tibet. This quarrel between the two sects concerned above all the Dalai Lama, as the spiritual head of Tibet; but the resulting insecurity of the trade routes could not leave indifferent the Mongol king bsTan-'dsin Dalas Khan (as he is called by *M*), the titular defender of Tibet. The result of this double religious and economic motive was a declaration of war by the Dalai Lama against Ladakh (*M*., f. 13b); Dalas Khan is not mentioned in this connection by *M*., but his approval and co-operation are certain, because Mongol troops took a leading part in the war and it was Dalas Khan who greeted and honoured the victorious Tibetan general on his return to Lhasa.

Having taken the decision of waging war against Ladakh, the Dalai Lama entrusted its conduct to a Lama of Tashilhunpo called dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbaṅ-dpal-bzaṅ-po. *M*. gives us a short account of his life, couched in its usual ornate style (f. 12a-13a). He took his vows at Tashilhunpo and had a brilliant university career; he became very learned and was highly successful in the great religious debates regularly held in the monastery. At the time of the death of the Panchen Lama Blo-bzaṅ-c'os-kyi-rgyal-mts'an in 1662 he was responsible for maintaining order in the market of Tashilhunpo, and showed a ruthless energy in carrying out his task. He afterwards remained in high favour at the court of the new boy Panchen Lama Blo-bzaṅ-ye-śes. This energetic monk was summoned to Lhasa by

[6] His name is falsely given by *M*. f.13a as Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. This ruler was dead since 1642, and the de-facto king of Ladakh in this period was bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal (*c*. 1680-1691).

the Dalai Lama and entrusted with the rather unexpected task of leading an army against Ladakh. After considerable hesitation, due to his scruples as a devout Buddhist against shedding blood even for a righteous cause (*M.*, f 14a-b), he set himself wholeheartedly to his enterprise. Although to lead an invasion through and into one of the most difficult countries of the world was something quite different from keeping order in a bazaar, we may state here at once that he acquitted himself very creditably of his task, at least as long as he had to fight against the Ladakhis alone; of course his army was no match for the Moghul regulars, veterans of many battles in India. He earned great fame both at Lhasa and in the theatre of his feats of arms, where a temple at Taklakot in mṄa'-ris is stated by popular tradition to have been built by him and to house his tomb [7].

After consulting the state oracle of the god Pehar near Lhasa and obtaining favourable omens, [in 1679] dGa'-ldan left Lhasa at the head of a small troop of 250 men (*M.*, f. 15a). This was an élite unit, composed of picked Mongol horsemen, intended to form the core around which to build up an army with the local levies of the frontier districts. This was due probably to the urgency of the situation and to the very primitive commissariat arrangements, which would have required lengthy and complicate preparations to ensure the march of a larger army (such as the one who joined him next year) from Lhasa to the Mānasarovar. From Lhasa dGa'-ldan went first of all to Tashilhunpo, in order to get the blessing of his immediate superior the Panchen Lama; he obtained there some material help besides. From Tashilhunpo his journey continued remounting the valley of the Tsangpo up to the district of Sa-dga' (*M.*, f. 15b). Here (probably at Saka-jong) he was met by the governors K'ro-bo-dkar-po and Mes-po A-gsum, and greeted by them with a great banquet. He found here all that he needed for the proper equipment of his army: «They gave him in great abundance everything desired, like various weapons fit to be wielded by heroes, good riding horses, tents and many men able to be of help to his army». (i.e. auxiliary troops and camp followers). We may surmise that the expeditionary force was really built up here, grouping together the local levies of the upper Tsangpo valley round the bodyguard of dGa'-ldan. When he was ready, he started westwards.

The border was apparently unguarded and dGa'-ldan arrived without meeting any opposition to the Kailāsa and Mānasarovar lake, where he, together with his army, made the customary offerings and performed the usual *pradakṣiṇa*, a thing in his eyes at least as important as the proper

[7] Tucci, *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto* (Milan 1937), p. 29. According to M., f. 30b, dGa-ldan died in mNa'-ris shortly before the birth of Mi'i-dbaṅ-po in 1689.

equipment of his army. But the religious observances did not make him forget the political aspects of his task . It was very important for him to have some faithful allies on whom to rely in a country so distant from his base; and he arranged, therefore, a meeting with Raja Kehari Singh of Bashahr [8]. This meeting, which took place at P'u-gliṅ-braṅ in Žaṅ-žuṅ, [9] is not mentioned in *M.*, but it is the main subject of *N.*, and from this document we can glean the main lines of the agreement reached. dGa'-ldaṇ, in the name of the Tibetan government, guaranteed unimpeded travel in the mṄa'-ris territories (yet to be conquered) to the biennial official delegation from Bashahr to the towns of mṄa'-ris sKor-gsum; we may safely assume that it was above all a periodical trade caravan. In return, the Raja of Bashahr promised to join his small army with dGa'-ldan's forces. It is clear from the text of *N.* and the narrative of *M.* that this combination took place shortly before the second battle against the Ladakhis at Byaṅ-la next year. At the time of the meeting, the season was probably too advanced to allow Bashahr troops time to assemble and to reach mṄa'-ris before snow blocked the passes.

In the meantime the news of the Tibetan invasion had reached the court of Leh. The heir-apparent bDe-legs-mam-rgyal (*c.* 1680-1691), who was carrying on the governement in the name and as a colleague of the

[8] In *N.* his name is written Skyer Siṅg. Bashahr is called K'u-nu, which more usually applies to Kunawar, a part of Bashahr. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. I, p. 124 gives 1639-1696 as the dates of Kehari Singh; but they cannot be relied upon, because the dates of the last three rulers which can be checked from official records, are totally wrong. I may mention that a list (without dates) of the rajas of Bashahr, found by Professor Tucci in the capital of that state widely differs from that given by Francke, as shown by the following table, which reproduces the last part of both lists.

Francke	Tucci
Chattar Singh	Kehari Singh
Bhun Singh	Bije Singh
Kalyan Singh	Kalyan Singh
Kehari Singh	Shyam Singh
Bije Singh	Suntana Singh
Ode Singh	Aoman Singh
Ram Singh	Bhagwan Singh
Rudar Singh	Rudar Singh
Ugar Singh	Ugar Singh
Mahendar Singh	Mahendar Singh (d. 1850)

[9] The modern Puling, south-west of Tsaparang, about 79° 28′ long. and 31° 14′ lat. See TUCCI and GHERSI, *Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale 1933* (Rome 1934), pp. 354-358.

titular king bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal (1642-1694), seems to have been rather a non-entity. The all-powerful man in the country was his prime minister and commander-in-chief Śākya-rgya-mts'o, who some years before (1673/4) had led two successful expeditions against the small chiefs west of Ladakh, and possibly had also turned back an armed intervention of the Moghuls. The Ladakhi sources are silent on his reaction to the news of the Tibetan invasion; but *M.*(f. 16a-17b) professes to know all about it, with what foundation we do not know. According to this source, which of course is hostile to Ladakh, Śākya-rgya-mts'o (called in *M.* Nono Śākya) seems to have taken the situation lightly, or at least to have been very confident: «Hey, my soldiers, listen to me! Some men arriving from the barbarous country of the Mongols, doomed like, e.g., a man who bends his neck to another who is going to strike him with a hammer, are nearing in order to flout the glory of the sovereign by the grace of Heaven, Seṅge-rnam-rgyal (usual mistake in *M.* for bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal). Hearing this, drop every worry, because you must not be afraid. As it is rumoured that these warriors, possessing great treasures, are equipped with fine soft and smooth clothes, good riding horses, whole sets of mailed armours protecting the body from the enemy's weapons, terribly powerful fire-arms, sharp and pointed swords etc., march against them, if you want to obtain riches! And every one of their pieces of equipment will certainly belong to you». But not everybody was so optimistic, and there was among the Ladakhi leaders a more prudent party, led by Nono Bitadsoki, who warned Śākya-rgya-mts'o not to underrate the enemy; it was better to avoid a pitched battle, because of the superior horsemanship of the Mongol troops, and wait for the enemy in the fortresses, of which mṄa'-ris is so rich: «For intelligent men it is easy to talk of fighting; but to go actually into battle is not so easy. The warriors marching against us are not men without a purpose and without confidence in themselves coming rashly and in a hurry to this land. Because of it having so been publicly promised by a man (their leader) who is able to practise austerities on himself, who is imbibed with a fearless energy, who knows perfectly well the working of the war ruses and who is a perfect master of the art of war, there is no doubt that these men are approaching with the purpose of fighting us. We must, therefore, prepare for the war after serious thought. Since these men coming from the land of the Mongols are expert in the art of rushing upon the enemy with the whole impetus of their excellent chargers in movement, brandishing their lances and swords from horseback, we must not join battle on a desert plain (or at Mya-ṅam?). Our army should occupy the slope of the mountain or a strong position sur-

rounded by a moat full of water. A cunning man could win by merely holding out in a strong fortress». But the supporters of Śâkya-rgya-mts'o upbraided him with cowardice and reiterated their decision to fight in the open, lured above all by the prospect of rich booty.

The Ladakhi tropps started thus immediately toward mṅa'-ris. As they were nearing the enemy, the braggarts who had brought about the decision to offer battle, could not refrain from sending a formal challenge to dGa'-ldan (*M.* f 17a): « A savage like you dare to approach in order to insult with his envy our liege lord! Well, when we fight it out, if you win, you may tie your horse to the lion-gate of the palace (of Leh) [10]; if we win, we shall tie our horses to the inscription pillar of Lhasa». This challenge was received with utter contempt by dGa'-ldan, who did not even deign to reply. After these preliminaries, which remind us of the heroes of Homer, the stage was set for the oncoming battle.

Where did this first encounter take place? The name of the site is variously given by our sources. *L.* says that the Ladakhis were beaten at Žva-dmar-ldiṅ in Guge and pursued as far as Ladakh. Cunningham (p. 327) calls the place Dalang-Kharmar, *S.* speaks of fighting at Ra-la. *M.* is silent, unless the Mya-ṅam which I have translated by «desert plain» is really a place name. Of these, Žva-dmar-ldiṅ according to Dr. K. Marx «is situated halfway between bKra-śis-sgaṅ (Tashigang) and Gar-dgun-sa (Gargunsa)». Dalang-Kharmar is probably the full name of the locality called shortly Langmar, to the south-east of Tashigang on the Gartang river. Ra-la is the region around Rala-jung (Ra-la-rdsoṅ) on the Singe-Kamba (Seṅ-ge-k'a-babs) river, to the east of Tashigang. All the above indications point to about the same place, the desert plain (Mya-ṅam of *M.*) inside and around the junction of the two sources of the Indus, the Singe-kamba and the Gartang, above Tashigang, about 79°45′ long. and 32°27′ lat.

The battle took place in the afternoon (*M.*, f. 17b), [in the autumn of 1679]. The Tibetan monk-general in person donned his armour, took his gun, sword and lance, mounted his horse and led the charge of his men against the enemy, smashing them under the hoofs of his horse, killing them with his arms «till it became difficult for him to grasp the handle of his weapons, so smeared had they become with blood». Leaving aside the exaggerations of *M.* (which gives us also a short poem of victory), it is clear that the Tibetans gained a definite victory, because the Ladakhi sources too say so. Of course the action was decisive only from a local

[10] On which see FRANCKE, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, 78.

point of view. The Tibetan army, as we have seen before, was quite small, and the Ladakhi troops in this battle were probably only an advance force sent in a hurry from Leh to repel the invader. Thus the battle was in no sense decisive for the war. It merely decided the campaign in mṅa'-ris in favour of the Tibetans. *M.* says that «the remains of the enemy forces, nearly destroyed and incapable to fight any longer in the desert plain, took refuge, like animals who have been out till late return to their lairs, in the strong fortresses of sTag-la-mk'ar (Taklakot in Purang) Tsaparang (capital of Guge), Tashigang etc.» Cunningham too says that the Ladakhis, beaten at Dalang-Kharmar, were pursued by the Tibetans as far as Lung-khung. This is a hamlet a little distance from the modern border, on the Ladakhi side; the pursuit thus lasted for about 70 miles. At Lung-khung the Tibetans were checked and driven back, a statement supported by *S.*, according to which the Tibetans were turned back by Śākya-rgya-mts'o. *M.* does not mention this set-back, which is after all but natural. It is difficult to believe that it was an important success for the Ladakhis; and it sure that it had no influence whatsoever on the course of the events. The Ladakhi rout was stopped on the border of Ladakh proper, and the pursuers were turned back; but that is all, and we do not hear of any counter-offensive movement on the side of the Ladakhis.

At this moment dGa'-ldan had to stop where he was, in order to refit his forces, to wait for reinforcements and to cope with the problem of the fortresses. *M.* (f. 18a) says that «the Mongol troops were able to overcome the enemy fighting on horseback, but not to conquer the fortresses fighting on foot». For this reason, and also because of the smallness of dGa'-ldan's army and perhaps even of its losses in the battle, large reinforcements were sent by the Tibetan government, the most noteworthy commanders being: «from the Lhasa region Ṅam-ru-ba armoured with courage; from the Nags-roṅ district (about 84° 20′ long. 32° 35′ lat.) Koṅ-po A-bo-bkra-śis, Padma-rgyal-po (the father of Mi'i-dbaṅ-po of whom *M.* is the biography), dGon bLa-ma 'P'rin-las, an ecclesiastic official (*rje-druṅ*) belonging to the family of the princes of Bye-re sTag-rtse (on the sKyid-c'u to the east of Lhasa, 91° 32′ long. 35° 50′ lat.)». Altogether nearly five hundred men marched out towards mṅa'-ris. It was a considerable accession of strength for dGa'-ldan, far superior in number to his original force; it enabled him to tackle the problem of the fortresses.

Some of his officers suggested to storm them, others to besiege and take them by hunger. But dGa'-ldan rightly decided that siege operations in the rugged terrain and short campaigning season of mṅa'-ris with troops unskilled in such tiresome work, would only expose his army to

heavy losses from the fire of the besieged, use up his food stores and damp the eagerness of this soldiers; and that the utmost haste was called for. He started his army in the direction of Ladakh and this march had an unforeseen and very lucky result. The Ladakhi garrisons in mNa'-ris, intimidated by the imposing array of his fresh and now quite large army, lost every hope of succour from Ladakh and surrendered on their own accord, without being attacked (*M.*, f. 19a) [early in 1680]. Cunningham (p. 327) expressly excludes Tashigang, while M. definitely mentions Tashigang and Tsaparang among the fortresses which came in the hands of dGa'-ldan; there is no way of reconciling the conflicting statements about Tashigang, so we better leave this secondary question unsolved.

After his repulse on the direct road Tsaparang-Leh along the Indus, dGa'-ldan preferred to make a detour and effect an entrance into Ladakh by way of Ruthog. But he could not succeed without fighting a pitched battle with the main Ladakhi army, drawn up before the Byaṅ-la (Changla) pass to cover the approaches to their homeland. *M.* states that «a great (Ladakhi) army was drawn up in the valley of the Byaṅ-la». Cunningham is more precise and says that the battle took place at Balaskya, and after it the Ladakhis occupied the village of Changla. *S.* mentions as the place of the battle dPal-rgyas, which is probably the same as Cunningham's Balaskya. I am unable to find this place on the map, but clearly it must be at the foot of the Byaṅ-la pass on the Ruthog side.

Before this battle, for which all the forces of Ladakh were mustered, the king of Ladakh and his minister Śākya-rgya-mts'o seem to have entertained some doubts about the outcome, because they thought fit to consult the protecting deity and private oracle of the dynasty, whose name we are not told (*M.*, f. 19a). They got a decidedly favourable reply, and accordingly offered battle to the Tibetans. For some unknown reason, on that day dGa'-ldan could not or did not want to lead personally the army, and the command was entrusted by him to the minister (*mdun-na-'don c'enpo*) Bu-c'uṅ, to Padma-rgyal-po, to Rog-ts'o Rig-'dsin and to a Mongol officer called Nam-t'ar. The four commanders attacked at once; it seems that the issue was never in balance, and that the battle was even less contested than the first one. The Ladakhis broke and fled, and the king and his minister, seized by panic, took to flight with the intention to take refuge with the Moghul governor of Kashmir; for the moment they did not go so far, but halted in the village of Tingmosgang (*L.*: gTiṅ-sgaṅ, *M*: Timur-sgaṅ) in Lower Ladakh [summer of 1680]. This account in its main lines is supported by *L.*, who says that the king took refuge in Tingmosgang and left Śākya-rgya-mts'o to cope with the enemy. According to *M.*

the king took part in the battle; but this slight divergence is of little account.

After the victory, there seems to have been no real pursuit. dGa'-ldan advanced slowly and cautiously. From Cunningham's narrative we glean that he occupied Changla village and, probably during a pause in his march, was joined there by the men of Guge, by which name it either means local auxiliary forces from newly-conquered mŃa'-ris, or more probably the little Bashahr army. Then he crossed the pass and, having advanced as far as Sakti (Sag-ti), the first village on the Ladakhi side, he halted there, probably preparing for the storming of Leh. But we known from *M.*, that Leh was yielded without resistance by the Ladakhi troops in full rout, and according to Cunningham the Tibetans took possession of the whole country as far as Nyimo (sŃe-mo, on the Indus about twenty miles below Leh and five miles before Basgo). Apparently, the defeat of the Ladakhis had been too complete to allow them to defend their capital.

When Leh fell in the hands of the Tibetans, the Tibetan officers, «according to the promise made at the beginning of the war, tied the bridle of the horse of the general dGa'-ldan to the lion-gate of the palace. The fort of Leh had become his, and the general being in a mood leaning towards gratitude, lavishly rewarded both the minister Bu-c'uṅ and Padma-rgyal-po out of the riches and the equipment found in the store rooms of the palace» (*M.* f. 19b).

The Tibetan success had reached its high mark, and the capture of Leh was the peck of dGa'-ldan's glory. What followed was rather in the nature of an anticlimax, and thus it is not surprising that *M.* spends not a single word on the following events, but turns straight to the Moghul intervention. Of course much more happened in the fairly long interval than *M.* would like us to know, and this is where our other sources step in to fill the gap. According to Cunningham, the Tibetans, after having taken possession of the country as far as Nyimo, attempted to storm the fort of Tumnuz (? place unknown) but failed, and finally they settled down before Basgo (Bab-sgo), then the second town of Ladakh, to which they laid siege. This siege became a very longwinded affair, during which repeated skirmishes took place between the two armies; and dGa'-ldan tried in vain to destroy a bridge by throwing stones upon it. According to the confused information of *N.*, during the period between the arrival of the Bashahr corps and the Moghul intervention, i.e. at the time of the siege of Basgo, the headquarters of dGa'-ldan and of the minister general of Bashahr commanding the auxiliaries from that state were situated at Go-ro (pherhaps Daru?) in Ladakh.

Owing to the repeatedly avowed incapacity of the Mongol horsemen and Westen Tibetan levies to carry out siege warfare, the investment of Basgo lasted without results for a very long time: six months according to Cunningham, or three years according to *L*. The siege of Basgo was the turning point of the war. The sturdy resistance of the little town wore out the forces of the invader and gained a precious time for the Ladakhi king and minister, who had requested the help of their Moghul suzerain and needed time for concluding the negotiations. dGa'-ldan, otherwise such a shrewd calculator of the possibilities of his army, committed this time the mistake so brilliantly avoided during the campaign in mŃa'-ris, and allowed himself to be involved in a hopeless undertaking against a fortress. But in fairness, we cannot see what else there was for him to do. There was no longer a Ladakhi army in the field, and he certainly could not think of pursuing the king into Kashmir; most probably he thought that the war was over, and devoted himself to the task of completing the occupation of the country. Basgo barred his way and was the centre of resistance of Lower Ladakh; it had to be taken at all costs.

While dGa'-ldan spent his time and wearied his army against Basgo, the king and the minister of Ladakh (practically the latter only) had not been idle. From their refuge in Tingmosgang they sought help from Ibrahim Khan, Moghul *subahdar* of Kashmir from 1678 to 1685. The Moghul never entertained any expansion program in the Himalayas, and only eighteen years before they had contented themselves with establishing their suzerainty over Ladakh, although they could easily have conquered the country. A few years later they even seem to have suffered a minor reverse near Pa-sa-ri at the hands of the Ladakhi general 'Brug-rnam-rgyal without trying to avenge it. The Moghul empire was essentially the great power of the plains of Northern India. The mountains held no enticement for them; they waged war in the Himalayas when they had to, chiefly in order to reduce to obedience rebellious feudatories in the Panjab Hill States, but never following there a purposeful policy of expansion. For them, the mountains were the God-imposed northern barrier, to be watched carefully but not be crossed [11]. Besides, with the departure of Aurangzeb for Rajasthan and thence to the Deccan, the Moghul au-

[11] The only exception of note is the campaign of Shah Jahan in Badakhshan and Balkh. It was due to a romantic longing of the emperor towards the home of his ancestors. It was half-heartedly conducted by the commanders on the spot, was utterly loathed by officers and men in the army, and its costly failure served only to prove once for all that the Indianized Moghul dynasty had nothing more to seek beyond the mountains whence it had come.

thorities in Northen India, in the absence of the emperor and of most of the army, were quite naturally on the defensive, while all the resources of the enormous empire were being marshalled against the Deccan states. But this particular case was a matter of self-defence. Beside being bound in honour to help their vassal, the Moghul could not allow the Ladakhi kingdom to be superseded by a far more powerful neighbour, absolutely new to that portion of the Himalayas and fundamentally hostile to them for religious motives. And moreover (perhaps, although not avowedly, the strongest reason of all), the control by this new power of the wool trade route endangered the shawl industry of Kashmir, on which so much of that country's welfare depended.

The *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri* says that the request of the Ladakhi king was granted by the emperor (then at Aurangabad) on the intercession of Ibrahim Khan (same statement in *M.*, f. 19b). An expeditionary force was formed in Kashmir with troops summoned from Kabul and other local forces. The command was given to Fidai Khan, son of Ibrahim Khan, under whose orders served several other officers; their names, omitted in the *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri*, are given by Cunningham as Murid Khan, Lashkar Khan, Kahgan Sultan Khan, Yahya Khan and Jahangir Khan [12]. These forces entered Ladakh through the Zoji-la and crossed the Indus at K'a-la-rtse (Cunningham's Khallach). Here they were joined by the Balti forces of the ruler of Skardo, the faithful ally of the Moghuls in that region for half a century, and by the Śam-mi, or Lower Ladakhis, i.e., the Ladakhi forces still in the field recruited from the districts not yet overrun by the Tibetans [13]. At the news of their approach, the Tibetans raised the siege of Basgo and met their new enemy on the Kashmir-Leh road [in 1683].

The place of the battle is called by *L.* the Bya-rgyal plain of Basgo and by Cunningham Thanskya-tanag. Neither name can be found on a map, but it is clear that the place is somewhere at a little distance east or south-east of Basgo, because Cunningham and *L.* say that the pursuit lasted as far as dPe-t'ob (Pituk, on the Indus 4 miles south-west of Leh). *M.* is rather confused and seems to place the battle at Pituk (sPi-t'ug) itself: «on the orders of the Padishah inspired by his terrible anger, a great and irresistible army was assembled and advanced to sPi-t'ug». But this is inadmissible, because of the clear and concordant evidence of the Ladakhi sources. It is a pity that the Moghul sources give us no help. The *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri* says only that the Qalmāq (Mongols) were defeated, and the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (p. 236) speaks only the peaceful recovery of the vil-

[12] Fidai Khan's name is misspelt by Cunningham as Fateh Khan.

[13] This list of forces is given by *N.*

lage of Nabsat (? spelling doubtful; place not identified) by the Moghuls through the good offices of Fidai Khan.

Let us now study this battle more in detail [14]. *M.* is singularly confused about it, and I am not quite sure that I have always rightly understood the text (f. 19b-20a): «Several men of the Lho dgon (monastery) who, being without apprehensions and having discarded fear remained (at sPi-t'ug), were put to death. Some were led away to the country of the Padishah, and being circumcised (*mts'an-ma'i-pags-pa dag kyaṅ mi snaṅ bar byed pa*), were converted to the false religion (i.e. Islam). At that time, like when a numerous and countless herd of the strongest bullocks approaches covering all the ground, the king of animals (the lion) being fearless possesses a courage which easily destroys them by its own power, even thus the human lion dGa'-ldan; the more numerous the crowd of enemies, the greater became his lust to defeat the enemy. The lord and his ministers, courageous, valiant and violently angry, advanced fearlessly in the middle of the opposing army, which filled the place without opportunity [of deploying]. Of the enemies (*? bla-'c'aṅ-ba*) who had thrown away their weapons some were killed, others fled; and even the powerful chargers called *ti-pi-cag* (Turkish *tobcaq*) were taken as trophy. Then, since the Victorious Ones (the Buddhas and their incarnations) can see without obscurities every point of the three times (past, present and future), [there came] through a riding messenger a letter sent by the all-knowing 'Jam-dbyaṅs dGa'-ba'i-bśes-gñen (the Dalai Lama), which said: «If the army of Kashmir arrives, let me know it»; [and thus] he opened the door of good actions enabling [the Tibetan general] to put [his feet] on the head of the Nawab. The hopes of those bent on increasing the quantity of their merits without sparing their efforts, doubtlessly are easily realized. In a part of the night following that [of the battle], the powerful well-wishing protectors (oracles; *sruṅ-mo*) encompassed a magical trick, following which the Kashmiri troops, frightened without reason, uttering wails of terror, fled away. [And this] caused to be hoisted on the top of the world the white banner which was the heroic sign of complete victory over the warriors of that country together with their followers». The following three quatrains are of a religious and moral character and have no bearing on the narrative. After them begins abruptly the account of the peace conditions and ceremonies. Cunningham and *L.*, as seen above, give no details; they

[14] From the outset, dGa'-ldan seems to have entertained some doubts about its outcome; so much appears to be conveyed by his peculiar ceremony of obtaining an omen through the Śel-dkar horse, referred to in *N.* The text seems to be lacunous, because we are not told of the result of the ceremony.

speak only of the rout of the Tibetans and of their pursuit till Pituk, which, in agreement with the first part of the above narrative of *M.*, gives us the net result of the battle: it was a total defeat for the Tibetan army.

After the battle, according to Cunningham, the main body of the defeated army took refuge in the fort of Leh; then they agreed to quit the country and were allowed to retire to Kashūn (?) According to *L.* the Tibetans fled without stopping from Pituk to Tashigang, where they entrenched.

But in this last stage of the campaign something happened which is passed under silence by the Moghul and Ladakhi sources, but in different versions is related by the Tibetans. *M.*, as translated above, says that after the battle, as the result of magic tricks and witchcraft worked from the distance by the Dalai Lama, the Moghul soldiers were seized by panic and fled. This seems at first view a popular legend without foundation. But when *N.* tells us that the Moghuls were heavily bribed by the minister-general of Bashahr and a Tibetan officer, whereupon they went away, then *M.*'s narrative gains quite another complexion. So much is sure, the Moghul flood stopped abruptly, which to outsiders seemed nothing short of a miracle. The statement of *N.* is isolated but looks so convincing, bears so clearly the stamp of the truth and suits so well the general situation, that I feel no hesitation in accepting it. Let us review the situation after the battle. The Tibetan army, beaten and disorganized, but not destroyed, retired beyond the border of Ladakh proper. The question for the victorious Moghuls was, what next? Two points should be kept in mind: first of all it was absolutely imperative for Fidai Khan to finish the whole business before the winter set in, unless he wanted to be marooned in Ladakh when the snow blocked the Zoji-la, a prospect dreaded by every Moghul officer and man. Secondly, his object of preserving the indipendence of Ladakh was achieved, and he certainly had no interest whatsoever to embark into a hazardous and long campaign in the Himalayas merely for the sake of recovering mṄa'-ris for such a broken reed as the king of Ladakh was. So, being already bent on returning to Kashmir, Fidai Khan must have accepted gladly the rich bribe offered to him. He turned back, leaving the Tibetans to settle their quarrel with the king of Ladakh, subject to one condition only: the integrity and autonomy of Ladakh proper must be respected. This condition is nowhere expressly mentioned, but it implicitly results from the terms imposed by the Tibetans on Ladakh.

dGa'-ldan too must have been quite satisfied. He had attained all that could be achieved with the means at his disposal; of course Ladakh proper

was now forbidden game to him, but outside this taboo he could have pretty well his own way in every point under dispute. I shall later on discuss separately the Tibetan-Ladakhi and Moghul-Ladakhi treaties, but let me state at once that Ladakh paid the expenses for everything and everybody, and that if eventually both Moghuls and Tibetans could consider the outcome of the war as highly successful for themselves, this was not at the expense of each other, but only and alone at the costs of Ladakh.

After the retreat of the Moghuls, dGa'-ldan concluded a preliminary peace with the king of Ladakh. This is mentioned in *M.* only, while in the Ladakhi sources the final treaty was concluded by a special envoy from Lhasa (Mi-p'am-dbaṅ-po), probably a year later (according to Cunningham). There is no conflict here, because it is clear from *M.* that dGa'-ldan merely concluded an armistice and accepted the submission of the king, to whom he formally gave back Ladakh proper. The ceremonies of conclusion of the preliminary treaty are described at some length, but the narrative is of little practical use, bearing a highly theological character and employing a host of sanctimonious and moral phrases without any bearing on the actual facts. After a long eulogy of the Yellow Church recited by dGa'-ldan, we are told (*M.*, f. 21a) that «the tuft of hair on the heads of the kings of Ladakh Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal and bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, together with the members of their family, wearing bejewelled crowns tinkling like cymbals, bowed in homage to the feet of general dGa'-ldan». The names here are erroneous, as Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal was dead since 1642. He had been the most powerful king of Ladakh, the conqueror of mŃa-ris and the victor over Tsang; most probably his name in Central Tibet remained so closely associated whit the notion of the Ladakhi throne, that by force of habit the Central Tibetans continued to call the king of Ladakh Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal long after his death; such occurrences are not very rare in Asiatic countries. As to the mention of bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal in this connection, it is supported by Cunningham by the *Vaidūrya-ser-po* and by the *Maasir-i Alam/giri* (according to which the village of Nabsat (?) was recovered by the Moghuls from the hands of Daldal, zamindar of the region). The two kings in *M.* actually were the titular ruler bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal and his son bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal, already formally associated to the throne in the lifetime of his father, as was the custom in Ladakh.

M. goes on saying that after the ceremony dGa'-ldan «thinking of the true weal of Religion and looking for the future upon the sphere of compassion toward the enemy chieftains», gave back to the king seven fortified towns in Ladakh, among which Leh, sPi-t'ub and K'rig-se (Tikse

monastery) are mentioned by name. Then he laid upon him the obligation never to molest again the Yellow Church and to procure the welfare of his dGe-lug-pa subjects. The king promised full obedience to the orders of dGa'-ldan [1683].

After the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace, dGa'-ldan devoted himself to organizing the administration of the new Tibetan province of mŃa'-ris; he installed bLo-bzaṅ-padma as governor [15], and left there a garrison of some hundreds of Mongol soldiers. Then he returned to Central Tibet. He passed through Tashilhunpo, where he was received and honoured by the Panchen Lama [16]. Then he arrived at Lhasa and was given a rousing welcome by Dalai Khan (*M.*: Dalas Khan) and the regent Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o. dGa'ldan was entertained by them with sumptuous festivals, and formally handed over to them the government of the new province (*M.* ff. 22b-25b).

The final treaty of peace between Ladakh and Tibet was the work of the Sixth 'Brug-pa incarnate Mi-p'am-dbaṅ-po [1641-1717]. Very wisely, in order to soothe the wounded feelings of the Ladakhi king, the Lhasa government chose as their plenipotentiary the head of the very sect to which the king belonged and for which he had begun the war. It was a master-stroke of politics. The king of Ladakh, a devout 'Brug-pa, was hardly in a position to resist the requests of his spiritual superior; and, for reasons unknown to us, Mi-p'am-dbaṅ-po showed himself utterly loyal to the Lhasa government and devoid of any partiality towards Ladakh. The net result was a diplomatic victory for Lhasa, quite appreciable after the dubious result of the war [1684].

The conditions (according to *L.* and Cunningham) were: mŃa'-ris sKor-gsum was ceded to Tibet, under the pretence of meeting with its revenue «the expenses of sacred lamps and prayers offered at Lhasa». The border was fixed «at the Lha-ri stream at bDe-mc'og». There were some commercial stipulations: thus, Ladakh was to act as intermediary in the goat wool trade between Byaṅ-t'aṅ (Northern Tibet) and Kashmir through the offices of four Kashmiri merchants resident at Pituk. For the consumption in Ladakh itself, the wool produce of Ruthog was earmarked

[15] *M.*, f. 22a: «chief ruling over more than one thousand homesteads». *N.* seems to refer to him under name of *gzim-dpon* dPal-bzaṅ.

[16] On the 10th day of the sixth month of 1684 dGa'-ldan had officially reported to the Panchen Lama the conquest of mŃa'ris. Autobiography of the Second Panchen Lama (*Śakya'i-dge-sloṅ-blo-bzaṅ-ye-śes-kyi-spyod-ts'ul-gsal-bar-byed-pa-nor-dkar-can-gyi-p'reṅ-ba*), f.89a.

and only the court merchants of Ladakh had the right of going there. The Lhasa government received the contract for supplying Ladakh with brick tea, of which they were to send two hundred loads annually. Crowning all this, a formal sort of suzerainty was established over Ladakh, and the king had to send every second year a caravan bringing tribute to Lhasa. It is rather surprising, if we think of the upheavals in Tibet during the following century, that this suzerainty continued to be exercised and the tribute to be paid nearly till the extinction of the Ladakhi kingdom in 1842. When Moorcroft during his stay in Ladakh (1820-1821) negotiated a commercial treaty, the king asked for the advice of the governor of mNa'-ris sKor-gsum at Gartok and of the Lhasa government before concluding the treaty [17]. Also the tribute to Lhasa was still being paid at that time [18]. As we have seen from *M.*, the religious question was solved in favour of the dGe-lug-pa. According to Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, 117), Mi-p'am-dbaṅ-po was left in Ladakh as a sort of representative or resident for the Lhasa government; he alleges epigraphic evidence (Nyurla inscription) [19]. But the rGyal-ts'ab Mi-p'am-mgon of the inscription is only a very common surname of the bodhisattva Maitreya, and occurs in many other still unpublished inscription of Western Tibet outside Ladakh.

A corollary of the peace treaty was that Bashahr reaped the fruit of its loyal and effective support to dGa'-ldan, in the form of the cession by Ladakh of Upper Kunawar, which remained a part of the Bashahr state. We are nowhere expressly told so, but since till the 17th century Upper Kunawar belonged to Ladakh, and afterwards it appears as a part of Bashahr, its transfer could have taken place only on this occasion.

Before the conclusion of the treaty with Lhasa, Ladakh had to satisfy another creditor. On his way back to Kashmir, Fidai Khan settled his account with the Ladakhi king for the help given by the Moghuls; here too *L.* and Cunningham are our only sources. These were the conditions: Ladakh was already since 1664 a feudatory of the empire; the Moghul suzerainty was now once more affirmed and the tribute to the governor of Kashmir, payable every second year (third year according to the Tibetan reckoning), was exactly settled in kind and quantity. Over and beyond the conditions of 1664, the king himself had to accept Islam, which he did

[17] MOORCROFT, *Travels etc.* (London 1842), vol. I, pp. 255-257.

[18] MOORCROFT, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 336: «The ruler of Ladakh pays a tribute, disguised under the name of a present, to the authorities of Gartok, on behalf of the government of Lhasa».

[19] FRANCKE, *Second Collection of Tibet historical inscriptions on rock and stone Western Tibet* (Leh 1907), No. 108.

under the name of Aqibat Mahmud Khan, borne also by all the following kings of Ladakh. He had also to strike coins in the name of the emperor, to keep in good repair the mosque existing at Leh since 1666/7 and to send his younger son 'Jigs-bral-rnam-rgyal as a hostage to Kashmir [autumn 1683] [20]. In laying down these conditions, Fidai Khan was faithfully carrying out Aurangzeb's fanatical religious policy, bent on converting by every means his subjects to Islam. In later times, with the decline of the Moghul empire during the last tragic years of Aurangzeb, this policy was allowed to lapse, and Moorcroft [21] says that «the son and successor of the Raja reverted to the national creed, and the apostacy was overlooked at Delhi in consideration of the encouragement given to Muhammedanism in the court and a small annual present or tribute paid to the governor of Kashmir as the representative of the emperor». These conditions after all were of real interest only to the far-away emperor; but the following one was of the most immediate importance to the governors of Kashmir: the whole of the wool export and transit trade of Ladakh was made a strict monopoly of Kashmir. The importance of this can properly be gauged if we remember that, beside saffron, the chief manufacture and export article of Kashmir has always been the famous shawls, for the fabrication of which a regular supply of wool was essential. And thus it is not to be wondered that the Moghul governors (and after them the Afghan and the Sikh too) allowed the royal house to revert to Buddhism, suffered the tribute to go in abeyance in the long run [22], but always clung steadfastly to their right of monopoly of the wool trade. Moorcroft [23] says that in his time «about eight hundred loads of wool are annually exported to Kashmir, to which country, by ancient custom and engagements, the export is exclusively confined, and all attempts to convey it to other countries are punished by confiscation».

The Moghul themselves had no territorial clams on Ladakh, and contented themselves with the cession of the village of Nabsat (? spelling doubtful and locality unknown; perhaps in Dras or Purig). But a substantial cession was made in favour of Raja Bidhi Singh of Kulu (reigned 1672-88), who seems to have given help to the Moghuls and was now rewarded with the annexation to his state of Upper Lahul, which to this day

[20] CUNNINGHAM, p. 328. The *Tarikh-Kashmiri* mistakes this prince for the king of Ladakh.

[21] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 336.

[22] In Mir Izzet-Ullah's time (1812) the suzerainty of Kashmir was still acknowledged, but the tribute was no longer paid.

[23] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 347

remains a part of Kulu [24]. Purig and some tracts of Baltistan, conquered by the Ladakhis in 1673-4, were restored to their former independence, and we find them by Mir Izzet-Ullah's time (1812) under the control of the Afghan governor of Kashmir.

This war, the only conflict between Tibetan and Indian troops before 1904, was an offensive one from the part of the Lhasa government, motivated chiefly by religious and economic motives. From the Moghul point of view it was a mere secondary operation of local character, an intervention in order to save from a potential enemy the glacis of the Kashmir fortress; it bore thus an essentially defensive character, and the motives were political and also, in a high degree, economic. If one looks deeply into the matter, there is always looming up as incentive, in the form of a right to be defended or of a tribute or monopoly to be imposed, the wool trade. Wool has certainly not been the cause of the war, but it has been an important factor, always to be reckoned with in the relations between the various powers in Western Himalayas. This aspect of this and other conflicts in those regions are nearly always forgotten, and it seemed necessary to me to give it its due place, without at the same time over-emphasizing its influence on the course of the events.

As to Ladakh, there is little to be said. It suffered the fate of all countries which tried to build an empire without that indispensable foundation, a sufficiently large population of the home country. By the imperialistic policy of its kings, Ladakh awakened the jealousy of the one of their mighty neighbours, had to ask the help of the other, and was crushed in the impact between the two, having to pay the expenses for both and to accept their double suzerainty. Ladakh never recovered from this blow and lingered on till its extinction as an independent state by the Dogras of Jammu in 1842.

APPENDIX A

Text and translation of the passage concerning Ladakh in the *Tarikh-i-Kashmiri-i-Azami*, fol. 147a.

[24] HUTCHISON and VOGEL, *History of the Punjab Hill States* (Lahore 1933-1934) vol. II, p. 462.

Text

دیگر آمدنی قلماق بقرة تبت کلان و استعانت راجه تبت از
حضور بوساطت ابراهیم خان و تعین شدن افواج کابل با مداد راجه
تبت بسرداری فدائی خان پسر ابراهیم خان - چون فدائی خان و
خوانین دیگر هزیمت فوج قلماق داده و تسخیر تبت کرده مراجعت
بکشمیر نمودند نیز نمجال تبت را با غنایم و اموال بسیار همراه آوردند -

Translation

And the other [event of the year 1094 A.H. together with the great flood] was the invasion of Great Tibet by the Qalmāqs, the request of assistance by the Raja of Tibet from the Court through the mediation of Ibrahim Khan, and the assigning of the Kabul forces for the help to the Raja of Tibet under the command of Fidai Khan, son of Ibrahim Khan. When Fidai Khan and the other Khans had put to flight the army of the Qalmāqs and had subdued Tibet, they returned to Kashmir, and brought also with them the Namjāl (-rnam-rgyal) of Tibet with much booty and riches.

APPENDIX B

The Namgya Document

Text

Oṃ sba sti l [1] dpal gyi c'os 'k'or [2] lha sa'i žiṅ k'ams 'dir l sa c'en c'os bžin skyoṅ sa mc'og [3] gi žabs pad druṅ du žus pa l sṅon dus sṅa mo nas rgyal po yar mar gñis kyis bzaṅ 'dun gyi [4] dkar 'ts'o'i [5] gnas ts'ul bstan pa ni l de bžin yin te t'og mar mṅa' ri skor gsum gu ge jo [6] bdag po'i mṅa' 'og yin pa'i dus su l la dvags rgyal pos [7] sdud pa yin mṅa' ri mar yul mar stab la dvags k'u nu gñis bar lag mñam rgyag sdud c'og pa yod pa l de'i dus su gžuṅ [8] sa'i dpon dga' ldan ts'e dbaṅ la lha mk'a' 'gro'i luṅ bstan rnams yig 'p'ebs 'byuṅ ba daṅ l da lta k'yer raṅ mṅa' ri p'yogs su dmag dpon la p'yin na mṅa' ri mar yul k'yod raṅ gi mṅa' 'og tu 'gyur yoṅ gsuṅ ba daṅ l dpon dga' ldan ts'e dbaṅ de bžin mṅa' ri p'yogs su dmag dpon la byon pa daṅ l k'u nu rgyal po skyer seṅg gi sku'i

Ms: 1 o so sti; 2 k'or; 3 c'og; 4 gyis; 5 ts'o'i; 6 byo; 7 po'i; 8 byaṅ.

dus du mt'a' p'yogs su rgyal po ñi śu rtsa lṅa daṅ rgyal p'ran bco brgyad la rtsod pa dmag bskuṅ bskul kyaṅ | ts'ur la 'oṅs mk'an ma 'byuṅ ba daṅ | rgyal po skyer siṅg gi dgoṅs pa la g.yu mts'o ma p'aṅ du sku k'rus la 'gro dgos dgoṅs nas c'a p'ebs pa daṅ | gžuṅ sa'i dpon dga' ldan ts'e dbaṅ daṅ k'u nu rgyal po skyer siṅg gñis žaṅ žuṅ [9] gu ge pu gliṅ braṅ zer ba der | rgyal po yar mar gñis žal 'dzom mdzad pa daṅ | de'i dus su gu [10] ru ma ha mu ṇi ts'ad du bžag nas | rgyal po yar mar gñis kyis dkar 'ts'o'i [11] bzaṅ 'dun gser la mdzad pa'i gnas ts'ig skul ba de bžin ste | 'dzam gliṅ sa yi lte [12] ba dus gsum ṅas rgyas kyi p'o braṅ gaṅs dkar ti [13] se nam žu daṅ | c'u ster c'en mo g.yu mts'o ma p'aṅ nam skam daṅ | 'dab c'ags p'o rog nag po la skra dkar nam 'gro'i bar daṅ | skal ba nas stoṅ bar | dkar 'ts'o'i [11] grol [14] lam bzaṅ po śin tu skyoṅ dgos pa'i lha [15] rje t'og rgyal po yar mar gñis kyi sa mts'ams kor gyi las don skye 'gro'i bde [16] t'abs su 'gyur ba'i p'yir | rgyal po yar mar gñis kyis mdzad pa p'o ña baṅ c'en mi sna c'ed btaṅ [17] dgos kyis gnas ts'ig śin tu brtson [18] pa mṅa' ri rdzoṅ mgo gži rtsa braṅ [19] pu raṅ ru t'og gžuṅ sgar du lo gsum bar du k'u nu nas p'o ña rdzoṅ bsdad [20] byas [21] dgos pa daṅ rgyal po yar mar gñis kyi mi sna stod smad gaṅ du p'yin kyaṅ c'a rigs la k'ral [22] sogs spu gaṅ 'groṅ [23] dgos med pa daṅ | rgyal po yar mar gñis kyis dkar 'ts'o'i [5] 'grol [14] lam dug p'or daṅ mts'on c'a [24] bžin dmigs [25] med du gnas ts'ul bstan pa yin lags pa daṅ | de'i dus su gžuṅ sa'i dpon dga' ldan ts'e dbaṅ gi dmag mi skye bo [26] rmams daṅ k'u nu rgyal po skyer siṅ gi dmag mi skye bo rmams dus cig tu ts'ogs nas | la dvags rgyal po'i t'og tu dmag bžag [27] pa | gžuṅ sa yi dpon dga' ldan ts'e dbaṅ daṅ k'u nu blon po dmag dpon mdzad pa'i dmag sgar rmams daṅ | la dvags go ro zer ba der gzim gur sa p'ugs pa daṅ | la dvags lhe la mt'a' [29] mi k'a c'ul daṅ sbal ti śam ma zer ba dmag mi rmams kyis ya c'a skor gsum daṅ kun ts'ogs nas 'dzom [30] yod pa daṅ yod pa daṅ | dpon dga' ldan ts'e dbaṅ gi dgoṅs pa la bdag gis [31] mar yul mar stab mṅa' 'og tu gyur nas 'oṅs t'e ts'om śar ba daṅ | rta p'o śel dkar la zi wa mjug ma'i rtse la dar dkar btags [32] nas | 'og tu smon lam 'di ltar 'debs pa | mṅa' ri skor gsum mṅa' 'og tu 'gyur ba 'byuṅ na | rta p'o śel dkar yaṅ p'yir log pa yin | de'i dus su dpon dga' ldan ts'e dbaṅ t'ugs dgyes [33] pa 'byuṅ ba daṅ | de'i dus su k'u nu bka' blon daṅ gžuṅ sa yi gtso bo rdzoṅ dpon don [34] grub bcas pa gñis kyis | dmag sgar du gyur ba gser dṅul ltaṅ [35] bco [36] lṅa mt'a' [29] mi de ts'o la lkogs su btaṅ ba daṅ | mt'a' [29] mi rmams raṅ raṅgi gnas su p'yir log pa yin | de nas la dvags

10 mgu; 11 mts'o'i; 12 ste; 13 sti; 14 'grel; 15 lhar; 16 bsde; 17 taṅ; 18 rtsan; 19 hraṅ; 20 sde; 21 bya; 22 p'ral; 23 groṅ; 24 ts'o na ma; 25 dmig; 26 p'o; 27 bžig; 29 t'a 30 'jom; 31 gi; 32 rtags; 33 dbyos; 34 daṅ; 35 btaṅ; 36 cos

rgyal po gžuṅ daṅ k'u nu gñis kyis bsdud pa yin lags nas | de ltar byas na mṅa' ri skor gsum gžuṅ sa'i mṅa' 'og tu 'gyur ba yin lags daṅ | žib gsal gžuṅ sa'i dkar c'ag daṅ k'u nu yi t'o yig c'en mo la bkod [37]pa yin | de'i dus su dpon dga' ldan ts'e dbaṅ yaṅ goṅ du gśegs pa yin | de nas dga' ldan ts'e dbaṅ sku mts'ams [38] lo yod zer nas gsaṅ nas | las [39] don rnams gzim dpon dpal bzaṅ [40] gis [41] dṅos sgrub pa yin lags | sṅon dus nas [42] de lta bar du rgyal rabs bcu gsum loṅ ba yin te | k'u nu c'os rgyal raṅ nas ltag c'od [43] don t'og nas spu gaṅ soṅ ba med ste | sṅon dus nas da lta'i bstan pa la p'an c'e ba yod na | da duṅ yin kyaṅ | de ltar mi 'gyur'ba lags žus ||

Translation.

Om Svasti. In this territory of Lhasa, land of the Noble Religion, before the lotus-like feet of the Exalted Government protecting the great country according to religion, [the following statement] is submitted. Formely since the old times the two kings upper and lower [1] were showing the conditions of [those who do] good works desiring the best. Such being [the state of affairs], at the time when at the beginning mṄa'-ris sKor-gsum was subject to the Jo-bdag-po of Guge, it was conquered by the king of Ladakh. It was allowed to collect victuals (or custom duties?) equally in the transit between (?) Bashahr and Ladakh [including] mṄa'-ris, Mar-yul and Mar-stab [2].

At the time the official of the Government, dGa'-ldan-ts'e dbaṅ, got some writings containing prophecies of Devaḍāka. These said: «If now you march as the commander of an army toward mṄa'-ris, mṄa'-ris and Mar-yul will come into your power». The official dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbaṅ accordingly marched as commander of an army toward mṄa'-ris.

At the time of sKyer-Singh, Raja of Bashahr, in the frontier country 25 kings and 18 chieftains were summoned for military service, but there was nobody who came thither. Raja Skyer Singh thought that he ought to go and bathe himself in the Mānasarovar lake, and he went there. The Government official dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbaṅ and the Raja of Bashahr Skyer Singh, at Puling-dang of Guge in Žaṅ-žuṅ, the two kings upper and lower

37 skod; 38 ts'ams; 39 lam; 40 zaṁ; 41 gyi; 42 na; 43 c'ad.

[1] It is difficult to get at the exact meaning of this expression, repeatedly used in the document.

[2] Mar-yul is Ladakh proper. Mar-stab is unknown to me.

had a meeting. At that time, calling to witness Guru Mahāmuṇi, was proclaimed (?) the firm agreement reached by the two kings upper and lower, to act with the golden good intention (?) of the good works. According to it: «Till the Kailāsa of the white snows, palace of the Lord of the three times, navel of the Jambudvīpa, will melt; till the great lake Mānasarovar will empty itself; till the feathers of the winged black raven will become white; till the Kalpa will change; in order that the actions within the circuit of the borders of the two most noble upper and lower kings, who must completely protect the good path of release [consisting in] the good works, may become the means [for obtaining] the happiness of the creatures. Since it is necessary to allow the passage of messengers, couriers and envoys appointed by the two kings upper and lower, the word is completely binding (?). It is necessary that in each period of three years messengers from Bashahr should be sent and made to stay in the capital mṄa'-ris-rdsoṅ (?), at Tsaparang, in Purang, Ruthog and gŽuṅ-sgar (? Gartok). The messengers of the two kings, upper and lower, wherever they go upwards or downwards in that period of time, must not be molested even by a hair with taxes or anything of the sort. The two kings, upper and lower, have shown the proper conditions for the Path of Release [consisting in] good works, without worries about cups of poison or murderous weapons».

At that time the soldiers of the Government official dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbaṅ and the soldiers of sKyer Singh Raja of Bashahr assembled at the same moment. The army was drawn up against the king of Ladakh. [There were] the camps of the Government official dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbaṅ and of the Bashahr minister acting as general. At the place called Go-ro in Ladakh there were the tent (for the general) and the caves (for the soldiers). At Leh in Ladakh the soldiers called frontiersmen Kashmiris and Balti [and] Śam-ma [3] met and massed themselves with the three divisions in the uppermost part (?).

dGa'ldan-ts'e-dbaṅ thought: «The doubt arises in me whether I shall conquer or not Mar-yul and Mar-stab». He tied a white scarf to the extremity of the tail.....(? zi-wa is a word unknown to the dictionaries) of the stallion of Śel-dkar, and then uttered the following prayer: «If mŃa'-ris sKor-gsum will come in my power, may also the horse of Śel-dkar return back». At that time the official dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbaṅ became pleased in his mind.

At the time the minister of Bashahr and the Government chief gover-

[3] Śam-ma, properly gŚam-mi, are the people of Lower Ladakh.

nor Don-grub, these two together, appeared in the camp and gave secretly fifteen loads of gold and silver to the frontiersmen; and the frontiersmen returned to their countries. Then the king of Ladakh was subjugated by the [Lhasa] government and Bashahr.

In this manner mŃa'-ris sKor-gsum has become subject to the Government. [More] completely and clearly this is set forth in the registers of the Government and in the great list of Bashahr.

At the time the official dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbaṅ had already died. Afterwards, this was kept secret by saying that dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbaṅ was in spiritual seclusion. His official duties were discharged by the private secretary dPal-bzaṅ.

From the old times till now 13 royal generations have passed. The righteous Raja of Bashahr has never been wilfully unfaithful, and never departed even by a hair from his pledged word. The above-mentioned [arrangement in vigour] from antiquity till now has a great usefulness for the Teaching. And since it is so even today, we beg that thus it may not be changed.

NOTA SU *MĀBD* E *TWSMT*

La bella edizione dell'*Aḫbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa l-Hind* recentemente curata dal Sauvaget [1] è caratterizzata da un gran numero di felici restituzioni dei nomi geografici citati in questa popolare compilazione del IX secolo, restituzioni per le quali l'editore si è avvalso di tutti i sussidi che altri rami dell'orientalismo potevano offrigli. Naturalmente, nella folla di problemi presentati da questo piccolo interessante testo, ve ne sono alcuni che l'editore non è riuscito a risolvere felicemente. Uno dei più seri problemi è quello presentato dal § 32. Esso parla di un paese مـابد [2], che s'incontra (partendo dall'India) subito dopo il paese dei موجه [3]. È una regione popolosa, i cui abitanti assomigliano ai cinesi. Confinano con la Cina e vivono in pace con essa, ma non le sono sottomessi; scambiano annualmente con essa ambasciatori. Tra loro e la Cina non vi sono che montagne e strade malagevoli.

Il Sauvaget corregge مابد in مادبد che egli vocalizza Mādbud ed interpreta come sMad-bod, basso Tibet. Nella nota esplicativa a p. 55, egli lo identifica col توسمت del *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* [4] e di Berūnī [5]. A p. 69 una nota addizionale del Filliozat propone di interpretare Twsmt (che il Minorsky aveva vocalizzato Tūsmat ed equato con mDo-smad) come sTod[-bod]-smad-[-bod], l'alto ed il basso [Tibet], e ricordando che *stod-bod* sarebbe all'origine del nome arabo-persiano Tubbat e quindi dell'europeo Tibet. Non credo che il Sauvaget abbia avuto la mano felice nella

[1] *Aḫbār aṣ-Sīn wa l-Hind, Relation de la Chine et de l'Indie*, ed. e trad. J. SAUVAGET, Parigi 1948.

[2] Il Sauvaget identifica موجه con i Mu-ch'a dei testi cinesi, popolazione aborigena dell'Yünnan, il che mi sembra alquanto dubbio.

[3] Testi paralleli (Ya'qūbī, Mas'ūdī, Ibn-Rosteh, il *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, Marwazī) hanno le forme مايد, ماند, عابدى, مانك .

[4] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, trad. MINORSKY, Londra 1937, pp. 61-93.

[5] *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, citato in *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marwazī on China, India and the Turks*, ed. MINORSKY, Londra 1942, pp. 68 e 91-92.

sua ricostruzione. Soprattutto fa meraviglia di veder riapparire dopo tanti anni lo spettro dello *stod-bod* = *tö-pö* = Tubbat, dopo che fin dal 1914 il Laufer aveva dimostrato la fallacia etimologica e l'inesistenza storica della forma *stod-bod*, pura ipotesi di orientalisti europei del secolo scorso, che non ricorre in alcun testo tibetano [6]. Agli argomenti del Laufer si può anche aggiungere che *stod* e *smad* normalmente seguono il nome, e non lo precedono; ci si attenderebbe quindi *Bod-stod, e non *sTod-bod. Credo che valga la pena di riprendere la questione di Mābd e Twsmt da un altro punto di vista.

Manca finora uno studio critico sulle suddivisioni del Tibet all'epoca della monarchia (dal VII al IX secolo). La traduzione posteriore, codificata alla fine del XVIII secolo da Kloń-rdol Bla-ma, attribuisce ai tempi della monarchia il seguente schema: tutto il paese «si divide in Bod (Tibet) e Bod-c'en-po (grande Tibet; evidente ricalco sulla distinzione indiana tra Cīna e Mahācīna). Il Bod-c'en-po è distinto in mDo-stod (valli alte) e mDo-smad (valli bassi). Il mDo-stod comprende i Bar-k'ams-pa (?), ed il mDo-smad corrisponde al paese di Amdo. Il Bod è i quattro *ru* (ali d'esercito) del dBus-gTsań (Tibet centrale). I due *ru* del dBus sono dBu-ru, ossia sKyid-śod (la regione di Lhasa), e gYas-ru, ossia Ṅams-śod (?) e Lho-k'a (la zona a nord del Bhutan). I due *ru* di gTsań sono il Ru-lag, ossia Śab-'gyed (la zona tra Sa-skya e Gyantse), ed il gYas-ru, ossia il paese del Ñań-c'u (la zona di Gyantse)»[7]. Essenzialmente, Kloń-rdol indica col nome di Bod lo stato tibetano vero e proprio fondato da gNam-ri-sroń-btsan intorno al 600, e col nome di Bod-c'en-po le conquiste di Sroń-btsan-sgam-po e dei suoi successori nel corso del VII secolo, specialmente il territorio degli 'A-ža (T'u-yü-hun) nell'odierno Amdo.

Che queste suddivisioni risalgono almeno in parte all'epoca della monarchia, è cosa certa. Bod-c'en-po è menzionato nell'iscrizione di Lhasa dell'822 [8]. mDo-smad, dBu-ru, Ru-lag ricorrono ripetutamente nei documenti di Tun-huang dell'VIII secolo [9]. È però da notare che nell'iscrizione di Lhasa Bod è sinonimo di Bod-c'en-po.

Ponendo in relazione con questi termini i nomi della geografia araba

[6] LAUFER, *Bird Divination among the Tibetans*, in *T'oung Pao*, XV (1914), pp. 86-87 *n.*, 95-96 *n.* Cf. anche PELLIOT, *Quelques transcriptions chinoises de noms tibétains*, in *T'oung Pao*, XVI (1915), pp. 18-19.

[7] *bsTan-pa'i-sbyin-bdag-byuń-ts'ul-miń-gi-grańs*, fasc.'*A* (23°) delle opere complete, foll. 4*a*-5*b*.

[8] LAUFER, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[9] BACOT, THOMAS e TOUSSAINT, *Documents de Touen-houang rélatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Parigi 1940, indice.

possiamo vedere che Twsmt del *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* e di Marwazī è una buona trascrizione fonetica di mDo-smad: non v'è bisogno di pensare ad una forma *stod-smad* non attestata nelle fonti e la cui corrispondenza fonetica offre delle difficoltà [10]. Nel commento al *Ḥudūd ad-'Ālam*, p. 259, il Minorsky aveva posto Twsmt a sud di Khotan, ma nel commento a Marwazī, pp. 91-92, basandosi puramente su dati geografici, egli lo ha giustamente localizzato nell'Amdo. Siccome anche l'equivalenza fonetica non fa difficoltà, mi sembra ormai acquisita l'equazione Twsmt = mDo-smad = Amdo.

Rimane da trovare una spiegazione plausibile per il Mābd. La sua descrizione nel § 32 dal punto di vista etnico e storico non sembra potersi applicare ad altro che al potente stato tibetano, che pochi anni prima della compilazione del nostro testo (851) era al suo apogeo. Siccome il paragrafo in questione fa parte di una serie di notizie raccolte nei porti dell'India e dell'Asia meridionale, nella di più naturale che spiegare Mābd come un nome indiano del Tibet. Mābd va vocalizzato Mābud, ed è una buona trascrizione di Mabābhoṭa, parola che è attestata nelle fonti sanscrite [11] ed è la traduzione del Bod-c'en-po del pilastro di Lhasa. Foneticamente e strutturalmente abbiamo un parallelo perfetto colla forma ben nota Māṣīn [12] o Māčīn [13], trascrizioni del sanscrito Mahācīna, indicante la Cina settentrionale.

Non è sorprendente per una compilazione del genere della presente che questo Mābd sia a causa di un doppione; abbiamo infatti nel § 73, in connessione con i Toġuz Oquz, la menzione del *qaġan* del Tubbat. Il compilatore non si è accorto, nè lo poteva, di parlare dello stesso paese sotto due nomi differenti. Mentre Mābud è il Tibet visto dal versante indiano, Tubbat è lo stesso Tibet visto nella parte dell'Asia centrale [14].

[10] Nel tibetano del XI secolo le consonanti finali conservano il loro pieno valore; per *stod-smad* ci si attenderebbe quindi una trascrizione توتمت.

[11] Nel *Romakasiddhānta* (opera di astronomia del V secolo fortemente ritoccata posteriormente) e nel *Ratnakośa* (opuscolo jaina di data incerta). *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae bodleianae, VIII: AUFRECHT, Codices sanscritici*, Oxford 1864, pp. 339 e 352.

[12] Vedi ad es. KĀŠĠARĪ, *Dīvān Luġāt at-Turk*, Istanbul 1915-1917, vol. I, p. 28.

[13] MARWAZĪ p. 18. Testi posteriore raccolti in FERRAND, *Rélations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs rélatifs à l'Extrème Orient*, Parigi 1913-1914, vol. II, pp. 552, 559, 560.

[14] Sul Tubbat degli autori arabi vedi il mio articolo *Il Tibet nella geografia musulmana*, in *Rendiconti dell'Acc. Lincei, Cl. sc. mor. st. e fil.*, serie VIII, vol. II (1947), pp. 55-70.

THE MISSIONS OF BOGLE AND TURNER ACCORDING TO THE TIBETAN TEXTS

Warren Hastings, the most farsighted man the British ever sent to India, was the only governor-general who tried to open friendly relations with the Tibetans on a mainly commercial basis, without paying excessive attention to international politics. He twice sent British officials on mission to the Panchen Lama, and maintained an interchange of friendly letters and presents with Tashilhunpo during the whole period of his governorship. The preference given to the Panchen Lama was due not merely to the fact that he was the Tibetan authority nearest to India; the Third Panchen Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan-ye-śes (1738-1780) was a forceful personality who had succeeded in gaining the highest influence both in Tibet and at the Chinese court. On the other hand the Eighth Dalai-Lama Blo-bzaṅ-'jam-dpal-rgya-mts'o (1758-1804) was still a minor, and even after reaching majority proved to be a man of little energy and independence; thus it came about that the jealousy and suspicions of the Chinese ambans and of the Tibetan regent always prevented Warren Hastings's envoys from reaching Lhasa.

The picture we gain from the travel accounts of the British envoys is fascinating, but one-sided. Nobody till now had thought of looking into the Tibetan records of the time for finding out what the Tibetans thought of these missions, of their aims and their character. The only exception is Sarat Chandra Das, who in one of his informative, but confused and unreliable articles, gave an abstract of the passages of the *Autobiography of the Third Panchen Lama* concerning the mission of George Bogle [1]. His version is garbled and sometimes the translator has inserted his own opinions without distinguishing them as such. I have thought it therefore useful to take up the subject again.

[1] S. Ch. DAS, Contributions on the Religion, History etc. of Tibet: V, The Lives of the Panchen Rinpoche or Tashi-Lamas, in *JASB* 1882, pp. 15-52. S. Ch. Das nowhere mentions the *Autobiography* as his source.

The Tibetan sources for the history of the seventies and eighties of the 18th century are the official biographies of the Eighth Dalai-Lama and of the Fourth Panchen Lama, the autobiography of the Third Panchen Lama, the collection of lives of the K'ri Rin-po-c'e (abbots of dGa'-ldan) and the biographies of some private individuals (Dharmabhadra, Yoṅs-'dsin-c'en-po). A perusal of these texts elicited the fact that the British missions are nowhere mentioned but in the lives of the Third and Fourth Panchen Lamas. This was to be expected, because they never went to Lhasa and had thus no occasion of coming into the range of view of the chroniclers of that region; for the same reason they find no place in the contemporary collections of Chinese state documents (*Ta-Ch'ing li-ch'ao-shih-lu*). What we can find in the biographies of the Panchen Lamas is not much and is a bare record of formal audiences; but we must account ourselves lucky for this little. Bogle and Turner remained only some months in Tibet, but still left several traces in the Tibetan records, while the Italian missionaries who preceded them and who stayed in Lhasa for so many years [2] are mentioned only once in the Tibetan sources [3].

I. The mission of George Bogle

The first British envoy to Tibet was George Bogle (1746-1781), a civil servant of the East India Company. The absorbing tale of his journey can be read in the fine edition published by Clements Markham [4], which included also a useful abstract of the diplomatic precedents of the mission. To the history of these precedents the Tibetan texts contribute several useful pieces of information.

The Tibetan source for this mission is the Autobiography of the Third Panchen Lama [5]. This prince of the Lamaist church was born on

[2] The Jesuit Ippolito Desideri 1716-1721; the Italian Capuchins 1707-1711, 1716-1733, 1741-1745.

[3] In the Life of the Seventh Dalai-Lama, f. 292 b.

[4] *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*, London 1879. Cfr. also Diskalkar, Bogle's embassy to Tibet, in *Indian Historical Quarterly* IX (1933), pp. 420-438.

[5] Full title: *rje bla ma srid ži'i gtsug rgyan paṇ c'en t'ams cad mk'yen pa blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye śes dpal bzaṅ po'i žal sṅa nas kyi rnam par t'ar pa*. First volume (*Ka*) of the complete works (*gsuṅ-'bum*). The term autobiography is really a misnomer. The work is more in the nature of a court diary, relating day by day (and its chronology is therefore very exact) the religious ceremonies and the official audiences granted by the Panchen-Lama. Because of its very character, it does not afford much insight in the current events of Tibet. It stops whith the end of 1776.

December 21st, 1738, in the village of bKra-śis-rtse in Śaṅs [6] and was officially proclaimed on October 26th, 1740. He was carefully educated in Tashilhunpo, and developed into a most open-minded and worldwise churchman. He had a strong leaning for politics and diplomacy. His own temporal position afforded him few possibilities of exerting his talents, as he ruled only over three districts in Western gTsaṅ, which the Chinese had granted to his predecessor in 1728. This territory too he held only under the suzerainty of the Dalai-Lama and the supervision of the Chinese Ambans in Lhasa. But the minority of the Eighth Dalai-Lama, which lasted from 1758 to 1776, gave him the occasion for increasing his influence. In these years he was one of most important factors in Tibetan politics, in excellent relations with the Nomun Khan De-mo Ṅag-dbaṅ-'jam-dpal, usually styled the De-mo Khutuktu, regent of Tibet from 1757 to 1777. The Panchen Lama was a most energetic and active ruler, always eager for information about countries outside Tibet. Through his political activities he was well acquainted with things Chinese. On the other hand, relations with the southern countries were practically non-existent. The Himalaya, and still more so the pestilential jungles of the Terai and the Duars, cut Tibet effectively off any political interference from India. Cultural relations had gradually ceased after the Muslim conquest. A certain revival during the times of the Fifth Dalai-Lama [7] was only shortlived. Still India had impressed too deeply its mark on Tibetan culture; it remained forever in Tibetan minds the holy country of Buddhism, whence religion, literature and culture had come to the Land of Snows. The knowledge of Sanskrit in Tibet had nearly died out. One of its last representatives was the Third Panchen Lama himself; in an interview granted on the 12th day the 8th month [8] of 1771 to dGa-bži Pandita [9] he had bantered him because of his name of Pandita, which of course was a mere courtesy title, and had challenged him to reply to a sentence which he was

[6] Teshu-tzay of Bogle, in the lower valley of the Śaṅs (Shiang) river, a left-bank tributary of the Tsangpo, to the N.N.E. of Tashilhunpo.

[7] TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949, p. 75. On the Tibetan translation of Pāṇini made by order of the Fifth Dalai-Lama, see Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya, Tibetan Translation of Prakriyā-Kaumudī and the mention of Siddhānta-Kaumudī therein, in *Indian Historical Quarterly* XX (1944), pp. 63-69.

[8] [September 19th. The following dates are calculated according to the tables of D. SCHUH, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung*, Wiesbaden 1973].

[9] A Tibetan nobleman, who was a member of the Lhasa council of ministers from 1740 to 1783. He died in 1792.

going to pronounce in Sanskrit [10]. He possessed also some knowledge of Hindustani; on the 5th day of the 9th month (October 12th) of 1771 he was visited by Ācārya Su-ka-de-bo-gi-ri (Sukhadevagiri) from India, and he was able to hold with him «an Indian conversation in the language of the Ācārya» [11]. Beside these cultural interests of the Panchen-Lama, there was a sharp increase in the importance of trade relations. Bengal and Bihar had just come out of the long turmoil which followed the break-up of the Moghul empire, and the strong hand of the British had restored security to the trade routes in the plains of Eastern India. Trade with the hills was practically monopolized by that curious class of wandering monks, half traders and religious mendiants (and sometimes robbers), the Gosains. This had been going on for many years; already in 1741 the Capuchin Father Cassiano Beligatti, depicting a religious procession in Lhasa, mentions the presence of «about 40 Azzarrà (*ācārya*), i.e. religious men from Hindustan, who are rich merchants, proceeding on horseback and dressed in China brocades» [12]. Through them, some European produce began to find their way into Tibet. One of the presents offered by Ācārya Sukhadevagiri to the Panchen-Lama was a pair of European spectacles [13], which created a mild sensation at the court of Tashilhunpo.

[10] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, f. 307 b.

[11] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, f. 308 a. Bogle too speaks of the Panchen Lama's knowledge of Hindustani; Markham, p. 84.

[12] MAGNAGHI, *Relazione inedita di un viaggio al Tibet del P. Cassiano Beligatti da Macerata*, Florence 1902 pp. 82-83 [Now in *Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, IV, 125].

[13] *P'e-reṅ śel-mig*. The word *p'e-reṅ* is a transcription of the Persian-Indian Ferengī, European. See LAUFER, Loan words in Tibetan, in *T'oung Pao* XVII (1916), n. 141. But Laufer's discussion can now be completed on certain points, and it is worthwhile to trace the story of this interesting word. Its introduction in Tibet can be dated whit a fair approximation in the following manner. The word is unknown to Tibetan texts prior to 1743, when it occurs in the *Life of the Seventh Dalai-Lama*, f. 292 b, under the form *p'e-raṅ-ga*. We can also look for it in the documents issued by the Tibetan authorities to the Capuchin mission in Lhasa. As already stated, the mission stayed in Lhasa 1707-1711, 1716-1733 and 1741-1745. For the first period we have no documents. For the second there are the six documents issued by the Dalai-Lama, by the regents K'aṅ-c'en-nas (1721-1727) and P'o-lha-nas (1728-1747) and by the finance department, and reproduced in Giorgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, Rome 1762, pp. 651-662. The word *p'e-reṅ* is not found in them, and the Capuchins are called solely by the term mGo-dkar Bla-ma (white-headed lamas). For the third period we have two documents granting religious freedom, issued in 1741 by the Dalai-Lama and P'o-lha-nas; the originals are still preserved in the Archives of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in Rome (*Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali*, vol. 711, ff. 162 and 164) [*Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, IV, 210, 213]. In both of them the word *p'e-reṅ* is used as a synonym for the vernacular Italian

European glass ware and fire-arms are frequently mentioned in the following years.

The first Indian ruler to recognize the increased importance of Tibet for trade relations, was Chait Singh, raja of Benares (1770-1781), Though nominally dependent from the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh, the ambitious prince was behaving quite independently. Some approaches by the Tashi-Lama led him to eagerly grasp the occasion for opening diplomatic and commercial relations with Tashilhunpo, screening them behind the religious motive. In the fifth month (June-July) of 1771 the Panchen Lama had sent the monk (*dge-slon*) *druṅ-ram-pa* Blo-bzaṅ-ts'e-riṅ of 'Broṅ-rtse [14] to carry offerings and presents to the Mahabodhi at Bodh-Gaya and to several Nepalese shrines. On the 6th day of the 10th month (October 30th) of 1772 this monk was back in Tibet and had an audience with the Panchen Lama at bDe-c'en-rab-rgyas [15]; the latter had taken his residence there in the 11th month (December) of 1771, to avoid a smallpox epidemic then raging in Tashilhunpo. The monk had brought with him complimentary letters from the Gorkha king and the ruler (*sa-skyoṅ*) of Benares, along with some earth from the holy places and water of the Ganges. He satisfied all the eager inquiries of the Panchen Lama about present conditions in the old holy land of Magadha [16]. Shortly afterwards on the 24th day of the 11th month (December 30th) the Lama was visited by one Ācārya Su-ga-dhi-gi-ri (Sugatigiri), who presented him with many rare objects: a right-winded conch, pearls and corals, spectacles, a Singhalese parrot [17].

As intercourse had shown itself utterly feasible, the Panchen-Lama in 1773 sent out again Blo-bzaṅ-ts'e-riṅ with three other monks to visit and carry gifts to the Mahabodhi, Pre-yag (Allahabad), Vā-ra-na-si (Benares), the Nairañjana river (near Gaya) and other holy places. The other three monks could not bear the heat of the plains and, like so many other Tibetan pilgrims, died in India. There is a long complaint in our text about the

word Europiani (transliterad E'u-ro-p'i'a-ni in the Tibetan text). The same word (misspelt *p'o-raṅ*) is found in a letter of the *bka'-blon* T'on-pa to Father Francesco Orazio della Penna, quoted in GIORGI, p. 654 n. It is thus likely that the word was brought to Tibet between 1730 and 1740, probably by the Gosains, who had begun to frequent the Lhasa market in that period.—A second stage in represented by our *p'e-reṅ*; and still later the word received a Tibetan garb as *p'yi-gliṅ*, meaning literally [man of] foreign countries.

[14] Dongtse on the Nyangchu, to the S.E. of Tashilhunpo.

[15] Desheripgay of Bogle, near Nam-riṅ (Namling-dsong of the maps) on the Shiangchu.

[16] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, f. 321 b.

[17] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, f. 322 a.

heat, the poisonous snakes and the robbers on the roads. But Blo-bzaṅ-ts'e-riṅ surmounted all these difficulties, powerfully aided by the respect that the bare mention of the name of the Panchen-Lama elicited in India. He arrived at Ka-śi or Vā-ra-na-si and sought an audience with its ruler Tse-ṭe Siṅ Bha-dur (Chait Singh Bahadur). The monk laid to his feet the presents of the Panchen Lama, and Chait Singh rose from his *gaddi* in order to receive them; he generally showed the highest respect for the Panchen-Lama and his envoy. After a short stay, Blo-bzaṅ-ts'e-riṅ left Benares with an escort supplied by the Raja, and after a fortnight's journey reached Gaya. He made his obeisances and laid his offerings before the Mahabodhi, praying for the long life of the Panchen-Lama, for the prosperity of the dominions of the Chinese emperor and for the welfare of the Buddhist teaching and community. Soon the rumour spread in the region that the Panchen-Lama had sent offerings to the Mahabodhi, and a great crowd gathered to gaze at the monk from the Land of Snows, each of those men honouring him according to their various customs. After having performed his pilgrimage to the remaining holy places, Blo-bzaṅ-ts'e-riṅ returned to the court of Chait Singh, who thanked him sincerely for having come back. Under the guidance of the Raja, the monk visited the holy places of Benares. When he left, he was accompanied by envoys sent by the Raja and by his general (*dmag-dpon*) Lal-la Ka-śi-mi-ri Mal (Lala Kashmiri Mal). These envoys, bearers of complimentary letters to the Panchen-Lama, were Gu-saṅ Ki-śin-pu-ri (Gosain Kishenpuri) and So-pa-ram (Sobha Ram). As supposed men of religion, they were entitled to a special audience with the Panchen-Lama. And in fact the Benares envoys and Blo-bzaṅ-ts'e-riṅ on the 6th day of the 7th month (August 13th) of 1774 were received by the Panchen-Lama at bDe-c'en-rab-rgyas. Of course the Panchen-Lama was flattered by the compliments and presents from a ruler of India. He at once caused the letter to be translated into Tibetan. As it contains only the usual empty forms of courtesy and has been fairly faithfully translated by S. Ch. Das, it is useless to give its version here; the same can be said of the letter of Kashmiri Mal. The black stone images of Śākyamuni and Maitreya brought by Blo-bzaṅ-ts'e-riṅ from Bodh-Gaya were the object of solemn worship by the Panchen-Lama and his attendants [18].

Blo-bzaṅ-ts'e-riṅ was later sent to Tashilhunpo to place the presents from India before the image of Śākyamuni, reciting two Sanskrit ślokas

[18] This interesting little travel relation is found in the *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, ff. 343b-345b. Cfr. S. Ch. Das, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35.

composed by the Panchen-Lama for the occasion [19]. On the 15th day of the 9th month (October 19th) some Ācāryas (details lacking) visited the Lama, offering him European products as presents.

All the above narration has no direct bearing on our purpose, but it goes to show that the intercourse between Tashilhunpo and India had become rather frequent in the three years preceeding Bogle's mission, so that Warren Hastings's decision to despatch an envoy was not wholly a stroke of genius, but was dictated by precedents and present conditions. It goes also to explain the presence of the «vakils of Cheyt Singh» whom Bogle found at the court of the Panchen-Lama.

It is beyond the scope of this article to give an account of the precedents of the mission; I must refer the reader to Markham's useful preface to Bogle's *Narrative*. A mere summary of the main events may suffice. The ruler (*sde-srid* or *srid-skyoṅ*) of Bhutan had overrun Sikkim some years before. In 1771 [20] the Bhutanese descended in the plains and invaded Kuch-Behar, taking the Raja prisoner. The royal family applied for help to Warren Hastings, who despatched a battalion of sepoys. The Bhutanese were driven from Kuch-Behar and chased into the Duars (winter 1772-1773). The Bhutanese government in these straights entreated the Panchen-Lama to intervene in their favour. The Lama sent a mission to Calcutta, consisting of a Tibetan named Paima (Padma) and a Hindu pilgrim, that Purangir Gosain who later journeyed repeatedly (till 1786) to Tashilhunpo, alone or in attendance on the British envoys. They brought a letter of the Panchen-Lama, in which he begged the governor-general to stop hostilities against Bhutan. This letter, received in Calcutta on March 29th, 1774, had the desired effect. The peace treaty with Bhutan was concluded at once, and Hastings seized the favourable occasion for sending a mission to open relations with Tibet. On May 13th George Bogle was formally appointed for this task [21].

Thus far the English documents. What the Tibetans knew of the matter amounts to this: On the 5th day of the 11th month (December 11th) of 1771 the Panchen-Lama had received envoys sent by the Bhutanese ruler ('Brug *sde-srid*) bŽi-dar [22]. They brought the reply to a former request by the Panchen-Lama: the latter had sent an official to the Bhutanese ruler, to kindly advise him that

[19] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, f. 347 a-b.
[20] Not in 1772 as found in Markham.
[21] MARKHAM, pp. LXVII-LXVIII, I n.
[22] Bogle's Deb Judhur, Eden's Deb Jeedah.

the Raja of Gha-ṭi-ka (Kuch-Behar), who had been taken prisoner by the *sde-srid*, should better be released.

The *sde-srid* had at once professed himself submissive to the will of his spiritual superior, to whom he sent rich presents. Now a letter of his was handed to the Panchen-Lama, in which he informed that.

> the *sde-srid* had not in the least opposed this order, and the Raja of Gha-ṭi-ka had been immediately released [23].

This diplomatic success was well noted by the rulers of the Himalayan states. On the 1st day of the 7th month (August 19th) of 1773, the Panchen-Lama received a large Gorkha embassy, headed by Bharma-ca-ri Bha-gi-ra-thi (Brahmacari Bhagirathi) and Ja-yas-ram T'a-pa (Jayas Ram Thapa). Besides their own business, the embassy had also a message from their ruler for the Panchen-Lama:

> On this occasion the Gurkha ruler submitted: it is a fact there is a war going on between some rulers (*sa-skyoṅ*) such as those of Bhutan ('Brug) and of the Europeans (*P'e-reṅ*); if Your Holiness would interpose your mediation, it would be a great favour.— [The Panchen-Lama] replied as follows: What the ruler requests, is a just thing. It will be useful against the interruption of trade and the war in Bhutan. Not only the Nepal is the country of the kings of the dynasty of king Amśuvarman, but it is also the territory where exist both the orthodox religion and the one of the common people, both orthodox and heterodox. To repair the damage done to their shrines and temples, and to improve the facilities and routes for the pilgrims, this must be done by the king. This letter of reply was handed out [to the envoys] with parting gifts for each [24].

It seems thus that Gorkha pressure contributed a great deal towards the mediatory step of the Panchen-Lama.

The diplomatic action of the Panchen-Lama is thus described in his Autobiography:

> Formely, when the Raja of Gha-ṭi-ka was taken prisoner by the *sde-srid* of Bhutan bŽi-dar, the servants of the Raja had applied for support to the lord (*bdag-po*) of Bhan-gha-la in India. Because of this the Bhutanese and the lord of Bhangha-la fell out and began hos-

[23] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, ff. 311b-312a. Cfr. S. Ch. Das, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

[24] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, ff. 329 a-b.

tilities. Some districts of the Bhutanese were evacuated [by their troops] and many creatures of that country were harassed by the miseries [of war]. As in my mind I could not bear it, I sent my messengers (*sku-ts'ad*) with a letter giving the following advice: «Having well thought about past and future profits and losses, there is need for love and compassion». When this letter arrived, the lord of Bhangha-la too listened with respect to my word. He gave back the districts of Bhutan, and on both sides they remained without fighting. This was the remedy which produced the happiness of many creatures. Thus, when the compassion of the most excellent Lama began, he issued his mandates and letters also in that country of various religious systems and geographical features, by his power encompassing all the creatures who are innumerable like the light of the Lord of the Seven Horses (the sun). Everybody received it respectfully as if it were the command of his own master. Having extended to a long distance the appeasement of fighting, he acted according to the suitable time for fulfilling his glory of utility and happiness [25].

This passage is rather a disappointment; it gives only vague hints about the interesting letter to Warren Hastings, edited by Markham in its English version (made through the medium of Persian). I wonder if the Tibetan original is still preserved in the archives of the Government of India.

No further mention of the matter is found in the *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, till the arrival of Bogle. The latter had left Calcutta in the middle of May 1774 and had travelled to Bhutan. In Tassisudon (bKra-śis-c'os-rdsoṅ) he succeeded with some difficulty in obtaining from the Panchen-Lama permission to proceed to gTsaṅ. In October he left Tassisudon, and on November 8th he arrived to bDe-c'en-rab-rgyas; on the same afternoon he was received for the first time by the Panchen-Lama. The *Autobiography* places the audience on the 2nd day of the 10th month (November 4th) and its entry is very short and formal:

> Ācārya Bho-gol with his attendants offered presents of glass bottles etc., and took their appointed places for the distribution of ceremonial tea; they made conversation in the Nagara language (Hindustani) [26].

[25] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, ff. 343b-344a. Cfr. S. Ch. Das, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[26] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, f. 349 a. Cfr. S. Ch. Das, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

This notice is enclosed among several others referring to various Tibetan dignitaries who were received on the same day; so this was no special audience. The title of Ācārya of course did not indicate a Sanskrit scholar, but was normally applied to every man of parts coming from India. The Panchen Lama must have been glad to have the occasion of talking Hindustani, «of which he has a moderate knowledge and is fond of speaking it» [27].

Subsequent meetings were much more cordial and informal; but for this very reason they are not registered in the *Autobiography*, which, being a court diary, mentions only the state audiences. On December 7th the Panchen Lama, accompanied by Bogle, left bDe-c'en-rab-rgyas on his return journey to Tashilhunpo, and some days later he was back in his palace after in absence of three years. The journey is described in some detais in the *Autobiography*, which however merely confirms in the broad lines Bogle's narrative (specially concerning the enthusiastic welcome in Tashilhunpo), without any substantial addition. The Panchen Lama left on the 12th day of the 11th month (December 14th) halted two days in his native village bKra-śis-rtse, and reached Tashilhunpo on the 17th day of the 11th month (December 19th) [28].

On the 18th day of the 11th month (December 20th) the Panchen Lama gave a state audience, to which a good many dignitaries and envoys from Tibet and Mongolia were present; in the midst of the long list we find

> Bho-gol Sa-heb of the land Bhan-ga-la in India together with his attendants, and the envoys of the ruler of Benares Tse-te Siṅ Bha-dur and of Ka-śi-mi-ri Mal, the 'Gu-bzaṅ (Gosains) with their servants [29].

It is the same audience described by Bogle in Markham, pp. 102-103 and 146-147. Bogle writes that he took part in many others of these ceremonies, but only one more is registered in the Tibetan text. It took place on the 28th day of the 11th month (December 30th).

> On this day [the Panchen-Lama] gave to Bho-gol Sa-heb and his attendants a joyful midday feast (*guṅ-ston*) at his side; his order was exactly carried out (*bka'-žib-tu-p'ebs*) [30].

[27] MARKHAM, p. 84.
[28] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, ff. 351 a-352 a.
[29] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, f. 352 a.
[30] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, f. 354 a.

Bogle's mission was not wholly successful. He had met with several difficulties. It seems that the Benares envoys were intriguing against him. The Panchen-Lama had been uniformly helpful and sympathetic, but the Lhasa regent De-mo Khutukhtu [31] was watching with jealousy and hostility the activities of the mission. His two envoys to Tashilhunpo were decidedly unfriendly. Still, Bogle had opened the way to what promised to be a regular intercourse. His task was now to an end; on April 3rd, 1775, he took his official leave from the Panchen-Lama, and on the 7th April 1775 he left Tashilhunpo for India. Says the *Autobiography*:

> On the 7th day of the 3rd month (April 7th) during an interview after dinner with Bho-gol Sa-heb, the Bengalis and their attendants, [the Panchen-Lama] held a conversation in the language of Madhyadeśa (*yul-dbus*), and gave to the two men leave to depart, with pleasing presents of garments etc. and with his reply [to the governor-general] along with accompanying gifts [32].

The Benares envoys stayed in Tibet only a few weeks more. On the 18th day of the 5th month (July 15th).

> Ki-śiṅ-pu-ri, the envoy of the ruler of Ka-śi in India, was given parting presents; the Panchen-Lama handed to him a message with gifts for the Ka-śi Raja and for Kashmiri Mal [33].

The role of these envoys was over once and for all. In the same year Shuja ud-daula, the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh, ceded to the East India Company the suzerainty over Benares. Direct British supervision cut short Chait Singh's ambitious schemes, even before they could take a definitive shape.

This is not the place for entering in further particulars about Bogle's mission. Let us only remember that the friendly intercourse between Warren Hastings and the Third Panchen-Lama continued till the latter's departure for Peking in 1779. In the *Autobiography*, which stops with the end of 1776 [34], there is only one more entry about these relations. On the 13th day of the 12th month (January 21st, 1777) the Panchen-Lama

[31] Bogle's Gesub Rimboché, i.e. rGyal-ts'ab Rin-po-c'e.

[32] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, f. 357 b. Cfr. S. Ch. Das, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[33] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, f. 359 a. Cfr. S. Ch. Das, *loc. cit.*

[34] Or more precisely with February 1777, as the Tibetan year begins with the new moon of February.

sent out some men to convey his compliments to the Bha-ra Sa-heb (Bara Saheb, the Great Lord, the governor-general) ruler of Bhangha-la in India, and to offer sacrifices at the various holy places of that country [35].

II. The mission of Samuel Turner

When the Fourth Panchen-Lama Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan-bstan-pai-ñi-ma (1782-1853) was formally installed at Tashilhunpo, Warren Hastings sent at once a mission to convey his congratulations and to continue the friendly relations started by Bogle. For this duty he selected captain Samuel Turner [36], who travelled by the same route as Bogle and arrived at Tashilhunpo on September 22nd, 1783. After a stay of two months, he left for Bengal, and on his way back on December 4th (and again on the 6th) he paid his respects to the child Panchen-Lama in the monastery of Terpaling [37]. The official *Life of the Fourth Panchen-Lama* [38] has the following entry about Turner's mission. The Panchen-Lama

> gave an audience to the congratulatory envoy, minister (*blon-po*) Dha-ṣa [40] together with his suite of about ten men, sent by the Bhara Sa-heb of the Iṅka-ral-c'e (English) [49], lord of Ka-la-ka-dha (Calcutta). He brought many not unconsiderable presents, such as from the Bhara Sa-heb pearls, fine earrings of coral, a clepsydra fuctioning with particles of gems (a watch with its rubies), spectacles, two pieces of special Russian (*rgya-ser*) cloth, silver cups full of nutmegs and cloves; from the minister various woollen headgears, pieces of

[35] *Autobiography of the Third Panchen-Lama*, f. 373 a.

[36] He published his relation under the title *An account of an embassy to the court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet*, London 1800.

[37] T'ar-pa-gliṅ, near Ża-lu, S. W. of Tashilhumpo, on which see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. IV/2 (Rome 1941), p. 70. In the *Vaidūrya-ser-po*, f. 197a, it is called 'Broṅ-rtse-c'os-sde T'ar-pa-gliṅ. But in the *Life of the Fourth Panchen-Lama* the monastery has the name dGa'-ldan-legs-bśad-c'os-gliṅ.

[38] Full title: *Rab 'byams rgyal ba'i spyi gzugs skyabs mgon paṇ c'en t'ams cad mk'yen pa rje btsun blo bzaṅ dpal ldan bstan pa'i ñi ma p'yogs las rnam rgyal dpal bzaṅ po'i žal sṅa nas kyi sku gsuṅ t'ugs kyi rnam par t'ar 'dsam gliṅ mdses rgyan*. Written by the *p'yag-mdsod* Jasak Lama sMan-ri-ba Blo-bzaṅ-grub-mc'og in 1863.

[39] As shown by the following Ka-la-ka-dha, *dh* transcribes English *t*; *ṣ* is perhaps a mistake for *n*, as the two letters are not very different in the Tibetan script. Tana would be therefore a tollerable transcription of Turner.

[40] From Bengali *Iṅgrājī*.

skyin-k'ab (*kimkhvāb*, gold brocade) etc. They were accepted very gladly. The minister with his suite were given a place at the cerimonial tea with great cheerfulness; they showed great rejoicing. Althought they were not knowers of the niceties of religion, by merely gazing [at the Panchen-Lama] an irrepressible faith was born in them, and they said: «In such a little body there are activities of body, speech and mind so greatly marvellous and different from the others!» Thus they said with great reverence. The Panchen-Lama granted them a parting audience with great rejoicing, a reply and rich presents for the Bha-ra Sa-heb, and highly satisfactory gifts for the minister with his attendants [41].

The mention of the watch identifies this audience with that of the 6th December described by Turner.

III. The last Mission of Purangir Gosain

We come now to the last embassy sent out by Warren Hastings. The great governor-general could not see its results, because he left India before it even started, in February 1785. The envoy sent to the Panchen-Lama was Purangir Gosain, the same monk-trader who had started the first contacts in 1774 and who had accompanied the Third Panchen-Lama to Peking in 1780. He left Calcutta in March 1785, and on the 9th May he had an audience with the child Panchen-Lama, to whom he handed the letters and presents sent by Warren Hastings. In October he left Tashilhunpo, carrying letters of the Panchen-Lama and of the regent, and in December he was back in Calcutta. His report to the acting governor-general John Macpherson was caused to be translated by Turner and is appended to the latter's narrative [42]. The Tibetan source has the following account of Purangir Gosain's mission: On the 3rd day of an unspecified month (evidently the 4th; May 11th) of 1785, the Panchen-Lama

> granted an audience to Ācārya Su rdsa ghi ti (Suryagiri) together with his attendants who had come from India, and accepted the letter along with the presents of the king (*rgyal-po*) of Bhan-ga-la the Bha-ra Sa-hebs, most beautiful things which were offered to him [43].

[41] *Life of the Fourth Panchen-Lama*. f. 25 a-b.
[42] Turner, pp. 419-423.
[43] *Life of the Fourth Panchen-Lama*, f. 44a.

The reply of the Panchen-Lama was received in Calcutta on January 5th, 1786. It is a formal letter of polite generalities, devoid of historical interest [44].

This was the last British mission to Tibet in the 18th century. A certain amount of correspondence, carried to and fro by the Gosains, continued in the next years, being occasioned by the Gorkha invasion and by the attempts of the Gorkha ruler to obtain British help against the Chinese. But Lord Cornwallis, governor-general from 1786 to 1793, while despatching the mission of Captain Kirkpatrick to Nepal, did not think it expedient, in view also of Chinese susceptibilities, to resume direct relations with Tashilhunpo. Political communications with Tibet remained thus interrupted till 1904.

[44] Published in Persian and English version by DISKALKAR, Tibeto-Nepalese War, 1788-1793, in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XIX (1933), pp. 365-366.

L'AMBASCIATA OLANDESE DEL 1655-57 NEI DOCUMENTI CINESI

Mentre alcune delle più tarde ambasciate olandesi alla corte di Pechino sono state fatte oggetto di accurato studio [1], la prima di esse in ordine di tempo sembra sia stata finora trascurata [2]. Pur non avendo l'intenzione di farne uno studio dettagliato, per il quale mancano a Roma i materiali, desiderei contribuire con alcuni elementi nuovi alla conoscenza di questa prima ambasciata di una potenza europea alla corte della giovane dinastia mancese.

Dell'Ambasciata del 1655-57 faceva parte, in qualità di maestro di casa (*hoofmeester*), un tedesco naturalizzato olandese, Johann Neuhof o Jean Nieuhof (1618-1672), che scrisse una relazione. Un primo estratto, molto abbreviato, del resoconto del Neuhof fu pubblicato nel 1663 da Melchisédec Thévenot [3], nelle sue *Relations de divers voyages curieux qui n'ont point esté publiés*, ecc., Première partie, Parigi 1663, pp. 26-29 della seconda paginazione [4]. Nell'anno seguente il Thévenot stampava la parte principale della relazione, di su due manoscritti olandesi in suo possesso: *L'Ambassade des Hollandois à la Chine*, in *Relations de divers voyages* ecc., Deuxième partie, Parigi 1664, pp. 31-68 dell'ultima paginazione [5]. Nel 1665 infine il Thévenot pubblicava l'itinerario del viaggio da Canton a Pechino: *Route du voyage des Hollandois a Pékin* in *Relations*

[1] J. VIXSEBOXSE, *Een Hollandsch gezantschap naar China in de zeventiende eeuw (1685-1687)*, Leiden 1946; DUYVENDAK, *The last Dutch embassy to the Chinese court (1794-1795)* in *T'oung Pao*, XXXIV (1938), pp. 1-137; id., *The last Dutch embassy in the Veritable Records; ibid.*, pp. 223-227; id., *Supplementary documents on the last Dutch embassy to the Chinese court*, in *T'oung Pao*, XXXV (1940), pp. 329-353.

[2] Non ho potuto vedere la breve menzione del ROCKHILL, *Diplomatic missions to the court of China; the Kotow question*, in *American Historical Review*, II (1897), pp. 437-442.

[3] Zio del famoso viaggiatore Jean Thévenot.

[4] In ogni volume del Thévenot vi sono paginazioni separate per ogni relazione o gruppo di relazioni.

[5] Così è almeno nell'esemplare della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Roma, in cui le quattro parti sono rilegate a due a due (tengo a rilevare però che si tratta tuttavia dell'e-

de divers voyages curieux ecc., Troisième partie, Parigi 1665, pp. 1-27 della prima paginazione. Nello stesso anno apparivano le prime due edizioni indipendenti della relazione del Neuhof, in olandese ad Amsterdam e in francese a Leiden. L'opera incontrò subito grande favore e negli anni seguenti apparvero altre edizioni in olandese, francese, tedesco, latino e inglese; ma queste edizioni, molto aumentate di mole con l'aggiunta di materiale proveniente da altre fonti, non fanno che amplificare il testo originale del Thévenot [6].

L'Ambasciata non era stata inviata dagli Stati Generali, ma dal governatore delle Indie, Joan Maetsuyker (1653-1678), in nome e per conto della Compagnia delle Indie Orientali. Ne erano a capo i due «mercanti» [7] Pieter de Goyer e Jakob de Keyzer, i quali partirono da Batavia il 14 luglio 1655, con un seguito di 14 persone. Il 18 agosto essi giungevano alla foce del Fiume delle Perle ed il 14 settembre ottenevano il permesso di sbarcare a Canton. Gli ambasciatori trovarono una discreta accoglienza da parte dei due governatori, che essi chiamano col titolo di re. La situazione locale risentiva ancora degli avvenimenti turbinosi seguiti alla caduta della dinastia Ming nel 1644. Il Kuangtung si trovava a godere di un'amplissima autonomia; era uno dei tre stati vassalli (*san-fan* 三藩) istituiti dai Manciù nella Cina meridionale, dopo che intorno al 1650 vi era stata infranta la resistenza dei partigiani locali dei Ming. Il «re vecchio» di Neuhof è Shang K'o-hsi 尚可喜 (1604-1676) [8]; il «re giovane» è Kêng

dizione originale e non della cosidetta ristampa del 1696 in due volumi). L'*Ambassade* vi continua la numerazione della *Briefve relation de la Chine* e della *Flora Sinensis* del P. Michele Boym, che la precedono. Però, prima ancora che fosse finito di stampare il libro, e ogni caso prima della rilegatura, l'autore dovette pensare che l'*Ambassade* sarebbe più logicamente dovuta andare assieme al rimanente della relazione del Neuhof nella parte terza della sua raccolta. Perciò l'*Advis sur l'ordre des pièces* della parte seconda (evidentemente stampato dopo il rimanente del volume) non ne fa menzione, mentre essa appare come primo articolo nell'*Avis* della parte terza; ed in alcuni esemplari l'*Embassade* appare rilegata all'inizio della parte terza, malgrado l'assurdità di una paginazione che comincia con 31.

[6] Sulla dipendenza di tutte le edizioni dal testo più breve pubblicato dal Thévenot, vedi GUILHOU, *Remarques sur le récit du voyage en Chine de Jean Nieuhof*, in *Neophilogus*, vol. XXIII (1938), fasc. 4, pp. 109-119.

[7] La carriera burocratica dei funzionari olandesi nelle Indie comprendeva i seguenti gradi: impiegato (*klerk* o *pennist*), sotto-mercante (*onderkoopman*), mercante (*koopman*), primo mercante (*opperkoopman*).

[8] Neuhof gli dà il nome, o meglio titolo, di Pinguamong. Evidentemente il manoscritto doveva leggere Pingnamong, ossia P'ing-nan-wang (pron. cantonese P'ing-nam-wong) 平南王, principe pacificatore del sud, titolo concesso a Shang K'o-hsi nel 1649. Altre fonti olandesi lo trascrivono Pinglamong; VIXSEBOXSE, *Op. cit.*, pp. 9-10*n*.

Chi-mao 耿繼茂 (m. 1671), allora coreggente a Canton e più tardi (1660) trasferito al governo del Fukien [9]. Ambedue erano insigniti del titolo di *wang* 王, principe, che i missionari traducevano con «regulus» e gli altri stranieri per lo più con «re». Le resistenze iniziali dei due «re» furono finalmente vinte con la promessa di una somma di 35.000 tael d'argento in cambio del permesso di recarsi alla capitale e del loro appoggio presso le autorità centrali. Infatti gli agenti mantenuti dai «re» a Pechino (vera missione diplomatica) furono di valido aiuto agli olandesi. A parte il cospicuo dono, il governo del Kuangtung aveva ben presto compreso il proprio interesse economico ad ammettere a Canton il ricco commercio olandese. E fu proprio questo fatto, unito alla naturale diffidenza e sospetto delle autorità di Pechino verso quella amministrazione autonoma, che influì sulla risposta in gran parte negativa del governo imperiale alle richieste olandesi.

La corrispondenza tra Canton e Pechino a proposito dell'ambasciata olandese non sembra sia stata pubblicata in extenso. Ne rimane tuttavia un sunto nella *Raccolta di statuti della dinastia Ch'ing*:

«Nel 1655 il governatore del Kuangtung indirizzò al trono un memoriale annunziando che il regno d'Olanda aveva mandato ambasciatori ad offrire un memoriale tributario e prodotti locali, e a chiedere di [essere ammessi a] recare tributo [a corte]. Il Ministero dei Riti rispose dando il suo assenso a che il governatore generale ed il governatore [10] deliberassero sull'opportunità di mandare funzionari e soldati a scortarli alla capitale; il numero degli uomini che sarebbero venuti alla capitale non doveva eccedere i venti. Fu anche ordinato che il governatore generale ed il governatore scegliessero tre o quattro uomini buoni conoscitori della lingua olandese per venire con loro» [11].

[9] Su questi due personaggi vedasi HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Washington 1943-44, pp. 635-636 e 415.

[10] Governatore generale (*tsung-tu* 總督) del Liang Kuang (Kuangtung e Kuangsi) era allora Li Shuai-t'ai 李率泰 (1653-1656). Il governatore (*hsün-fu* 巡撫) è naturalmente Shang K'o-hsi.

[11] *Ch'in-ting ta-ch'in hui-tien* 欽定大清會典, ed. di K'ang-hsi (1690), ch. 72, fol. 12. È questo l'unico testo cinese sull'ambasciata del 1655-57 che sia stato tradotto. Lo è anzi stato due volte; dapprima, attraverso il *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'éng* 古今圖書集成, da G. SCHLEGEL, *De betrekkingen tusschen Nederland en China volgens Chineesche bronnen*, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, ser. V, parte VIII (1893), pp. 19-20 (ringrazio il Prof. J.J.L. Duyvendak per aver richiamato la mia attenzione su questo articolo); ed una seconda volta direttamente sul testo originale da FAIRBANK e TÈNG, *On the Ch'ing tributary system*, in *HJAS*, VI

Muniti del permesso ufficiale, il 7 Marzo 1656 gli ambasciatori poterono finalmente porsi in viaggio per la capitale, accompagnati e scortati da funzionari dipendenti dai «re» del Kuangtung [12]. Il percorso fu compiuto in massima parte per via d'acqua, ed il 17 luglio la missione arrivava al termine del Canale Imperiale, il porto fluviale di Siansianwei [13] a quattro miglia da Pechino. Ivi i mandarini cinesi li interrogarono onde raccogliere il materiale su cui basare le informazioni per il Consiglio Imperiale. Fu difficile persuaderli che gli olandesi abitavano veramente in terraferma e non esclusivamente sulle navi. Ancora più difficile, se non impossibile, fu poi spiegare ai cinesi il congegno del governo dei Paesi Bassi, veramente uno dei più complicati ed illogici d'Europa: gli Stati Generali, la preminenza della provincia d'Olanda, lo Stathouder (dignità in realtà vacante dal 1650). I funzionari imperiali volevano assolutamente sapere chi fosse il «re d'Olanda», e fu giocoforza accontentarsi che essi prendessero per tale il principe Guglielmo d'Orange, il futuro Guglielmo III d'Inghilterra, allora bambino di sei anni [14].

Alla base di tutte queste domande v'era un'interferenza esterna. A questa epoca l'Imperatore regnante Shun-chih (1643-1661) nutriva grande affetto e riponeva la massima fiducia nel vecchio missionario ed astronomo gesuita P. Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592-1666). Come gesuita, il P. Schall non poteva non essere ostile agli olandesi; essi rappresentavano una gravissima minaccia per Macao, che costituiva la base finanziaria dei gesuiti in Cina e che più volte le flotte olandesi avevano tentato di attaccare; inoltre nei loro possedimenti gli olandesi si erano sempre dimostrati ostili alle missioni cattoliche. In un colloquio avuto il 13 febbraio 1656 con l'imperatore, il P. Schall, interrogato su questi stranieri il cui arrivo era stato annunziato da Canton, aveva risposto che era una gente ribellatasi al loro re legittimo, e che da allora essi erravano irrequieti per i mari; era quindi sconsigliabile concedere loro libertà di commercio in Cina [15]. Ciò spiega le insistenti domande dei mandarini cinesi.

Giunta l'ambasciata a Pechino, i regali destinati all'imperatore furo-

(1941), pp. 178-179. Il tenore della risposta del Ministero dei Riti è riportato anche in THÉVENOT, Parte II, p. 38.

[12] Il principale di questi mandarini viene chiamato dal Neuhof col nome, cioè titolo, di Pingsentaouw. È il cinese *ping-hsün-tao* 兵巡道, su cui vedi PELLIOT, *Les franciscains en Chine au XVI^e^ et au XVII^e^ siècle*, in *T'oung Pao*, vol. XXXIV (1938), p. 210.

[13] Chang-chia-wan 張家灣, pochi chilometri prima di T'ung-chou 通州 (Tongsieu di Neuhof), che è il vero termine del Canale Imperiale.

[14] THÉVENOT, parte II, pp. 48-51.

[15] A. VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S. J.*, Colonia 1933, pp. 227-228.

no presentati al Consiglio imperiale. Naturalmente non si trattava nè del Chün-chi-ch'u 軍機處 (Gran Consiglio) istituito nel 1729, nè del Nei-ko 內閣 (Gran Segretariato) ristabilito nel 1671. Col nome di Consiglio il Neuhof intende l'insieme dei Sei Ministeri (*liu-pu* 六部), che da secoli costituivano il nucleo dell'amministrazione centrale [16]. Ognuno di essi aveva a capo due ministri (*shang-shu* 商書), di cui uno manciù ed uno cinese. Il Consiglio si componeva quindi, come notato dal Neuhof, di 6 manciù e di 6 cinesi. Il primo posto nell'adunanze dei dodici ministri spettava di diritto ai presidenti del Ministero dei Riti (*li-pu* 禮部); nel 1656 essi erano il manciù Enggede (Ên-ko-tê 恩格德) ed il cinese Hu Shih-an 胡世安.

Nell'occasione della presentazione dei doni al Consiglio, il compito d'interprete fu assolto dal P. Schall von Bell, che si dimostrò in apparenza molto corretto e cortese con gli olandesi [17]. Dopo questa cerimonia però egli fece avere all'imperatore un rapporto confidenziale, molto sfavorevole agli olandesi, i cui doni erano stati racimolati nelle Indie e non provenivano certo dell'Olanda [18].

Disponendo così di tutti gli elementi necessari, il Consiglio fu incaricato dall'imperatore di studiare le modalità dell'udienza agli ambasciatori e dei futuri rapporti tra l'Olanda e la Cina. Due rescritti imperiali al Consiglio sono riferiti in traduzione dal Neuhof; il testo originale di un altro rescritto è conservato nei *Documenti Autentici*, la grande raccolta di atti ufficiali della dinastia mancese [19].

I due editti tradotti dal Neuhof sono i seguenti:

I. [In data 13 luglio [20] l'imperatore mandò al Consiglio questo documento:] «Conseillers que j'estime beaucoup, les ambassadeur d'Hollande sont arrivez icy pour saluer l'empereur, luy rendre obeisance en luy faisant des présents, ce qu'on ne trouvera point qu'il aient jamais faits a cette couronne en plusieurs milliers d'années. Celuy-cy est le premier voyage qu'ils ont fait, et par cette raison je leur accorde le permission de

[16] Secondo il Neuhof, il nome cinese del Consiglio è Locpol. Evidentemente l'editore francese ha frainteso il manoscritto olandese, il quale doveva leggere Loepoe oppure Locpoe. Nel primo caso, tenendo conto dell'ortografia olandese, si trascrive *lu-pu; lu* è pronunzia secondaria, piuttosto rara, di 六. Nel secondo si tratta della pronunzia cantonese *luk-pou*.

[17] THÉVENOT, Parte II, pp. 53-54. VÄTH, p. 228.

[18] VÄTH, pp. 228-229.

[19] *Ta Ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu* 大清歷朝實錄; Tôkyô 1937.

[20] La data è probabilmente sbagliata, perchè allora gli ambasciatori non erano ancora arrivati a Pechino; forse si deve correggere 13 in 23.

se présenter devant moy et de me venir faire la révérence, quand je seray assis dans le trosne de mon nouveau palais, afin qu'en suitte on les satisfaisse sur ce qu'ils souhaitent, et qu'on les depesche promptement, qu'ils puissent retourner chez eux, et aprés que le bonheur de m'avoir veu leur aura fait oublier à Pekim les incommoditez d'un si long voyage par mer et par terre, et qu'ils auront peu voir, sans fermer les yeux, la clarté du soleil dans le ciel, comment pourroit-on n'estre point favorable à des gens qui viennent de si loing et leur refuser ce qu'ils demandent?» [21]

II. «Le seizième jour du sixième moins (6 agosto), m'estant fait lire une seconde fois la lettre des Hollandois et en ayant bien compris le sens j'ai trouvé que l'ambassade qu'ils m'ont envoyée avoit un bon fondement; car c'est sans contrainte et de leur propre mouvement qu'ils l'ont envoyée, et que les ambassadeurs on passé des terres et des mers si vastes, comme un oyseau qui, estant en liberté et sans contrainte, prend dans l'air son vol du costé qu'il veut; cela me les fait estimer extrèmement, et m'est un raison de les aimer comme moy-mesme, et rien ne m'est agréable qu'eux; c'est pourquoi j'ay donné ordre au Chancelier du Royaume et aux autres conseillers de prendre une resolution favorable, sur l'istance qu'ils me font de pouvoir traicter librement dans mes Estats, de la quelle resolution vous me rendrez comptes» [22].

Il rescritto negli *Shih-lu* dice:

«Giorno *wu-tzŭ* della sesta luna (1 agosto). Il capitano maggiore [23] di Batavia [24] del regno d'Olanda [25] al di là dei mari, Maetsuyker [26], ha mandato come ambasciatori Pieter de Goyer e Jakob de Keyser [27]; essi of-

[21] THÉVENOT, Parte II, pp. 53-54

[22] THÉVENOT, Parte II, p.54.

[23] *Chia-pi-tan-wu* 甲必丹物, in pronuncia cantonese *Kap-pit-tan-mêt*. È trascrizione del portoghese *capitão mór*, che a quell'epoca era su tutte le coste dell'Asia meridionale il nome consueto del governatore generale olandese.

[24] *Mo-t'ou-wei-yeh* 墨投爲也, in pronuncia cantonese *Mêk-t'au-wai-ya*. Il primo carattere sembra erroneo.

[25] *Ho-lan* 荷蘭.

[26] *Ma-sui-chüeh* 馬綏掘, in provincia cantonese *Ma-sui-kwêt*. Il *Huang-chao Wên-hsien-t'ung-kao* 皇朝文獻通考 del 1762, ch. 298 (ed. *Shih-t'ung* 十通 della Commercial Press, Shanghai 1936, p. 7472*c*) ha la variante *Ma-sui-chi*□□極, in pronuncia cantonese *Ma-sui-kik*.

[27] Pei-t'u Kao-yao 杯突高嗂 (in pronuncia cantonese Pui-têt Ko-ngau) e Jono Chieh-sê 惹諾皆色 (il secondo carettere è errato e va probabilmente restituito in *chi* 給; pronuncia cantonese Ye-k'ap Kai-shik). Da notare che la trascrizione dei due nomi è completamente differente da quella impiegata nel *Ta-ch'ing hui-tien*: Pi-li Wo-yüeh

frono tributo. Insieme essi chiedono che sia loro concesso il transito per il tributo, onde poter liberamente venire ed andarsene. Fu data la seguente risposta. Abbiamo preso conoscenza del memoriale. [Gli olandesi] venerano la giustizia e mostrano la propria sincerità navigando il mare per mantenere [rapporti di] tributo. Possiamo veramente lodarli ed esserne contenti. Quanto alla loro richiesta [che sia loro concesso] il transito per il tributo onde venire ed andare, ordino al Ministero dei Riti di discuterne e riferirne» [28].

Il rescritto negli *Shih-lu* è più breve, meno cordiale ed in parte differente. Non v'è coincidenza coi rescritti del Neuhof nè nelle date nè nella sostanza, sebbene la seconda parte del testo cinese corrisponda grosso modo al secondo editto del Neuhof. Deve trattarsi di differenti documenti di cancelleria riguardanti l'identico mandato imperiale. Ad ogni modo le traduzioni fornite dagli interpreti dell'ambasciata dovevan esser molto libere; ciò del resto fu anche il caso per l'ambasciata del 1794-95. Osserverò a questo proposito che le credenziali dell'ambasciata furono stilate da interpreti cantonesi, giacchè solo il dialetto cantonese può spiegare, come abbiamo visto sopra, la scelta dei caratteri per le trascrizioni dei nomi olandesi nel testo degli *Shih-lu*. V'è anche da notare che trascrizioni quali Kap-pit-tan-mêt, Ma-sui-kwêt e Pui-têt rivelano un interessante fatto fonetico già notato dal Pelliot. Il grande sinologo francese aveva osservato che Francisco de Jesùs, il P. Alenda e Augustin de San Pascual «écrivaient Fur le nom du Buddha, 佛 Fo. Cette transcription est interessante, car elle montre que ces missionaires du XVII[e] siècle ont entendu au Foukien l'ancienne dentale finale de Fo come un *-r*, et on sait que c'est également par *-r* (qu'on a en sinocoréen d'ailleurs) que ces dentales finales sont rendues dans les transcriptions étrangères sous les T'ang» [29]. Le nostre trascrizioni dimostrano che ciò che il Pelliot faceva rilevare per il Fukien, vale anche per il Kuangtung.

Il rescritto imperiale del 1° agosto fu seguito da lunghe e complicate trattative tra l'ambasciata e le autorità imperiali [30]. Il 30 luglio il P. Schall era stato ricevuto a palazzo, dove l'imperatore gli aveva fatto dono di alcuni dei regali dall'ambasciata. Il P. Schall tenne al sovrano un forte discorso contro il pericolo rappresentato da un'eventuale ammissione degli

哩唎嘶哦唎悅 e Yeh-ka Kuei-jo 嘢野哈哇唎惹 ; vedi SCHLEGEL, *Op. cit.*, p. 20 e FAIRBANK e TÊNG, *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

[28] *Shih-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 102, fol. *5b*.

[29] PELLIOT, *Les Franciscains en Chine au XVI[e] et au XVII[e] siécle* in *T'oung Pao*, XXXIV (1938), pp. 216 e 221.

[30] THÉVENOT, Parte II, pp. 54-55.

olandesi al commercio con la Cina, sopratutto per la possibilità, anzi probabilità, che gli olandesi ne approfittassero per costituire delle basi fortificate sulle coste cinesi. Questo era un tasto delicato, che metteva subito in allarme la sospettosa cautela del governo imperiale. Tuttavia la partita non era facile, perchè all'influenza del P. Schall si opponeva quella dei mandarini di Canton e di alcuni dignitari di corte guadagnati dall'oro olandese. Il 6 agosto un abbozzo di trattato fu sottoposto al P. Schall onde averne il parere, che, come ci si poteva attendere, fu assolutamente negativo [31]. In ultima analisi l'influenza del vecchio missionario, che l'imperatore chiamava coll'epiteto mancese di *mafa* (nonno), ebbe il sopravvento, e la risposta imperiale, pur dando ogni soddisfazione nella forma, fu, come si vedrà, negativa nella sostanza.

Intorno al 20 agosto le autorità cinesi avevano formulato le loro decisioni finali. Il Ministero dei Riti sottoponeva all'imperatore il seguente rapporto, in ottemperanza agli ordini ricevuto il 1° agosto:

«Giorno *wu-shên* della settima luna (21 agosto). Il Ministero dei Riti riferisce: Il regno d'Olanda non è ancora mai venuto ad offrire tributo. Ora attraverso diversi stadii di traduzioni (cioè attraverso lunghe distanze; 重譯) essi sono venuti a corte. Certo ciò è il prodotto della virtù e civiltà della corte imperiale. Noi teniamo conto del fatto che il loro cammino è pericoloso e lungo. Si permetta loro un'ambasciata di tributo ogni cinque anni. Il transito per il tributo passa da Canton, ed essi vi hanno fatto commercio persino sulla spiaggia del mare. Già qualche tempo fa [32] è stato fatto loro comprendere che ciò non è permesso. Essi devono attendere a far commercio finchè non sono nel loro alloggio ufficiale. I regolamenti ufficiali hanno severe ingiunzioni [per quanto riguarda] le merci di contrabbando.

Fu ottenuto il seguente rescritto: Il regno d'Olanda venera la giustizia e mostra la propria sincerità navigando i mari per mantenere [rapporti di] tributo. Tenendo conto del fatto che il loro cammino è pericoloso e lungo, ordiniamo che vengano a corte una volta ogni otto anni; e ciò per dimostrare i nostri sentimenti di simpatia con uomini che vengono da così lontano» [33].

Questo era un documento per uso interno dei ministeri, che naturalmente non fu comunicato in via ufficiale agli ambasciatori, sebbene essi

[31] VÄTH, pp. 229-230.

[32] Riferimento alle trattative condotte nel 1653 a Canton dal «mercante» olandese Frederik Schedel.

[33] *Shih-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 102, foll. 21b-22a.

ne conoscessero il tenore generale [34]. Esso mise in moto la macchina del cerimoniale di corte. Il giorno seguente, 22 agosto, gli ambasciatori si recarono secondo il costume a fare «leurs soummissions dans le Palais où l'on garde le sceau de royaume». La data dell'udienza imperiale era stata fissata al 25 agosto, ma improvvisamente tutto fu sospeso per la morte del principe Hsiang 襄, di nome Bombogor (1642-1656) [35], il più giovane dei fratellastri dell'imperatore, avvenuta il 23 agosto [36].

Dopo questa forzata interruzione, l'udienza imperiale ebbe finalmente luogo il 2 ottobre 1656. Gli ambasciatori olandesi eseguirono l'umiliante cerimonia del kotow di fronte all'imperatore, celato dietro due draghi e silenzioso; essi non riuscirono nè a vederlo nè a udirlo. La cerimonia è descritta a lungo dal Neuhof [6], ma gli *Shih-lu* non ne fanno menzione. Subito dopo l'udienza essi furono ospiti, insieme con altri ambasciatori, ad un banchetto loro offerto nel Ministero dei Riti, e ciò è debitamente ma laconicamente registrato nei *Documenti Autentici*:

«Giorno *Kêng-yin* dell'ottava luna (2 ottobre). Nel Ministero dei Riti fu offerto un banchetto ai portatori di tributo del Tushetu Khan dell'Orda dei Khalkha (in Mongolia), assieme ai portatori di tributo di Turfan e del regno d'Olanda» [38].

Il 14 ottobre fu offerto loro un ultimo banchetto, in seguito al quale furono solennemente consegnati i doni concessi dall'imperatore al «Re d'Olanda», agli ambasciatori, al comando della loro scorta ed agli interpreti. La lista completa ci è conservata sia dal Neuhof [39] che da fonti cinesi [40].

Il 16 ottobre fu infine consegnato ai due ambasciatori il messaggio imperiale di risposta per il «Re d'Olanda». Esso ci è conservato in due versioni differenti nelle fonti olandesi e cinesi. Per comodità di confronto riporto le due versioni l'una dopo l'altra.

Versione del Neuhof:

«Le Roy envoye cette lettre au Gouverneur General Jehan Maet-Suicker à Battavia des Hollandois. Nos pays sont aussi esloignès l'un de l'au-

[34] THÉVENOT, Parte II, p. 55.

[35] HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese*, p. 257.

[36] THÉVENOT, Parte II, pp. 55-56.

[37] THÉVENOT, Parte II, pp. 56-58.

[38] *Shih-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 103, fol. 9b.

[39] THÉVENOT, Parte II, pp. 59-60.

[40] *Ta-ch'ing hui-tien shih-li* 大清會典事例, citato in DUYVENDAK, *Supplementary documents on the last Dutch embassy to the Chinese court*, in *T'oung Pao*, XXXV (1940), p. 338.

tre que l'Orient l'est de Couchant; c'est pourquoy difficilement nous nous pourrons joindre, et depuis tant de siècles qui sont passés, il n'y a point de memorie que l'on aye veu des Hollandois chez nous. Cependant il faut que vous soyez une personne fort prudente et de bon naturel de m'avoir envoyé Pieter de Goyer avec Jacob de Keyser, qui se sont presentés devant moy, et m'ont apportè des presents de vostre part; nos païs sont esloignés, de dix milles lieues d'un de l'autre: il faut que vous soiez un homme d'un excellent naturel de songer à moy. Mon coeur en a esté fort touché, et je sens une forte inclination pour vous; aussi je vous envoie deux pièces de satin, quatre pièces de satin bleu à fleurs, quatre autres pièces de satin bleu sans fleurs, quatre pièces de kine, quatre pièces de Tabis, dix pièces de Pelling, dix pièces de Phansy, dix autres pièces de fort belles estoffes, et trois cent theils d'argent. Vous m'avez fait demander la permission de trafiquer dans mon pays, d'y apporter des merchandises et d'en tirer d'autres au profit et à l'avantage de l'un et de l'autre peuple; mais j'ay consideré que nos pays sont fort eloignez l'un de l'autre, et qu'il fait icy des vents qui mettraient en danger vos vaisseaux; avec cela le dedans du pays est fort froid, il y gele et il y tombe de la gresle; il me fascheroit fort par cette raison, que vos gens s'exposassent dans un tel pais; c'est porquoy si vous avez envie qu'ils y viennent, ne les envoiez que tous les huict ans, et n'envoiez que cent hommes à la fois, 20 desquels pouront venir au lieu de ma residence, et cependant vous mettrez à couvert vos marchandise dans un logement que l'on vous donnera à Canton sans le exposer sur vos vaisseaux et sans les faire demeurer devant la ville. Voila ce que j'ai trouvé à propos pour vostre bien et pour l'inclination que j'ai pour vous; ce que je me persuade aussi vous devoir estre fort agréable; c'est ce que j'ai vous voulois faire sçavoir. La treiziesme année du reigne de Cyngteide (*Shun-chih* 順治), le huictiesme mois, le vingtneufiéme jour (16 ottobre)» [41].

Traduzione del testo cinese:

«Giorno *chia-ch'ên* dell'ottava luna (16 ottobre). I portatori di tributo del regno d'Olanda ritornarono al loro paese. Fu concesso in via speciale un editto (*ch'ih-yü* 敕諭 [42] al loro re. L'editto diceva: Tu, o capitano maggiore di Batavia del regno d'Olanda, Maetsuyker [43], abiti lontano ai confini dell'occidente. L'oceano è pericoloso e vasto. Dalle passate generazioni fino ad ora la nostra fama ed influenza non ti era pervenuta; tutta-

[41] THÉVENOT, Parte II, p. 65

[42] Su questo termine vedi FAIRBANK e TÊNG, *On the types and uses of Ch'ing documents* in *HJAS*, V (1940), p. 48.

via hai potuto pensare con affetto alla nostra virtù e civiltà e ti sei sforzato di onorarci ed amarci. Hai scelto come tuoi ambasciatori Pieter de Goyer, Jacob de Keyser [43] ed altri. Essi hanno viaggiato fino alla capitale e sono venuti a corte; si sono occupati con ogni cura della presentazione del loro tributo. Il vostro paese è a più di 10.000 *li* di distanza, pure portate nel cuore la sincerità e amate la giustizia. Noi molto lodiamo questo, e perciò vi ricompensiamo largamente. Due pezze di raso «a pitoni» (*ta-mang* 大蟒); due pezze di raso *chuang* 粧; due pezze di raso giapponese; quattro pezze di raso brillante (*shan* 閃); quattro pezze di raso a fiori azzurri; quattro pezze di raso a fiori neri; quattro pezze di raso a fondo azzurro; quattro pezze di raso «a cappello» (*mao* 帽); quattro pezze di raso da far vestiti; dieci pezze di seta sottile (*ling* 綾); dieci pezze di seta filata; dieci pezze di garza; trecento tael d'argento.

Per ricambiare la vostra fiducia, questa è la mia decisione per quanto concerne la vostra richiesta di poter andare e venire col tributo per la corte e di poter trafficare con merci. Sebbene vengano messe in circolazione merci e cose preziose e ciò sia vantaggioso per i mercanti, tuttavia ritengo che i *li* del cammino siano molti e lunghi, il vento e le onde sono pericolosi e duri; viaggiando per terra e per mare subite il freddo notturno e vi affaticate in modo degno di compassione. Se la periodicità del tributo fosse troppo frequente, ciò causerebbe molestia a molta gente; noi non possiamo affatto tollerarlo. Rendiamo noto che voi potete venire a corte una volta ogni otto anni. Tra funzionari e servitori, non debbono superare i cento uomini, ed ordiniamo che solo venti ne vengano alla capitale. Delle merci che porteranno con loro, essi potranno fare commercio nel loro alloggio ufficiale, ma non potranno venderle privatamente a Canton o sulla riva del mare. Per voi questo rappresenta la benevolenza con cui io vi amo e proteggo. Rispettate e riverite ciò che è il dovere degli stranieri; siate prudenti e agite con buon senso; ricevete con riverenza il nostro grazioso comando» [44].

Come si vede, il testo francese è una versione libera, attenuata nei punti scabrosi, ma sufficientemente fedele all'originale cinese.

Malgrado l'apparente successo dell'ambasciata, le concessioni avute erano irrisorie. Invece di poter mandare ogni anno navi a Canton ed ogni cinque anni un'ambasciata a Pechino, come era stato richiesti da de Goyer e de Keyser, non fu ottenuto il permesso di un'ambasciata ogni otto anni,

[43] Caratteri cinesi come nel documento sopra tradotto a p. 82.

[44] *Shih-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 103, foll. 20*a*-21*a*. Riprodotto con qualche abbreviazione in *Huang-chao Wên-hsien-t'ung-kao*, ch. 298, pp. 7472*c*-7473*a*.

e talmente limitata nella sua entità e nelle sue condizioni di viaggio, da ridurne quasi a zero l'importanza commerciale. In pratica, il P. Schall von Bell aveva ottenuto il suo scopo di evitare ai portoghesi di Macao l'instrusione di un concorrente pericoloso.

Due ore dopo ricevuto il messaggio imperiale, l'ambasciata, come prescrivevano i regolamenti, lasciava Pechino. Il 28 gennaio 1657 essa arrivava a Canton ed il 31 marzo era di ritorno a Batavia [45].

[Tre documenti riguardanti questa ambasciata sono inclusi nei *Ming Ch'ing Shih-liao*, 3a serie, ch. 4. Il primo, datato 13 luglio 1655 è il memoriale del Governatore Generale all'imperatore (f. 377a). Il secondo, in pari data, è il memoriale dello stesso al P'ing-nan Wang Shang K'o-hsi e al Ching-nan Wang Kêng Chi-mao (f. 378a). Il terzo è il rapporto del P'ing-nan Wang all'imperatore; annunzia l'arrivo degli ambasciatori e propone di permettere loro il viaggio alla capitale (f. 382a). Sono stati tradotti tutti e tre in LO-SHU-FU, *A documentary chronicle of Sino-Western Relations*, Tucson 1966, pp. 16-18. Un interessante relazione dovuta al Gesuita P. Metello Saccano. conservata nell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Jap. Sin.* 126, ff. 168 seq., sembra essere tuttora inedita. È intitolata *Relatione dell'ambasciata che Giovanni Methuither de Baden, generale degl'Olandesi nell'India Orientale, mandò da Batavia all'Imperatore della Cina e Tartaria a' 20 di luglio 1655, chiedendo il commercio di mercantia ne' porti del suo imperio. Cavata da quella che scrisse il P. Gabriele di Magaglianes della Compagnia di Giesù, assistente nella corte di Pekin nella Cina. Regno di Macassa, 4 aprile* 1657].

[45] A parte i quattro documenti sopra citati e sunti più o meno ampii di essi in vari testi coevi e più tardi, non sembra che l'ambasciata del 1655-57 abbia lasciato profonde tracce nelle fonti cinesi. Così per esempio il *Ch'ing shih kao* 清史稿 del 1927, che ufficialmente viene ammesso quale 25ª storia dinastica, si limita ad una breve menzione dell'ambasciata olandese nel ch. 159 (*chih* 志 134), fol. 4*b*. Purtroppo non ho potuto consultare gli *Editti imperiali di Shih-chih* (*Shih-tsu Chang-huang-ti shêng-hsün* 世祖章皇帝聖訓). Speriamo che le ricerche compiute negli archivi olandesi permettono ad altri di scrivere un giorno la storia completa di questa ambasciata.

UN ITINERARIO DALLA PERSIA ALLA CINA DELL'INIZIO DEL SECOLO XVIII

I primi europei a percorrere la via commerciale da Agra a Lhasa e al Kansu furono i padri gesuiti Grueber e D'Orville nel 1661 [1]. I dati, sia pure frammentari, forniti al suo ritorno dal P. Grueber passarono quasi immediatamente nelle carte geografiche europee, ma la strada stessa non fu più percorsa per lunghi anni; bisogna scendere fino ai viaggi dell'olandese Samuel van de Puttte, che la traversò nei due sensi nel 1729-31 e nel 1737 [2].

Nella seconda metà del sec. XVII la via dall'India del Nord attraverso il Nepal a Lhasa e quindi al Kuku-nor e al Kansu raggiungeva un'importanza sempre crescente. Ciò per ragioni economiche e politiche. Economicamente il cinquantennio 1650-1700 presenta il fenomeno di un rifiorire senza pari dei traffici terrestri nell'Asia Orientale. È il periodo che vide in India l'apogeo dell'impero Moghul ed in Cina il consolidamento della nuova dinastia manciù. La *pax moghulica* nell'India settentrionale e l'energica amministrazione manciù sul limes occidentale della Cina avevano ricondotto la quiete e la sicurezza in quegli enormi e prosperi territori. Il Tibet pure passava un periodo di calma. Nel 1642 esso era stato conquistato dai mongoli Khoshot, che ne avevano ceduto la sovranità al Dalai-Lama, riservandosi la protezione militare ed un'alta sorveglianza sul governo tibetano. Anche qui, era la pace finalmente ristabilita dopo le lotte incessanti e cruente della prima metà del secolo. I traffici sulla via da Lhasa al Kuku-nor si avvantaggiarono molto di queste migliorate condizioni. A ciò è da aggiungere un motivo più squisitamente politico; intorno al 1660 il Khanato dei Khosot era stato diviso tra i due figli del suo fondatore Gusri Khan. I figli minori ereditarono le vecchie sedi del Kuku-

[1] Sul loro viaggio vedi WESSELS, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, L'Aia 1924, pp. 164-204.

[2] [Vedi: *Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, IV (1953), pp. 237-241. Qui oltre citati con la sigla MITN.]

nor, mentre il maggiore ebbe il protettorato sul Tibet [3]. Le relazioni tra i due rami della famiglia rimasero cordiali, almeno fino al 1706 circa; era interesse quindi di ambedue i Khan assicurare il libero transito sulla via carovaniera che congiungeva la loro due zone.

Ai primi del sec. XVIII un fatto nuovo richiamò l'attenzione su questa via. Nel 1707 sorgeva la missione di Lhasa, affidata ai cappuccini italiani della Marca d'Ancona; essa ebbe vita travagliata per quasi quarant'anni [4]. Il primo tentativo dei cappuccini fallì dopo quattro anni di vita grama e stentata, e nel 1711 essi dovettero ritirarsi in India. Bisogna dire che la spedizione era stata intrapresa con molto entusiasmo, ma con altrettanta ignoranza delle difficoltà a cui si andava incontro. La preparazione era stata assolutamente insufficiente, e soprattutto si era completamente omesso di organizzare i rinforzi di uomini e di mezzi finanziari. Entrato finalmente a Lhasa, ma ridotto allo stremo delle sue risorse, il P. Giuseppe d'Ascoli, prefetto della missione, scrisse ai missionari cattolici della Cina occidentale per averne aiuto. Alcuni anni prima era stato istituito il Vicariato Apostolico dello Shensi, con sede in Si-an fu, affidato ai francescani riformati. Vicario apostolico era allora il P. Antonio da Castrocaro, e con lui era il P. Giambattista da Serravalle [5]. Fu questo ultimo a ricevere la lettera, spedita un pò alla ventura (i missionari di Lhasa ignoravano ogni cosa sulle missioni dello Shensi), con cui i cappuccini del Tibet chiedevano aiuto ai confratelli della Cina [6]. P. Giambattista inoltrò la richiesta al vescovo di Pechino, ma malgrado la sua buona volontà l'aiuto richiesto non potè essere inviato, sia per la sua situazione delicata sorta dopo la morte del Card. Carlo Tommaso de Tournon [7], sia perchè subito dopo arrivò la falsa notizia che i cappuccini avevano lasciato Lhasa [8]. P. Giam-

[3] [Vedi: «Notes on Tibetan history of the 18th century», in *T'oung Pao*, LII (1965/6), n. 267].

[4] La missione funzionò a Lhasa dal 1707 al 1711, dal 1716 al 1733 e dal 1741 al 1745. Su di essa vedi [MITN, I-IV.]

[5] GIOVANNI RICCI, *Vicariatus Taiyuanfu, seu brevis historia antiquae franciscanae missionis Shansi et Shensi*, Pechino 1929, pp. 9-15. P. Giambattista Maoletti da Serravalle, nato intorno al 1680, arrivò in Cina nel 1706. Stette a Si-an fu fino al 1716, quando fu inviato ad aprire una missione nel Kansu. Nominato vicario apostolico nel Hu-kuang (Hunan e Hupeh), morì mentre viaggiava per recarsi alla sua nuova sede il 14 gennaio 1725.

[6] Copia della lettera, datata Lhasa 11 gennaio 1708 e indirizzata «Patri missionario apostolico residenti in Shensi», è conservata negli Archivi della S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide; *Scritture originali riferite nei Congressi, Indie Orientali e Cina*, vol. 11 (1709/11), ff. 73-74. [Pubblicato in MITN, I, 63-64].

[7] Avvenuta l'8 giugno 1709. Si era allora nel pieno della controversia circa i riti cinesi.

[8] CLEMENTE DA TERZORIO, *In India a nel Tibet*, Roma, 1934, pp. 255-257.

battista ebbe però altre relazioni epistolari con i cappuccini di Lhasa, e tentò perfino di avviare la sua corrispondenza con Roma per quella via [9]; reso ottimista da questo scambio di lettere, ne fu indotto a considerare la possibilità che futuri missionari inviati da Roma in Cina potessero percorrere la via del Tibet onde pervenire alle loro sedi. Era infatti in teoria la via più breve; ma non fu mai adoperata, nè lo poteva essere, date le sue terribili difficoltà nei confronti della via del mare, più lunga ma tanto più sicura e facile. Ad ogni buon conto, P. Giambattista ritenne opportuno inviare al Collegio delle Missioni di S. Pietro in Montorio a Roma, che era il vivaio delle missioni francescane [10], una breve relazione sulla via dalla Persia all'India, Tibet e Cina. Questa relazione è qui pubblicata di sull'originale conservato negli Archivi della S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide [11].

Cammino per terra da Aspahan metropoli della Persia sino ad Agrâ capitale del Mogol, e da questa città sino alla China per terra.

Della Corte di Persia per andare ad Agra del Mogol può fare il viaggio per terra sino al golfo di Persia a Bandarabassi [12], in due mesi di pessimo cammino e di mal'aria, e supposto che trovi imbarcazioni anderà in 25 giorni di mare a Surate, emporio dell'India, e da lì in 40 giorni a Agra; ma per non perdere tanto tempo a mettersi a pericolo della vita nella mutazione di diversi climi freddi e caldi in pochi mesi, sarebbe più espediente da Aspahan andare addirittura alla città d'Agra sempre con grosse e sicure caravane, che fanno quel viaggio lentamente in giorni 140 [13].

	giorni
Da Agra a Benariz sopra a carri o cavalli per belle strade ed a buon mercato	15
Da Benariz alla medesima maniera a Patna su la ripa del Gange	20
Da Patna cavalcando bovi o portati in letica da huomini [14], a Catnati, e da	

[9] Lettera di P. Giambattista datata Si-an fu 8 ottobre 1708, spedita via Lhasa; negli Archivi di Propaganda Fide, *Scritture* etc., vol. 10 (1707/8), f. 676. Altra lettera datata Si-an fu 21 settembre 1710, ibid. vol. 11 (1709/11), f. 439. [Pubblicate in MITN, I, pp. 65-66, 67].

[10] Vedi A. KLEINHANS, *Historia studii linguae arabicae et collegii missionum ordinis fratrum minorun in conventu ad S. Petrum in Monte Aureo Romae erecti*, Quaracchi 1930.

[11] *Scritt. orig. rif. nei Congr., Indie Or. e Cina*, vol. 10 (1707/8), ff. 623-625.

[12] Bender Abbas

[13] L'itinerario non parla della via seguita. Probabilmente si tratta della via di Kandahar e Lahore, per il dominio della quale tanto si combattè fra Moghul e Persiani nel sec. XVII; o meno probabilmente della via Meshed-Balkh-Kabul-Lahore.

[14] Si tratta dello zebù da sella, ormai raramente usato in India; la «letica» è il *doli*, semplicemente palanchino costituito da un'amaca appesa ad un palo portato da due uomini; pochi anni fa era ancora in uso nelle campagne indiane.

Catnati a Haitungta, corte di un re chiamato Raggia [15]	8
Da Haitungta a Patan città del medesimo regno [16]	20
Da Patan in due ore di viaggio a Catmandu, prima città del regno di Necpal.	
Da Catmandu a Nistis, corte del Re di Necpal, uno de' regni del Tibet [17]	13
Da Nistis a Coti [18], prima terra del regno di Barantola [19] ove risiede il Gran Lama, uno de' regni del Tibet pieno di nefande idolatrie	3
Da Coti cavalcando muli, asini o cavalli sino al piede dei monti Lingur [20]	3
Dal piede di Lingur monte arduo chiamato da Marco Polo catena del mondo e da altri Caucaso, che viene a termine in China, sino a Zihizia [21]	20
Da Zihizia a Lassa corte del Regno di Lamazeni [22], alla quale città li 12 giugno 1707 arrivarono li RR.PP. Giuseppe da Ascoli e Francesco Maria Turonese cappuccini mandati dalla S. Congregazione a predicare il S. Vangelo [23]	14

In Lassa si comprano cavalli a meno di 9 scudi, ed è necessario, oltre un armeno, che dovranno aver preso in Persia o all'India, un servitore del paese sino alla China, il quale

[15] Catnati non è identificabile. Il nome Haitungta evidentemente è tratto da una fonte cinese. È forse il Hedonda di Grueber, Hataura delle carte, dietro la prima linea delle colline per chi arriva dalla pianura. Ma le distanze qui indicate lo pongono troppo vicino a Patna, ed io credo che il P. Giambattista ha semplicemente invertito le cifre 20 e 8. Raja (Raggia) naturalmente è titolo e non nome. «Corte» ha qui e poco più oltre il significato medievale di curtis; la borgata apparteneva al regno nepalese di Patan.

[16] Patan, pochi km. a sud di Katmandu, capitale di uno dei tre regni (Katmandu, Bhatgaon, Patan) in cui era allora divisa la valle del Nepal.

[17] Nestis è il Nesti di Ippolito Desideri (*An Account of Tibet*, ed. De Filippi, Londra 1937, indice), il moderno Listi, ultima località nepalese prima della frontiera tibetana sulla via di Dingari. Anche secondo i cappuccini il Nepal veniva calcolato uno dei regni del Tibet.

[18] Coti, Kuti del Desideri, in tibetano Ni-lam (Ñe-lam), la prima borgata tibetana oltre il confine.

[19] Barantola, parola usata comunemente dai primi viaggiatori europei (non dai cappuccini) è *bara'un-tala*, «pianura occidentale», nome mongolo della città di Lhasa e quindi per estensione di tutto il Tibet.

[20] Lingur è il Langur dei cappuccini. In lingua Parbatiya significa catena di montagne; S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, Parigi 1905-9, vol. I, p. 85. Il passo in questione è il Thung-la (m. 5630), fra Nilam e Dingri. Oltre che il passo, Langur qui indica le montagne del Himalaya in generale.

[21] Zihizia è Shigatse, capitale della provincia di Tsang e seconda città del Tibet. Per questa parte dell'itinerario si può comparare [la relazione di viaggio del P. Cassiano Beligatti, in MITN, IV, 4-109]

[22] Probabilmente storpiatura di Lha-bzang, a quel tempo Khan dei Khoshot e sovrano del Tibet.

[23] Giuseppe d'Ascoli, Prefetto Apostolico del Tibet del 1705, morto a Patna il 20 dicembre 1710.

P. Francesco Maria de Tours, partito dall'India col p. Giuseppe da Ascoli; era medico, e praticò per qualche anno a Lhasa; morto a Patna nel maggio 1709.

si paga uno scudo al mese. Qui si piglia il Passaporto del Re, che si chiama Devà [24]; il Passaporto si chiama Casscià [25], in cui si descrive quanti huomini, quanti cavalli, senza curarsi di quanto si porta; a 15 giornate fuori s'incontra il doganiero, a lui si presenta un fazzoletto od altra bagatella di regalo [26].

Di Lassa per venire alla China per terra:

	giorni
Di Lassa viene a Dam, ove sotto padiglioni vi sono pastori [27]	7
Di Dam fino a Karusu, dove sotto padiglioni sta il doganiero [28]	8
Di Karusu all'altro fiume Morusu ove vi sono molti pastori [29]	25
Di Morusu al monte Baicherà per bellissimo paese [30]	5
Di Bajcharà ad Altunei terra fertile d'oro inabitata [31]	2
Di Altunei al lago Kokonor o Solama, da dove esce il Fiume Giallo di China [32]	11

[24] Devà, tibetano *sde-pa*, era il reggente nominato dal Dalai-Lama coll'approvazione del Khan Khoshot, in nome e per conto dei quali dirigeva l'amministrazione del Tibet. Nel 1705 l'ultimo Khan Khoshot Lha-bzang Khan (m.1717) aveva attaccato e messo a morte lo *sde-pa* Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o, abolendone poco dopo l'ufficio e riunendo tutti i poteri nella sua persona. L'informazione del P. Giambattista non è quindi del tutto aggiornata.

[25] In Tibetano *bka'-shog*.

[26] Si tratta del khadak (*k'a-btags*), piccola pezza di stoffa che i tibetani offrono alle autorità od anche a qualsiasi persona di riguardo che essi visitino.

[27] Dam, valle a nord di Lhasa, sotto il Nyangchen-tangla. Era ed è tuttora abitata da nomadi mongoli, di cui costituisce l'insediamento più meridionale esistente. Ai primi del sec. XVIII era la sede estiva del Khan Khoshot del Tibet, che vi passava l'estate sotto le tende, in perfetto stile nomade, mentre nell'inverno risiedeva a Lhasa.

[28] Karusu è il mongolo Qara-usu, tibetano Nag-c'u (fiume nero), l'alto corso del Saluen. Nagchukha sul Qara-usu è tuttora il posto di controllo per i viaggiatori provenienti dal nord in direzione di Lhasa. Fu qui, p.e., che fu fermato Filchner nel 1927.

[29] Morusu è il mongolo Murui-usu, tibetano 'Bri-c'u, uno dei fiumi che confluiscono a formare l'alto Yangtze-kiang.

[30] Baicharà è la catena del Bayan-khara, che divide la valle dell'Ulan-muren (Yangtze-kiang) dal bacino sorgentifero del Huangho; più particolarmente, è il passo per cui la carovaniera attraversa la catena, il Pa-yen ha-la degli itinerari cinesi (ROCKHILL, *Tibet, a geographical, ethnological and historical sketch* in «JRAS» 1891, p. 102).

[31] Altunei è il nome, evidentemente turco (*altyn*=oro), di località non segnata sulle carte; come distanza e direzione, confrontando gli itinerari cinesi, sembrerebbe corrispondere a Lama-tologoi.

[32] L'informazione è sostanzialmente esatta; Soloma è il nome mongolo del Huangho alle sue sorgenti (A. TAFEL, *Meine Tibet-Reise*, Stoccarda 1914, vol. II, p. 20). Il lago è evidentemente l'insieme dei due specchi d'acqua Tsaring-nor ed Oring-nor, da cui nasce il rMa-c'u (Huangho). Però il P. Giambattista è stato tratto in inganno da un'affermazione erronea del Grueber, il quale aveva detta che il Fiume Giallo sgorgava dal lago Kuku-nor (WESSELS, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, p. 184). Da questo all'identificazione del Soloma col Kuku-nor, il passo era brevissimo.

Di Solama a Katunusu, dove si passa il fiume Giallo [33]	2
Di Katunusu a Kercagiunan, dove sta un piccolo re sotto padiglione [34]	7
Di Kercagiunan a Zinhantoloha, dove sta un doganiero sotto padiglione [35]	7
Di Zinhantoloha ad Ahato, dove dimorano molti religiosi idolatri [36]	1
Di Ahato alla porta della Gran Muraglia della China [37]	1
	79

Dalla Porta in due ore di cammino si arriva a Topà [38], emporio dell'indiani e forastieri d'ogni sorte, fra' quali cinque famiglie d'armeni cattolici, il primo de' quali si chiama Majsiangkung, del terz'ordine di S. Francesco, con altri christiani cinesi [39].

Da Topà in 4 ore di viaggio s'arriva a Sining, da alcuni chiamato Selinga, grosso presidio e prima città di China della provincia di Scensi [40]. Da Sining per venire a Siganfu metropoli, [41] nella quale grandissima città li RR.PP. Antonio da Castro Caro e Giovanni

[33] Katunusu è Khatun-usu o Khatun-gol, nome mongolo del medio Huangho; non è quindi nome di località determinata, ma corrisponde al vago «guado del Hoangho» degli itinerari cinesi di Lhasa a Sining (ROCKHILL, *Tibet* ecc., in *JRAS* 1891, p. 91).

[34] Kercagiunan non si trova sulle carte; le sillabe -giunan stanno per il cinese *chün-wang*, mongolo *junwang*, principe. Questa sede di principe mongolo deve aver mutato nome nel secolo scorso, durante quel progressivo ma rapido movimento di popolazioni che fece del Kuku-nor un paese tibetano, con l'eliminazione della maggior parte dei clan mongoli che prima lo abitavano.

[35] Zinhantoloha non è identificabile.

[36] L'equivalenza fonetica di Ahato rimane oscura. Non può essere il famoso monastero di Kumbum, luogo di nascita di Tsongkhapa, perchè da Kumbum la strada porta direttamente a Sining senza passare per Topa. Si tratta probabilmente invece del Dunkir-gomba delle carte, a un giorno di distanza a sud di Tankar, circa 37°15'N., 101°40' E.

[37] Oggi non v'è nè Gran Muraglia nè porta a ovest di Sining; ma ambedue esistevano in tempi passati; vedi WESSELS, *Early Jesuit Travellers* pp. 180-182. Ma soprattutto è da tener presente che si trattava di una «porta» in senso figurato, ossia, diremo noi, di un confine amministrativo e doganale tra il territorio del Kukunor abitato da mongoli allora praticamente indipendenti dalla Cina, ed il territorio soggetto all'amministrazione imperiale cinese. Ed infatti varie «porte» di tal genere sono segnate sul grande atlante cinese dei gesuiti contemporaneo al nostro itinerario; FUCHS, *Der Jesuiten-Atlas der Kanghsi-Zeit*, Pechino 1943, carte n. 9 e n. 24.

[38] Topa, ca. 20 km. a ovest di Sining; fu distrutta nella rivolta musulmana del 1896 ed è oggi quasi abbandonata.

[39] Maisiangkung, ossia il signorino (*hsiang-kung*) Mai, ci è noto anche da altri documenti del tempo. Tramite suo il vescovo di Pechino tentò di mandare aiuti finanziari alla missione di Lhasa. Da un altro documento sappiamo che il suo nome era il Signor Gabriele, Armeno [MITN, I, pp. 67-68].

[40] Ufficialmente Sining fece infatti parte dello Shensi fino al sec. XVII, quando fu creata la provincia del Kansu. Fu staccata a sua volta dal Kansu qualche decennio fa ed eretta a capitale della nuova provincia del Ch'ing-hai (Kuku-nor).

[41] Si-an fu (Singan fu) capitale dello Shensi.

Battista da Serravalle hanno comprato e fabbricata una chiesa, dove dimorano, vi sono 23 giornate di viaggio, e da qui alla corte di Pekino 27.

Altri cammini più comodi e più brevi e di minor spesa:

Da Aspahan Corte di Persia si può andare a Samarcant con carovane	60
Da Samarcant al regno di Cascar [42] con carovane di cameli e di muli	30
Dal regno di Cascar a quello di Iarcan [43] con carovane come sopra	20
Dal regno di Iarcan a quello di Turfan o Tulfan [45] nell'istessa maniera	60
Dal regno di Turfan a Sining di China con Carovana di Cameli	40
	210

Stando in Agra del Mogol si può venire a Iarcan, Turfan e Sining [45]. Da Agra fino a Iarcan non vi sono che 30 giornate con carovane.

Da Mosca di Moscovia si può venire alla montagna di sale in 60 giorni; dal detto monte sino al Turfan 90 giornate colla carovana de' Moscoviti che fanno grossi commerci nel regno di Turfan e Tungut portando a vendere sale, pellicce e similia [46].

Chi desidera per amore di Gesù Cristo fare detti viaggi, deve avere due compagni timorati di Dio, sani e robusti altrettanto che lui istesso; il denaro, che dovrà essere Ungari o Zecchini, lo portarà in una cinta sopra il corpo nudo senza mai mostrarlo a veruna persona, ancorchè fosse suo fratello; e facendo sempre il povero, gli riuscirà fare minor spesa e richiedere carità anche agl'infedeli. Si dovrà conformare agl'abiti e mangiare del paese. Sarà ottima cosa in Persia o nell'India trovare qualche Armeno che vogli venir seco, perchè avendo la lingua Persiana e Armena potrà servirli d'interprete anche in China; arrivato che sarà in Sining, dove vi sono stazioni di diverse lingue, in tal caso non bisognerà guardare alla spesa, anzi dargli anticipatamente qualche denaro, che possa fare un poco di mercanzia nel viaggio. Io ne ho trovati molto di questi giovani Armeni, che s'offersero al semplice mangiare d'accompagnarmi sino alla... [47] per terra, che per mare non torna conto. Sono gli Armeni vigorosi ed attissimi al viaggio e molto fedeli; con tutto ciò mai bisogna mostrare il cuore a nessuno, per timore che per furberia o malizia gli sia rubbato.

Colla guida del santo timor di Dio, colla santa patienza e con denari, spero che fra pochi anni qualche religioso farà li sopradetti viaggi; in tal caso venendo a questa Chiesa saranno da noi ricevuti con tutte le dimostrazioni d'affetto, secondo la povertà nostra, mentre, desiderando io d'esser partecipe de' meriti che s'acquistaranno colla santa patien-

[42] Yarkand.

[43] Kashgar.

[44] Tulfan è la forma cinese Tu-lu-fan, normale trascrizione di Turfan.

[45] Può trattarsi della via Kabul-Badakhshan, seguita da Bento de Goes cento anni prima; oppure della via attraverso il Ladakh ed i passi del Karakorum, molto frequentata appunto in quel periodo (PETECH, *Notes on Ladakhi History*, in «Indian Historical Quarterly» XXIV, 1948, pp. 232-235).

[46] Sul florido commercio tra la Russia e l'Asia Centrale, allora soggetta all'ultimo degli imperi delle steppe, lo stato dei Dsungari, vedi BADDELEY, *Russia, Mongolia, Cina*, Londra 1919, e COURANT, *L'Asie Centrale au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle*, Lione 1912, specialmente pp. 52-53.

[47] Il nome della destinazione è omesso nell'originale.

za nel viaggio, mi raccomando con tutto il cuore alle orazioni di quei che verranno e di quelli che non potranno venire.

Restando con riverire tutti li PP. Missionari di S. Pietro in Montorio, a' quali questa breve relazione è indirizzata,

Da Singafù metropoli della provincia di Scensi in China 14 luglio 1708.

Di tutti hum.mo serv.re

Fr. G.B. di Serravalle, Minore Riformato della provincia di Milano

Fatta eccezione per un passo in cui il P. Giambattista sembra rivelare uno certa conoscenza del viaggio di Grueber e D'Orville, le fonti del suo itinerario sono evidentemente le informazioni ottenute dai mercanti della Cina occidentale, specialmente dagli armeni. Infatti v'è un aspetto dell'itinerario che colpisce immediatamente il lettore; è l'importanza che vi hanno gli armeni. Il sec. XVIII fu uno dei periodi migliori della potenza finanziaria e commerciale di quella sventurata nazione. Partendo dalla Turchia, e meglio ancora dalla Persia, dove essi disponevano di una salda base nella fiorente colonia di Nuova Julfa presso Ispahan, i loro traffici si irradiavano attraverso tutta l'Asia. Per l'India, basta leggere il grosso libro di Mesrovb J. Seth, *The Armenians in India*, Calcutta 1937, per rendersi conto di quale potenza finanziaria essi rappresentassero; in tono minore essa perdura tuttora. Invece sembrano scomparse (mi mancano notizie al proposito) le loro colonie nella città commerciali della Cina del nordovest. Quanto al Tibet, siamo talmente abituati a considerarlo come un paese ermeticamente chiuso ai commercianti occidentali, che stentiamo a ricordarci che Lhasa ai primi del sec. XIIV era una città aperta a tutti i traffici e sede di ricche colonie straniere, specialmente di mercanti musulmani (d'Asia Centrale e dell'Impero Moghul), indiani, cinesi, russi, ed armeni [48]. Sappiamo che la colonia armena di Lhasa contava cinque grossi mercanti ed altri minori, più i loro schiavi cristiani [49]. Le loro relazioni coi connazionali si stendevano attraverso l'Asia, da una parte alla Cina (comunità di Sining), dall'altra parte fino alla loro base di Julfa, ben protetta dal favore degli Sciah Safavidi. Dice il P. Felice da Montecchio. «Potrebbesi produrre per il processo altra lettera di un vescovo armeno, che da Hispahan nel 1709 scrisse a' cappuccini in Lhasa su gl'interessi

[48] DESIDERI, in MITN, VI, 23

[49] Vedine i nomi nel § 51 della Memoria n. 4 del P. Felice da Montecchio. Si tratta di una delle dodici memorie compilate per servire nella causa allora agitantesi tra cappuccini e gesuiti davanti alla Congregazione di Propaganda per l'esclusività della missione del Tibet; dette memorie furono stampate nel 1729 in pochissime copie, per l'uso d'ufficio dei cardinali e dei segretari di Propaganda. [Passo pubblicato in MITN, III, 42].

d'un mercante di una sua nazione» [50]. La colonia armena di Lhasa ebbe bruscamente fine tra il 1717 e il 1720. Lhasa fu presa ed occupata per tre anni dagli Dsungari, e le loro devastazioni, maltrattamenti ed esazioni furono tante e tali, che quasi tutti i mercanti stranieri lasciarono la città [51]. La colonia armena emigrò anch'essa, nè fu mai ricostituita. Nel 1720 la Cina assunse l'alto dominio sul Tibet, e da allora fino agli inizi di questo secolo essa vegliò sempre a tenere il paese chiuso ad ogni specie di influenza occidentale.

[50] Memoria n. 1, § 8. [Passo citato in MITN, II, 38].

[51] Il 28 maggio 1718 il P. Domenico da Fano scriveva da Lhasa di aver deciso di rimaner colà «benchè quasi tutti i mercanti forestieri siano partiti». Archivi di Propaganda Fire, *Scritture rif. nelle Congreg. Gen.*, vol. 625, f. 408-a. [MITN, I, 109].

LA PRETESA AMBASCIATA DI SHĀH JAHĀN ALLA CINA [1]

I documenti olandesi e cinesi sull'ambasciata olandese a Pechino del 1655-57, da me studiati in un articolo precedente [2], permettono anche di dare una soluzione definitiva ad un problema che è stato sollevato per la prima volta 17 anni fa, e che poi, per quanto mi consta, non è stato più trattato: la pretesa ambasceria che sarebbe stata inviata alla corte di Pechino da Shāh Jahān, imperatore Moghul dell'India (1627-1658). Nell'Ind. Hist. Quart., XI (1935), p. 186, si legge un sommario di sette righe di un articolo di C.S.K. Rao Saheb intitolato *Shah Jehan's embassy to China, 1656 A.D.*, che sarebbe stato pubblicato nel *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, IX/2 (1934), dove però esso non compare; nè mi è riuscito di localizzarlo altrove. Comunque, è stato questo laconico accenno che mi ha indotto a riprendere la questione.

L'unica fonte su questa ambasceria, che è ignorata dai testi persiani di storia Moghul, è la relazione di viaggio della prima missione olandese alla corte manciù di Pechino. Riassumendo brevemente quanto ho già detto nell'articolo ad essa dedicato, ricorderò che l'ambasciata, capeggiata da Pieter de Goyer e Jakob de Keyser, partì da Batavia il 14 luglio 1655, si trattenne a Pechino durante l'estate e l'autunno del 1656, ed era di ritorno a Batavia il 31 marzo 1657. La relazione del suo viaggio è dovuta alla penna del loro segretario Johann Neuhof; essa fu dapprima pubblicata de Melchisédec Thévenot nelle sue *Relations de divers voyages curieux qui n'ont point esté publiées* (4 parti), Parigi 1663-1672: Nel 1665 ed anni seguenti ne uscirono edizioni ampliate e trasformate in varie lingue; ma l'edizione del Thévenot rappresenta meglio d'ogni altra il manoscritto originale perduto.

[1] Causa un disguido, il presente articolo, in una forma anteriore e quindi meno completa, fu pubblicato contemporaneamente anche nell'*Indian Historical Quarterly*.

[2] PETECH, *L'Ambasciata olandese del 1655-57 nei documenti cinesi*, in *RSO*, XXV (1950), pp. 77-87.

Nella relazione del Neuhof ci sono tre passi che si riferiscono alla pretesa ambasceria Moghul:

1) Nella *Route du voyage des Hollandois à Pékin* è detto: «Les Mores ont taschè il y a plusieur années d'introduire la religion mahometane dans la Chine, & par là soûmettre les Chinois à leur obeysance; à cette fin ils avoient coustume auparavant cette revolution & du temps du regne des Chinois [3] de faire au nom de leur Roys une petite Ambassade tous les trois ans d'environ trente personnes, & tous les cinq ans une grande de 70 hommes vers le Roy de la Chine [4], ainsi qu'ils ont encore fait n'aguere un peu devant la dernière revolution de cet Estat, ils vinrent à Pékin avec 300 hommes; mais l'Empereur Tartare ayant esté informé qu'ils estoient d'une ville de la Province de Xensi, où il faisaient leur trafic, qu'ils y abitoient ordinairement, qu'ils y estoient en fort gran nombre & mariez mesmes avec des femmes Chinoises, Sa Majesté ordonna qu'ils eussent à se retirer au plus viste hors du pays, y laisser leur femmes sans en emmener une seule; les Mores s'y opposerent, mais ils furent la pluspart taillez en pieces, si bien que de long-temps après ceux de leur Religion n'ont eu envie d'y revenir; neantmoins du temps que les ambassadeurs d'Hollande y estoient, sçavoit ce 3 d'Aoust 1656, on y vit arriver un Ambassadeur de la part du Grand Mogol, où il parut avec un present de... (*la lista verrà discussa più oltre*). & tout cela sous pretexte d'obtenir que leurs prêtres eussent la libertè de revenir au Royaume de la Chine, comme ils ont fait de toute ancienneté, pour mettre dans le bon chemin ces pauvres peuples qui sont dans l'erreur; il disoit que le Grand Mogol son maistre avait sous luy 360 roys, & que son pays estoit le plus estendu de tous ceux qui sont voisins de la Chine. Les Tatares jugerent bien, comme c'estoit aussi la verité, que cette ambassade se faisoit plustost par contrainte & par apprehension que les Tartares Occidentaux à la Chine ne luy fissent le guerre, que par aucune bonne volonté qu'il eut pour cet Estat».

L'ambasciatore aveva portato con sè 30 persone, invece delle 20 per le quali gli era stato concesso il permesso. Durante il suo soggiorno a Pechino si comportò malissimo, lamentandosi e protestando per l'accoglienza fattagli ed i viveri fornitigli. La sua insolenza arrivò al punto di voler

[3] Cioè prima degli avvenimenti del 1644 e della caduta della dinastia Ming.

[4] Vedi la *Relação da vinda dos mouros à China*, del P. SCHALL VON BELL, edita da P. D'ELIA, in *Studia Missionalia*, I (1943), pp. 305-379. Il meccanismo delle Piccole e delle Grandi Ambasciate è spiegato in dettaglio a pp. 333-337 e 365-367. Le Grandi Ambasciate quinquennali comprendevano 340 persone, di cui però solo 60 potevano venire a Pechino; le Piccole Ambasciate triennali constavano di solo otto persone, più i servi.

forzare la guardia che lo sorvegliava, per venir in città quando gli faceva comodo. «Le premier Ministre envoya deux mandarins pour appaiser cette rumeur; ils demanderent à l'ambassadeur s'il estoit venu à Pékin en qualité d'ambassadeur ou de marchand? Que s'il estoit ambassadeur, il falloit qu'il garda les Reglements qu'ils sont obligez de garder dans cette cour, qu'autrement il se declara marchand, que luy & ses gens auroient toute liberté d'aller dans toutes les rues & marchez de la Ville; & cependant leur firent garder le logis si étroitement, que les Mores n'avoient pas la liberté de regarder sur la rue» [5].

2) Nell'*Ambassade des Hollandois à la Chine* è detto che «l'empereur envoya un ordre par escrit au Chancelier de ce Royaume, d'introduire ce jour-la (cioè il 2 ottobre) à l'audiance les Hollandois, les envoyez du Grand Mogol, & certains Tartares venus du costé de l'occident». Alla udienza i Mori ebbero lo stesso rango degli olandesi e ne seguirono la stessa etichetta [6].

3) Nella prima breve notizia sull'ambasciata olandese è detto:«Il arriva aussi à Peking le 3 Aoust de l'année 1656 un ambassadeur qui se disoit envoyé du Grand Mogol, & qui avoit amenè pour present... (segue lista identica alla precedente) [7].

Anche a priori, i dati sopra riportati appaiono sospetti. Le ambascerie «More» antecedenti al 1644 erano evidentemente quelle imprese commerciali malamente travestite da ambascerie, provenienti dagli stati dell'Asia Centrale, di cui ci parla il P. Schall von Bell. Cosa potevano aver esse in comune col Gran Mogol? E perchè l'imperatore dell'India avrebbe dovuto aver paura dei Tartari all'ovest della Cina, cioè probabilmente del giovane regno dei mongoli Dsungari? Sopra tutto, i Moghul non mandarono mai un'ambasceria ad un sovrano extra-indiano che non fosse musulmano; perchè la Cina dovrebbe fare eccezione? E ammesso perfino che questa eccezione abbia avuto luogo, perchè un fatto così importante non è registrato nelle fonti Moghul? Tutti questi dubbi non possono che condurci a supporre che col nome di Gran Mogol il Neuhof intenda in realtà qualche principe dell'Asia Centrale.

Il dubbio diventa certezza quando si consultino le fonti cinesi. Nel periodo durante il quale l'ambasciata olandese fu a Pechino, i *Ta-ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu* 大清歷朝實錄 non hanno il benchè minimo accenno ad un'ambasciata dall'India. Vi troviamo invece registrato che il gior-

[5] THÉVENOT, Parte III, prima paginazione, pp. 24-25.
[6] THÉVENOT, Parte II, ultima paginazione, pp. 56-59.
[7] THÉVENOT, Parte I, seconda paginazione, p. 27.

no *kêng-yin* dell'ottavo mese del 13° anno Shun-chih (2 ottobre 1656) furono invitati a banchetto nel ministero dei riti (*li-pu* 禮 部) gli ambasciatori di alcuni principi mongoli, gli ambasciatori di Tu-lu-fan 吐 魯 番 e gli ambasciatori olandesi [8]. Tu-lu-fan è Turfan, l'importante città carovaniera dell'Asia Centrale, e ciò richiama immediatamente alla mente il fatto che le ambascerie musulmane di cui parla il P. Schall von Bell venivano ufficialmente inviate ed accreditate dal principe di Turfan [9]. Questo dunque è il «Gran Mogol» di Neuhof! Qualsiasi dubbio che potesse esistere a questo proposito viene completamente rimosso dalla lista dei doni recati dagli inviati di Tu-lu-fan, riprodotta negli *Shih-lu*; essa coincide esattamente colla lista dei doni offerti dall'ambasciatore del «Gran Mogol» secondo Neuhof, come si può vedere dalla tavola seguente:

Shih-tsu Shih-lu, ch. 103, fol. 12*a-b*	THÉVENOT, Parte terza, p. 26 (disposto nell'ordine dell'altra colonna)
4 dromedari	4 drommadaires
1 cavallo d'occidente	2 cheveaux persans
324 piccoli cavalli	300 chevaux comuns
2 *mace*[10] di diamanti	
1000 *catti* di giada	10 picols de pierre de coldryn[10]
200 piccoli coltelli	200 cousteaux moresques
4 archi d'occidente	4 arcs
2 tappeti	2 alcatifs[11] ou tapis
1 sella	1 selle avec tout son harnois
4 corni d'antilope	8 cornes de Rinoceros
1 aquila e 1 serie di penne d'aquila	2 aigles
	2 austruches

È sostanzialmente quasi la stessa lista di quelli che erano i regali obbligati ed invariabili delle ambascierie d'Asia Centrale sotto i Ming: 1000 *catti* di giada, 600 coltelli, 260 lime d'acciaio, 30 diamanti per un peso totale di 2 *mace*; 100 *catti* di lapislazuli; 340 cavalli [12].

Alla metà del secolo XVII il principe di Turfan era un Abdullah (A-pu-tu-la 阿 布 都 拉 哈) [13], appartenente al ramo Ciagataide dei

[8] *Shih-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 103, fol. 9*b*.

[9] D'ELIA, *Op. cit.*, pp. 330-331.

[10] Un *mace* è oggi circa g. 35; 10 *mace* = 1 tael; 16 tael = 1 *catti*; 100 *catti* = 1 *picul*.

[11] Dal portoghese *alcatifa*.

[12] D'ELIA, *Op. cit.*, p. 335.

[13] Il giorno *ting-wei* dell'ottava luna (19 ottobre 1656) l'imperatore gli indirizzò un

Gengiskhanidi. Turfan era una delle ultime roccaforti dell'Islam e dei Gengiskhanidi in Asia Centrale [14]. E così il «Gran Mogol» di Neuhof non era in realtà che un principotto del Turkestan orientale; è vero che egli poteva vantare molto maggior diritti al nome di mongolo che i Timuridi d'India, mezzo turchi e completamente indianizzati.

Di fronte alla testimonianza inoppugnabile dei documenti cinesi, la pretesa ambasciata di Shāh Jahān alla Cina deve ormai scomparire dalla storia.

rescritto in risposta al messaggio recato dall'ambasciatore; *Shih-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 103, foll. 22*a*-23*a*. Il nome differisce da quelli riferiti da A. Haneda in un articolo in giapponese citato dal HAGUENAUER in *J. As.*, 1950, p. 453. Ma non è questo il luogo per discuterne la questione.

[14] GROUSSET, *L'empire des steppes*, Parigi 1948, pp. 577-578.

UNA CARTA CINESE DEL SECOLO XVIII

In una delle aule dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli pende un'antica carta murale della Cina, la quale finora non è stata fatta oggetto di studio. Eccone la descrizione (cf. Tav. I). Larghezza m. 3,17, altezza m. 2,95. Consta di vari fogli cartacei accostati ed incollati su un grande pezzo di tela, restaurato negli anni precedenti la seconda guerra mondiale. Le dimensioni di un foglio normale sono cm. 66,5 per cm. 39,5. I fogli sono disposti su otto strisce orizzontali. In più vi è un piccolo foglio isolato, unito all'orlo inferiore a circa un quarto della larghezza; rappresenta parte dell'isola di Hainan. Ogni striscia consta per regola di sei fogli. Vi sono tuttavia diverse irregolarità; alcuni fogli sono divisi in due; tutti i fogli lungo l'orlo sinistro della carta sono tagliati a poco più della loro larghezza; nella parte inferiore destra, invece di vari fogli che dovrebbero rappresentare il mare, v'è grande riquadro contenente il titolo. La carta ha una serie di coordinate, che in qualche punto portano le numerazione in cinese; il meridiano normale è quello di Pechino. Ogni foglio misura 5° ai paralleli e da 9 a 13° ai meridiani. La zona rappresentata è l'impero cinese, con l'esclusione del Sinkiang e del Tibet Centrale ed occidentale, ma con l'inclusione della Corea e dell'Isola di Sakhalin. I nomi della carta sono in caratteri cinesi per la Cina vera e propria, ed in caratteri manciù per il Tibet orientale, la zona del Kukunor, la Mongolia, la Manciuria e la Corea. Nel grande riquadro in basso a destra v'è il titolo: *Yü-chin Ta-Ch'ing i-t'ung-ch'üan-t'u* 御製大清一統全圖, «Atlante generale della grande dinastia Ch'ing fatto per ordine imperiale». Sotto il titolo sono riportati in altrettante colonne parallele i nomi dei distretti autonomi delle due capitali (Pechino e Nanchino) delle (allora) 17 province, di Formosa, dell'Annam, delle Mongolia, della Corea, della Manciuria e del Tibet.

Fin dal primo colpo d'occhio è facile riconoscere che la carta è strettamente affine al grande Atlante Gesuita della Cina. Come è noto, nel 1708 l'imperatore K'ang-hsi (1661-1722) ordinava ai gesuiti viventi alla sua corte di eseguire il rilevamento dell'impero e di prepararne la carta

geografica. L'opera grandiosa fu condotta a termine in otto anni, ed il risultato fu consegnato nello stupendo atlante chiamato *Huang-yü ch'üan-lan-t'u* 皇輿全覽圖, stampato nel 1717 in 28 tavole xilografate. Una seconda, definitiva edizione con molti miglioramenti vide la luce in 32 tavole xilografate nel 1721. L'intero atlante fu ripubblicato dal Fuchs con una magistrale introduzione e con utili indici [1]. In Europa l'atlante era diventato noto molto per tempo, grazie alla riduzione fattane nel 1733 dal cartografo francese D'Anville [2].

La sostanziale identità della nostra carta con questo atlante non ha bisogno di una dimostrazione particolareggiata. Si confronti per esempio l'andamento tutto particolare della costa siberiana e di Sakhalin, ed il caratteristico tracciato di Formosa, la cui sola costa ovest è rappresentata (Tav. II); e ciò a prescindere dalla toponomastica, che è praticamente identica nella carta e nell'atlante.

Ma possiamo andare più in là, ed identificare più da vicino la nostra carta. Sappiamo che l'imperatore fece fare dall'abate Matteo Ripa, fondatore del Collegio de' Cinesi di Napoli (ora Istituto Universitario Orientale), un'edizione in calcografia dell'atlante gesuita; questa edizione era pronta nel 1719. Ecco cosa dice al riguardo lo stesso Ripa: «Avendo terminato d'intagliare le trentasei vedute della villa imperiale di Ge-hol in Tartaria [3], ed avendole impresse, le presentai a Sua Maestà, che ne godè molto, ed ordinò che ne imprimessi un buon numero, che le servivano per donarle a' suoi figli, nipoti ed altri signori. Volle pure che avessi intagliato in rame la carta geografica, che sin dal diciasette di aprile dell'anno 1711 aveva ordinato che si facesse [4], di tutto il vastissimo Impero della Cina, e della Tartaria a sé soggetta e tributaria, non essendo pago di averla solo delineata a penna; e perchè erale piaciuta la raccolta da me fatta in un sol libro delle suddette trentasei vedute della villa, mi ordinò che aves-

[1] FUCHS, *Der Jesuiten-Atlas der K'anghsi-Zeit*, Monumenta Serica Monograph, IV, Pechino 1943.

[2] Pubblicata per la prima in DU HALDE, *Description, historique... de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise, Parigi 1735;* pubblicata separatamente nello stesso anno 1735 come *Atlas Général de la Chine* e nel 1737 come *Nouvel Atlas de la Chine*.

[3] Questa serie di panorami dei palazzi di Jehol, eseguiti da artisti cinesi, accompagnati da poesie e da una prefazione dell'imperatore datata 1711, apparve per la prima volta in xilografia nel 1711 o 1712; l'incisione in rame fatta dal Ripa è probabilmente contemporanea. Vedi PELLIOT, *Les «Conquêtes de l'Empereur de la Chine»*, in *T'oung Pao*, XX (1921), pp. 240-241; id., Recensione di WALEY, *An index of Chinese artists ecc.*, in *T'oung Pao*, XXI (1922), p. 336; FUCHS, *Der Kupferdruck in China vom 10. bis. 19. Jahrhundert*, in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1950, pp. 77.

[4] Data non verificabile; FUCHS, *Der Jesuiten-Atlas*, p. 75.

si fatto lo stesso dopo aver dato fine alla carta geografica, che incisi in quarantaquattro rami, ed è quella stessa, che vedesi esposta nella nostra sala colle lettere Tartare e Cinesi» [5].

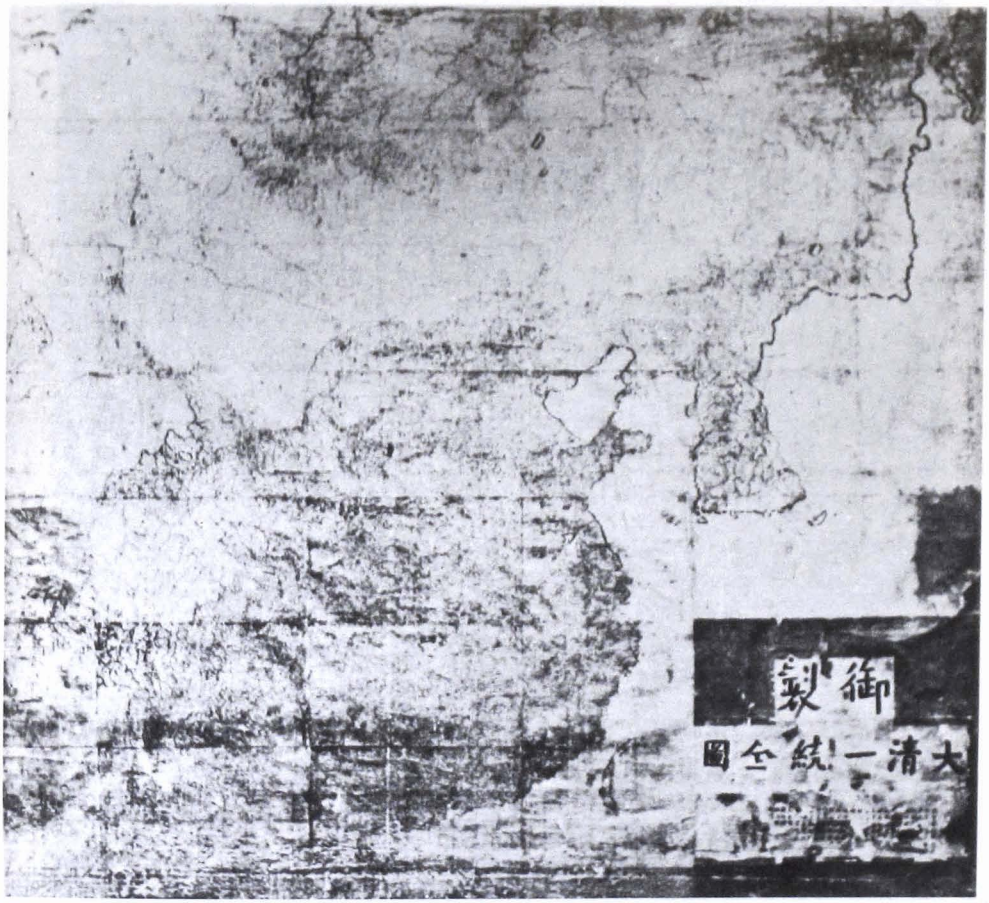
È quindi a priori molto verosimili che la nostra carta sia proprio quella a cui allude il Ripa. Ma un caso fortuito ci dà la possibilità di una prova matematica. Per fortuna addirittura incredibile, le tavole di rame incise dal Ripa esistono tuttora (o almeno esistevano fino al 1945), conservate nel palazzo imperiale di Mukden, dove furono rinvenute diversi anni fa. Di queste tavole, in numero di 41, fu fatto un nuovo tiraggio, pubblicato col titolo *Man-han ho-pi Ch'ing nei-fu i-t'ung yü-ti pi-t'u* 滿漢合璧 清內府一統輿地秘圖, «Carta segreta generale della corte della dinastia Ch'ing, con nomenclatura manciù e cinese», Mukden 1929. Purtroppo questa ristampa non mi è accessibile; ma il Fuchs, che la descrive, ci dice che le singole lastre di rame misurano cm. 57 per cm. 40 [6], il che corrisponde esattamente alle misure dei singoli riquadri della nostra carta. Anche il fatto della bilinguità corrisponde sia ai dati del Ripa che a quelli della carta di Mukden. Il Fuchs si è sentito dubbioso davanti alla discordanza nel numero delle carte: 41 a Mukden, 44 secondo Ripa. Lo aspetto della nostra carta spiega il perchè di questa incertezza; essa è dovuta alle differenti possibilità di conteggio dei fogli bianchi rappresentati il mare davanti alle coste cinesi, fogli in parte sostituiti dal riquadro contenente un titolo.

Ancora nel 1950 il Fuchs scriveva: «Vollständige Originalausgaben von Ripas Karten sind mir nicht bekannt; selbst im Pekinger Palast ist kein Exemplar mehr erhalten, und auch dasjenige in Neapel existiert nicht mehr» [7]. Oggi invece sappiamo che esistono almeno tre completi esemplari originali della serie di carte incise in rame da Matteo Ripa nel 1719, riproducenti con qualche modifica nella nomenclatura l'atlante costruito negli anni 1708-1716 dai gesuiti di Pechino; due sono conservanti al British Museum, come il Dr. Fuchs ha voluto gentilmente comunicarmi; ed un terzo è rappresentato appunto dalla carta dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli.

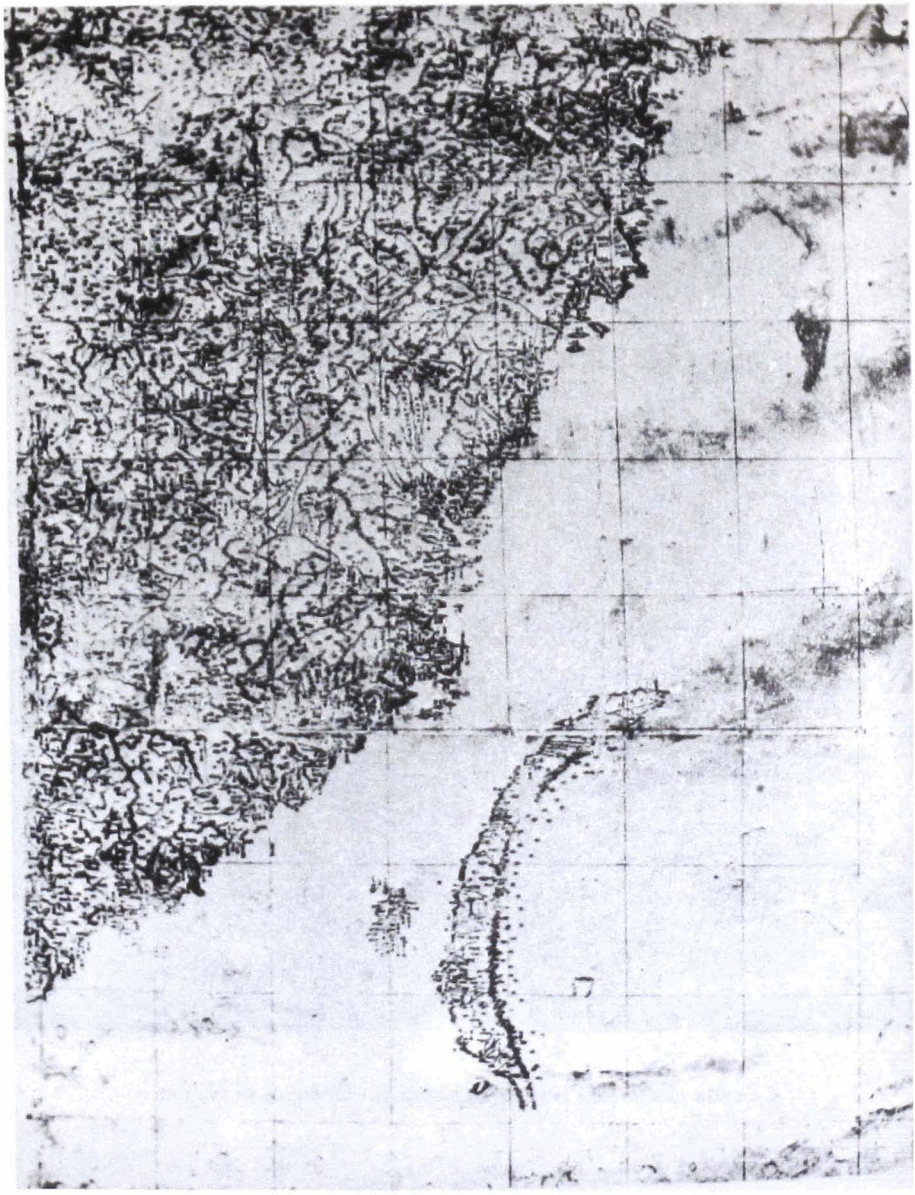
[5] RIPA, *Storia della fondazione della congregazione e del Collegio de' Cinesi*, Napoli 1832, vol. I, 463-464. L'incisione definitiva fu preceduta da alcuni lavori di prova, che risalgono al 1717 ed in parte ci sono conservati; FUCHS, *Der Jesuiten-Atlas*, pp. 25-28. L'edizione del Ripa non è identica a nessuna delle due edizioni in xilografia, sia per il numero dei nomi in ogni foglio, sia a causa della bilinguità (le due edizioni xilografate hanno tutte le diciture in cinese).

[6] Così in *Der Kupferdruck in China*, p. 77; in *Der Jesuiten-Atlas*, p. 40, invece cm. 67 per 38.

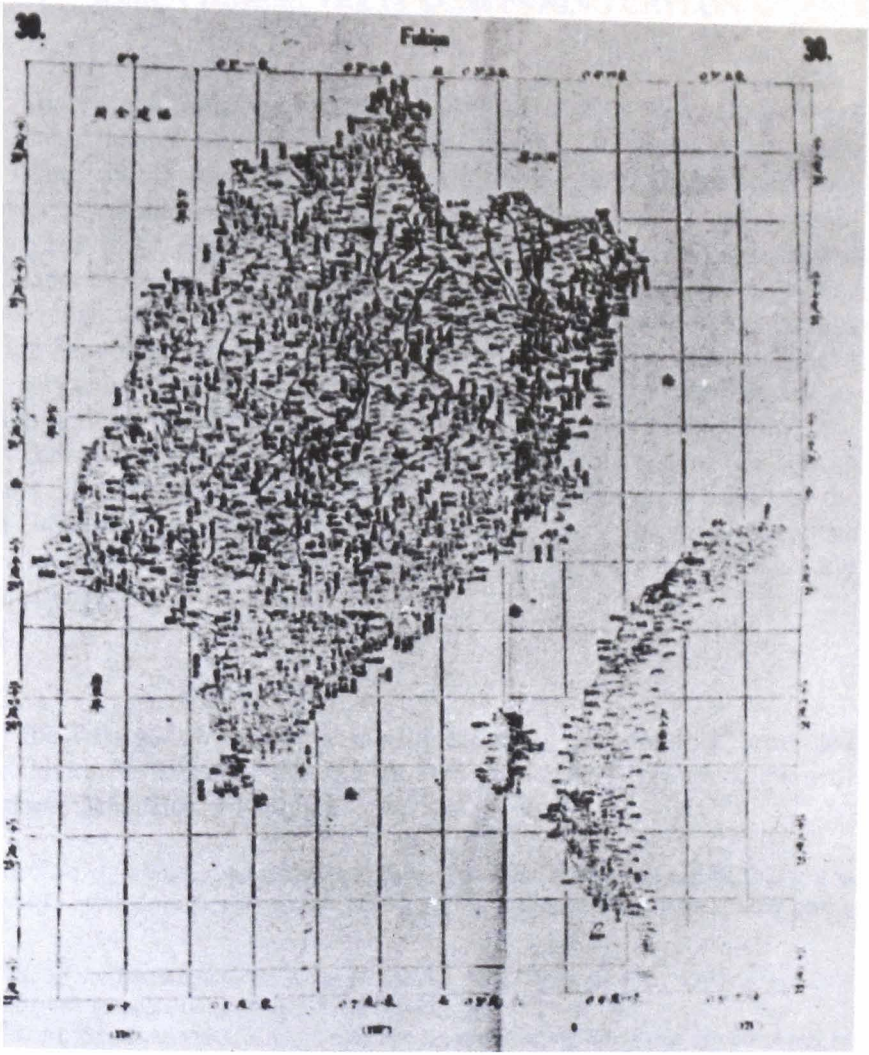
[7] *Der Kupferdruck in China*, p. 77.



La carta cinese nell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli.



Formosa e la costa del Fukien
nella carta dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli.



Formosa e la costa del Fukien nell'atlante dei gesuiti di Pechino.
(Da FUCHS, *Der Jesuiten-Atlas der K'anghsi-Zeit*, tav. 30).

SOME CHINESE TEXTS CONCERNING CEYLON

The scanty mentions of Ceylon in Chinese texts have always been considered a most welcome check upon the rather floating chronology of the Island during the first seven or eight centuries A.D.; besides, they throw interesting sidelights upon religious, cultural and economic conditions. The great pilgrims Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang of course occupy a place apart. The bulk of the other texts has been collected and translated into French by S. Lévi [1]. The passages in Lévi's article concerning Ceylon have been translated into English by John M. Senaveratna [2]. After half a century it is perhaps worthwhile taking up again the subject, although nothing really substantial can be added to Lévis's collection.

The new material available is very early and belongs to the 3rd-5th century. To this I have added an abstract of the Chinese accounts of the 10th-14th centuries and a short summary of the latest results of European investigations on the chronology of the Chêng Ho's voyages in the early 15th century.

A

The first name appearing in Chinese texts and possibly connected with Ceylon is Ssŭ-tiao; the ancient (6th-7th century) pronounciation of this name accorting to Karlgren [3] was *sie-d'ieu.*

Text No. 1. «Among the islands and bays of Ssŭ-tiao natural salt can be found; it is heaped like small pebbles and the inhabitants of the country take it (thence). They give a

[1] S. LÉVI, *Les missions de Wang Hiuen-ts'e dans l'Inde*, in *J.As.* 1900, I, pp. 297-341, 401-468 (especially pp. 316-318, 401-440).

[2] J. M. SENAVERATNA, *Chino-Sinhalese Relations in the Early and Middle Ages*, in *JCBRAS*, XXIV (1915/6) pp. 74-105; the same author added *Some Notes on the Chinese References to Ceylon*, Ibid., pp. 106-118; and L. GILES contributed a translation of the account of Ceylon in the *Ming-shih*, Ibid., pp. 119-123.

[3] B. KARLGREN, *Analytical Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris, 1923.

cartful to their king as tribute and the rest they store aways». *Fu-nan-t'u-su* of K'ang T'ai, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, 787.4a. K'ang T'ai was a subject of the Wu dynasty of Southern China (222-280 A.D.). He travelled in Fu-nan, modern Cambodia, and left an account of his journey, of which only quotations in later works are extant [4]. The title *Fu-nan t'u-su* refers to the official report submitted on his return; the title *Wu-shih Wai-kuo-chuan* (see the next text) is that of the literary work compiled on the basis of that first draft.

Text No. 2. «The king of Ssŭ-tiao causes a curtain interwoven with white pearls and a golden bedstead to be manufactured, and sends them to the temples of the gods in India. The king of India, considering the beauty of the roundness of the pearls, wishes to keep them for himself; but his officials and subjects remonstrate and he desists». *Wu-shih Wai-kuo-chuan* of K'ang T'ai, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, 699.3a-b.

Text No. 3. «In the kingdom of Ssŭ-tiao there is a fire island in the middle of the sea. In spring and summer it pours out fire; in autumn and winter it dies out. There is a tree which lives inside the fire. In autumn and winter it withers and dies. (The local people) employ its bark for cloth». *Nan-fang I-wu-chih* of Wan Chen, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, 787.4b. Wan Chen too was a subject of the Wu dynasty and lived therefore in the 3rd century [5]. This and the following texts contain the legend of the origin of asbestos, on which an interesting essay has been written by Laufer [6].

Text No. 4. (practically identical with No. 3) «In the kingdom of Ssŭ-tiao there is an island of blazing fire. It is in the Southern sea. Upon it there is a fire which lights up spontaneously in spring and summer and dies away during autumn and winter. There are trees which live in it and are not consumed. Their branches and bark renew their fresh appearance. During autumn and winter the fire dies out; then all of them wither and droop. It is customary to gather the bark in winter for the purpose of making cloth. It is of a slightly bluish-black colour. When it is soiled, they throw it into fire again and it comes out fresh and bright». *I-wu-chih* of Wan Chen quoted in a note of Fei Sung-chih to *San-kuo-chih, Wei-chih*, 4.1b, and also in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, 820.10a.

Text No. 5. «There is a tree called *mo-ch'u*, which grows in the kingdom of Ssŭ-tiao. Its juice is fat and moist. It is glossy like grease. Its odour is fragrant and fine. It may be used for frying and boiling food, the smell of which becomes good, in the same manner as oil is used in China». *Nan-chou I-wu-chih* of Wan Chen, quoted in the *Ch'i-min-yao-shu* of Ku Ssŭ-hsieh, 10.47a, in the *Cheng-lei-pen-ts'ao*, ch. 23, and in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, 960.8b, where the last sentence is as follows: «It may be used for frying and boiling food; the people of that island swallow it as a fine delicacy». Concerning the *mo-ch'u* fruit, see below [8].

[4] P. PELLIOT, *Le Fou-nan*, in *BEFEO*, III (1903), pp. 275-276.

[5] P. PELLIOT, *Le Fou-nan*, p. 281n.

[6] B. LAUFER, *Asbestos and Salamander* in *T'oung Pao* XVI (1915), pp. 299-373.

[7] This text was first translated by LAUFER, *Asbestos and Salamander*, pp. 351-352

[8] This text was first translated by Laufer, quoted by G. FERRAND, *Ye-tiao, Sseu-tiao et Java*, in *J.As.* 1916, 2, p. 531.

Text No. 6. «Ssŭ-tiao is the name of an island in the midst of the sea. It may be about 3,000 *li* to the south-east of Ko-ying. In it are three kingdoms. There are cities and villages, roads and paths. It soil is rich and fertile». *Nan-chou I-wu-chih* of Wan Chen, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, 787.4a. Ko-ying (else where Chia-ying) has not yet been identified [9].

Text No. 7.«The kingdom of Ssŭ-tiao produces gold, silver, white pearls, sulphur, fine water-vessels, pearls of five colours and *ma-k'o*(?)». *Kuang-chih* of Kuo I-kung quoted in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, 359. 3a. Kuo I-kung lived under the Chin dynasty (265-420).

Text No. 8.«The kingdom of Ssŭ-tiao produces asbestos and employs in such a quality the bark of a tree. This tree, when exposed to fire, does not burn». *Lo-yang Chia-lan-chi*, ch. 4 (Taishō edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, vol. 51, p. 101) [10]. This work is a description of the Chinese capital Lo-yang and its Buddhist foundations, written about 527 by Yang Hsien-chih.

To a slightly later period belongs the mention of a kingdom of Ssŭ-ho-t'iao (ancient pronunciation according to Karlgren: *Si-ha-d'ieu*) in the following texts.

Text No. 9. «The king of Ssŭ-ho-t'iao causes a curtain to be made, woven with white pearls, and sends it as a gift to the Buddhas and gods of India». *Ying-chih*, i.e., the *Fu-nan I-wu-chih* of Chou Ying, quoted in the *Pei-t'ang-shu-ch'ao* of Yü Shih-nan, 132. 4a. Chou Ying was the companion of K'ang T'ai in his journey to Fu-nan and belongs therefore to the 3rd century [11].

Text No. 10. «The kingdom of Ssŭ-ho-t'iao is in the middle of the Ocean. Its surface measures 20,000 *li*. The kingdom contains a large mountain. The mountain has a well in the rock. Inside the well grow white water-lilies with one thousand petals. Upon some lapislazuli stones at the sides of the well there are footmarks of the four Buddhas; there are eight footmarks in all. During the six monthly days of fasting, when Bodhisattva Maitreya with all the gods have finished worshipping the footmarks of the Buddha and have flown away, (there remain) stupas, teaching halls and all the seven kinds of jewels. The king and the elders continuously cause gold trees with silver leaves to be made, and contribute towards maintaining (the cult of) the Buddha». *Wai-kuo-shih* of Chih Seng-tsai, quoted in the *I-wen-lei-chü* of Ou-yang Hsün, 76. 1a, and (with some slight differences) in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, 797. 9a. The Yüeh-chih monk Seng-tsai wrote his account of Foreign Countries (*Wai-kuo-shih*) under the Chin dynasty (265-420). The passage about the eight footmarks is not quite clear in the text; I have followed the interpretation of Pelliot [12]. The

[9] On Ko-ying see CHAVANNES in *J.As* 1903, 2, p. 530, and PELLIOT, *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde*, in *BEFEO* IV (1904), pp. 277-278n. Fujita would identify it with Kulam (Quilon), but his arguments are rather weak.

[10] This text was first translated by LAUFER, *Ssŭ-tiao*, in *T'oung Pao* XVII (1916), p. 390.

[11] On Chou Ying see PELLIOT, *Le Fou-nan*, pp. 276-277. To Pelliot (in *T'oung Pao* XXIX, p. 183) is also due the identification of the *Ying-chih* with the work of Chou Ying.

[12] P. PELLIOT, *Review of Fujita's Article* (see below n. 24) in *T'oung Pao* XXIX (1932), p. 183.

text alludes to the well-known footmark on Adam's Peak, and not to that at Dondra at the southernmost tip of the Island. The temple is the same as the Mahāvihāra, seven *li* to the south of the capital, described by Fa-hsien, ch. 39, and by Hsüan-tsang, ch. II.

Text No. 11. «Upon the mountain Ch'üan-tao-liao in the kingdom of Ssŭ-ho-t'iao there is the temple Pi-ho-lo (Vihāra). In the temple there is an iguana of stone, which contains a god. Everything the monks are about to partake as food and drink, is offered at once by the temple servants to the stone iguana; then everything is eaten up». *Wai-kuo-shih* of Chih Seng-tsai quoted in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, 932. 6b. The mountain Ch'üan-tao-liao may be either a transliteration or a translation (perfect-path-faraway); both the mountain and the iguana temple still remain to be identified.

Text No. 12. «The king of Ssŭ-ho-t'iao contributes toward the food for the monks with three silver ounces daily». *Wai-kuo-shih* of the Chih Seng-tsai, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, 812.5b.

Text No. 13. «In the kingdom of Ssŭ-ho-t'iao there was a very rich elder called T'iao-san-mi. For the Buddha he caused a canopy of gold and silver curtains to be made over him. For every Buddha he caused two canopies to be made». *Wai-kuo-shih* of Chih Seng-tsai, quoted in the *Pei-t'ang-shu-ch'ao*, 132.12d, and also in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, 701.7b. T'iao-san-mi (ancient pronunciation according to Karlgren: *d'ieu-sam-mjie*) has been reconstructed by Fujita as Devasamādhi and by Pelliot as Devasāmi (Devasvamin) [13]. [A much more plausible explanation is *diusāmi* (Sanskrit *dvīpasvāmin*)].The man seems to have lived in the 3rd or 4th century, but no such name is mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* or the *Dīpavamsa*. His donations may be connected whit Kapilavastu (see the following text) or with the Mahābodhi Sanghārāma in Bodh-Gaya, about which see Hsüan-tsang, ch. 8 [14]. It should be noted that the quotation of the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* has Ssŭ-t'iao instead of Ssŭ-ho-t'iao; and this offers valuable evidence for the identity of the two names.

Text No. 14. «The kingdom of Chia-wei-yüeh (Kapilavastu) now has no longer a king. The city wall and the moats are deserted and dirty, and there is only an empty space . . . . . In those, days, when the stupa was decayed and worn, T'iao-san-mi took care of the repairs and mending of one stupa, and the king of Ssŭ-ho-t'iao sent gifts as an aid to finish it. Now there are twelve monks who dwell at the stupa». *Wai-kuo-shih* of Chih Seng-tsai, quoted in the *Shui-ching-chu* of Li Tao-yüan, 1.9b. T'iao-wang-mi of the text of the *Shui-ching-chu* is doubtlessly to be corrected into T'iao-san-mi; the confusion between the two characters *wang* («king») and *san* («three») is not uncommon [15].

Text No. 15. «From the kindom of An-hsi (Parthia) to the kingdom of Ssŭ-ho-t'iao there are 20,000 *li*; the land of this kingdom borders with the sea. They are therefore the T'ien-chu (India) and An-hsi kingdoms of the History of the Former Han». *Fu-nan-chi* of

[13] FUJITA (see below, n. 24) I, p. 675; PELLIOT in *T'oung Pao* XXIX, p. 183.

[14] WATTERS, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* , II, p. 134.

[15] This text was first translated by the present writer in *Nothern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, Rome, 1950, p. 33; the translation has been revised according to the suggestions of L. S. YANG in the *HJAS* XIV (1951), p. 664.

Chu Chih, quoted in *Shui-ching-chu*, 2. 3b. Chu Chih was a monk of Indian origin and lived in the second half of the 5th century [16]. As I wrote some time ago, «it seems that we have here an echo of that sea route from the mouth of the Euphrates to Hormuz and along the coast of Western India to Ceylon, which was so active and so frequented during the palmy days of the Roman trade to the east in the first two or three centuries A.D. The utterly wrong conclusion that Ssŭ-ho-t'iao was the T'ien-chu of the *Han-shu* seems to be due to the author the *Shui-ching-chu*» [17].

That Ssŭ-ho-t'iao was a form as early as, and even earlier than, Ssŭ-t'iao, is proved by two variants of the same name, found in the Chinese translations of the *Samyuktāvadāna*.

Text No. 16. «In the middle of the sea there is a country called Ssŭ-ho-tieh. From its interior precious things in great number come forth; rock-honey alone is lacking». *T'ai-p'i-yü-ching* translated by Chi Lou-chia-ch'an (Taishō n. 204; vol. IV p. 500a). This translator was active c.178-188 A.D.

Text No. 17. «In ancient times in Southern India there was a kingdom called Ssŭ-ho-hsieh. It lies upon an island in the sea. Its capital measures more than 80,000 *li* in length and breadth». *Ts'a-p'i-yü-ching* translated by an unknown, ch. I (Taishō, n. 20, vol. IV, p. 502b). This translation too belongs to the Later Han dynasty (22-220 A.D.).

It is absolutely certain that Ssŭ-ho-t'iao (*si-ha-d'ieu*) corresponds from the phonetical and geographical point of view to Sihadi(v)u, a Sinhalese form for the Pali Sīhadīpa [18]. The texts allow no room for doubt.

On the contrary, the identity of Ssŭ-t'iao was a subject of keen controversy. Pelliot, who first mentioned the name in 1904, recognized it as a transcription of Sīhadīpa, but felt some doubt about its geographical location [19]. The same opinion was still held by him in 1912 [20]. Then in 1915 Laufer maintained that Ssŭ-tiao was doubtlessly a misprint for Yeh-tiao, which occurs in the History of the Later Han (*Hou Han-shu*) under the date of 132 A.D. and phonetically corresponds almost certainly to Ptolemy's Iabadiou, Yavadvīpa, i.e., Java [21]. In 1916 Ferrand strongly supported this contention, relying chiefly upon the identification of the *ma-ch'u* fruit quoted in Text No. 5 with the *maja* (*Aegle marmelos*) of Indonesia [22]. Pelliot was drawn by these arguments to accept the conclusions of Laufer and Ferrand [23]. But in 1929 Fujita subjected the matter to a close scrutiny in an article which did not attract in the West the attention it deserved because of the Japanese language in which it was written [24]. According to him not only Ssŭ-tiao and Ssŭ-ho-t'iao

[16] PELLIOT, *Le Fou-nan*, p. 227.

[17] PETECH, *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, p. 62.

[18] P. DEMIÉVILLE in *T'oung Pao* XL (1951), p. 346.

[19] PELLIOT, *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde*, pp. 268n, 357.

[20] PELLIOT, Review of *Chau Ju-kua*, in *T'oung Pao* XIII (1912), p. 463.

[21] LAUFER, *Asbestos and Salamander*, p. 351.

[22] G. FERRAND, *Ye-tiao, Sseu-tiao et Java*, in *J.As.* 1916, 2, pp. 521-532.

[23] PELLIOT, *Quelques textes chinois concernant l'Indochine hindouisée*, in *Études Asiatiques de l'E.F.E.O.*, Paris 1926, II, pp. 250-251.

[24] T. FUJITA, *Yōchō-Shichō-Shikajō no tsuite*, in *Memoirs of the Faculty of Literature Polics of the Taihoku Imperial University*, I, (1929); reprinted in his posthumous collected essays: *Tōsei kōshōshi no kenkyu*, Tokyo 1932, vol. I (*Nankaihen*), pp. 653-694.

transcribe Sīhadīpa, but even Yeh-tiao is merely a clerical error for Ssŭ-tiao; as for the *mo-chu* fruit, it corresponds to *modhu*, the Mahwa-tree (*Bassia latifolia*) of India and Ceylon. In 1932 Pelliot accepted Fujita's conclusion as far as Ssŭ-tiao in concerned, but refused to follow him in the case of Yeh-tiao, which cannot be anything but Java [25]. And there the controversy rested.

In my opinion we should be more cautious than Fujita and even Pelliot. I quite agree that the Ssŭ-tiao of K'ang T'ai (Texts Nos. 1 and 2) is Ceylon, as shown by the variant in Text No. 12 and above all by the perfect parallelism between Text No. 2 and No. 8; the author of the latter was a travelling companion of K'ang T'ai. But the Ssŭ-tiao of Wan Chen, with its mention of volcanoes (of which there is none in Ceylon) seems to refer rather to Java. The *mo-ch'u* fruit does not allow us to decide either way. Phonetically (ancient pronunciation according to Karlgren: *mua-d'iu*) it may correspond to *maja* (theory of Ferrand) as well as to *madhu* (theory of Fujita). I think therefore that the name Ssŭ-tiao designated two quite different islands, the native names of which sounded somehow very similar to Chinese ears; for Wan Chen it transcribed some unknown Indonesian name (probably not Java); for K'ang T'ai it was a quite good transliteration of Sihadiu.

The above texts do not give us much help about conditions in Ceylon during the 3rd and 4th centuries; not are they of any value from the chronological point of view. The most important item is the piece of information concerning T'iao-san-mi and the relations between Ceylon and the monasteries of Kapilavastu. They show a parallel with the well-attested close relations between Ceylon and the Mahābodhi Vihāra of Bodh-Gaya.

B

During the period of the T'ang dynasty, Ceylon was on the main sea trade route from India to China. To the texts collected by S. Lévi we may add the itinerary compiled by Chia Tan between 785 and 805. It carries the mariners from Ch'ien-lan (Nicobar Islands) «northward and after four

[25] PELLIOT, Review of Fujta's Article in *T'oung Pao* XXIX (1932), pp. 181-184. I may mention in passing that R. STEIN, *Le Lin-yi (Han-hiue,*II.), Peking, 1947, pp. 138-141, while accepting the phonetical equivalence of Yeh-tiao with Yavadvīpa, maintained that geographically it might correspond to Western Yünnan and Northern Burma; but I do not think that his theory has withstood the criticism of DEMIÉVILLE in *T'oung Pao* XL (1951), p. 346.

days' travel to Shih-tzŭ (Ceylon); its northern coast is at 100 *li* from the southern coast of Southern India». The itinerary continues to Malabar and the Persian Gulf [26].

In the *Wen-hsien-t'ung-kao* of Ma Tuan-lin (published 1322), ch.145,p.1276b, there is a passing reference to the effect that under the T'ang dynasty lions were sent as tribute by the south-western barbarians, from Ceylon and other countries.

For three centuries after the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 907, Ceylon is but seldom mentioned in Chinese texts. In the official history of the Liao dynasty, who ruled Manchuria and the northernmost fringe of China from 907 to 1125 and greatly protected and fostered Buddhism, there is a concise entry under the date of March 12th, 989: «The kingdoms of Hui-hu (Uigurs), Yü-tien (Khotan) and Shih-tzŭ offered tribute»; *Liao-shih*, 12.5a. Relations between Ceylon and that faraway country are unlikely, and Shih-tzŭ (Lion Country; the usual translation of Simhala) is listed among Central Asian Countries. It is therefore very likely that Ceylon is not meant at all and that the name may refer to some Lion-King of Central Asia, as suggested by Wittfogel [27].

The geographical work *Ling-wai-tai-ta* of Chou Ch'ü-fei (written in 1178) is of slight use for our purpose. It contains however the first mention in Chinese texts of the name Ceylon, brought to China by the Arab and Persian traders. «To the west there is a big sea called the sea of Hsi-lan. In this sea there is a big island called the country of Hsi-lan» [28].

The *Chu-fan-chih* of Chao Ju-kua, written in 1225, lists Ceylon among the tributaries of San-fo-ch'i, i.e., the Buddhist kingdom of Śrīvijaya in south-east Sumatra [29]. In another part of the same text there is a short account of Ceylon. «With a north wind one comes within twenty odd days to the kingdom of Hsi-lan, which is under the rule of Nan-p'i (Malabar) [30]. Sailing from Lan-wu-li (Lambri in Sumatra), one knows that one is nearing Hsi-lan from the continual flashing of lightning. The king (of Hsi-lan) is black, his hair unkempt and his head uncovered. He wears no clothes but has a cotton cloth of different colours wrapped

[26] F. HIRTH and W. W. ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 12.

[27] K. WITTFOGEL and others, *History of Chinese Society: Liao* (907-1125), Philadelphia, 1949, p. 108.

[28] HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 26.

[29] HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 62.

[30] The name Nan-p'i derives probably from that of the Nambūri Brahmans, who played a great political role in Southern India. PELLIOT in *T'oung Pao* XXXII (1936), p. 221.

around him; on his feet he wears sandals of red leather, tied with golden strings. When he goes forth, he rides an elephant or is carried in a litter. All day he chews a paste of betel nut and pearl ashes». Then follows an account of the royal palace, of the court usages and of the customs of the people in Ceylon. «There is a mountain called Hsi-lun-tieh (Serendib, a name used by the Arabs for Adam's Peak, although originally it referred to the whole Island), on the top of which there is a huge imprint of a man's foot, over seven feet long, and a like imprint is visible in the water (of the sea) within a distance of over 300 *li* from the mountain. The forest trees on the mountain, little and big, all bend towards it (as if reverencing it). The products (of Hsi-lan) include cat's-eyes, red transparent glass, camphor, blue and red precious stones. The products of the soil are cardamoms, *mu-lan* bark and both coarse and fine perfumes. Foreign traders exchange for them sandalwood, cloves, camphor, gold, silver, porcelain-ware, horses, elephants and silk stuffs. This country sends a yearly tribute to San-fo-ch'i» [31]. The double tributary relation with Malabar and Śrīvijaya is puzzling. It may refer to the period of Cola rule in the 11th and 12th century. In the period 1068-1077 the Chinese had believed that the Colas were tributary of Śrīvijaya, reversing thus the actual relation [32]. The same confusion have taken place in our case; the condition here depicted seem to go back to the 11th century, when Malabar, Ceylon and Sumatra recognized the paramountcy of the Colas.

Relations between Ceylon and the Mongol (Yüan) dynasty of China were fairly close during the reign of Qubilai (1260-1294). The facts are well known, but in may be useful to summarize them once again. The mission of the Mongol Ha-sa-erh-hai-ya (Qasar Qaya) and of the Chinese Yang Tung-pi to Quilon put out to sea from Ch'üan-chou about February, 1281; three months later they arrived to the Island of Seng-chia-yeh (Ceylon), whence they went on to the coast of Ma'bar (Coromandel); *Yüan-shih*, 210. 16b-17a [33].

In 1282 the Uigur officer I-hei-mi-shih [34], was sent by Qubilai «beyond the sea to Seng-chia-la to examine the Buddha's almsbowl and body relics», and possibly to fetch them to China. He made the journey,

[31] HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 72-73.

[32] G. COEDÈS, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris, 1948, p. 251.

[33] Translated by W. W. ROCKHILL, *Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century*, Part I, in *T'oung Pao* XV (1914), pp. 431-432

[34] I-hei-mi-shih is the same officer who in 1293 led the Mongol expedition to Java. The name transcribes Yighmish.

but apparently was not able to obtain the object for which he was sent; *Yüan-shih*, 131. 20a [35]. So in 1287 he was sent out again to Ma'bar, to get the alms-bowl and the relics for Qubilai; *Yüan-shih*, loc. cit. [36]. Most probably on this occasion he went to Ceylon too. Ma'bar means politically the Pāṇḍya kingdom, which at that time was paramount in Ceylon.

Wang Ta-yüan travelled extensively in the Southern Seas and published his work *Tao-i-chih-lüeh* in 1347. He gives a description of the island of Seng-chia-la, «which is enriched by ranges of green hills, while the sea spreads out all along it». He gives then a description of the temple at Dondera and of the footmark of the Buddha there, followed by a description of the appearance of the natives and of their conversion to Buddhism [37]. Another passage of the same text mentions the Great Buddha Mountain (Ta-fo-shan), i.e., Dondera Head, «which lies between Ya-li (Galle) and Kao-lang-pu (Colombo), and tells the story of a curious submarine plant, a soft and slimy thing, which hardened like iron when taken out of the water; it was found by the author in November-December, 1339, while sailing along the base of this mountain [38]. Further on, Wang Ta-yüan describes Kao-lang-pu (Colombo), which «is at the foot of the Great Buddha Mountain (?). The whole shore of the bay is nothing but jagged rocks standing up or lying flat. The ground is damp, the soil is poor and rice very dear. The climate is hot, the customs of the native are boorish», and their ruler fleeces the wrecked mariners of all their belongings; the text gives then an account of the clothing of the natives, of the produce of the land (rubies) and of the goods used by the Chinese in trading with Colombo [39]. The account is completed by a description of the pearl fisheries of Ti-san-chiang, wich evidently is Mannar. The technique of fishing the oysters and gaining the pearls from them is set forth in detail [40].

C

The tale of the Chinese maritime expeditions in the seas of Southern Asia, mainly under the command of the eunuch Cheng Ho, is already well

[35] Translated by ROCKHILL, *Notes* ..., Part I, p. 437.
[36] Translated by ROCKHILL, *Notes* ..., Part I, pp. 439-440
[37] ROCKHILL, *Notes* ..., Part II, in *T'oung Pao* XVI (1915), pp. 375-376.
[38] ROCKHILL, *Notes* ..., Part II, pp. 383-384.
[39] ROCKHILL, *Notes* ..., Part II, pp. 384-385.
[40] ROCKHILL, *Notes* ..., Part II, pp. 385-387.

known; I am not going to repeat it here and shall limit myself to some bibliographical and chronological references. To the older studies and translation of Mayers, Groeneveldt, Phillips, Lévi and Rockhill [41] a good deal of new material has been added in the thirties of the present century thanks to the labours of Duyvendak, Pelliot and Yamamoto [42]. The chronology of these voyage has been finally settled by the second article of Duyvendak. As far as Ceylon is concerned, it stands as follows:

Cheng Ho landed for the first time in Ceylon during his first expedition of 1405-1407, i.e., probably in 1406 [43]. The second expedition (1407-1409) did not touch Ceylon [44]. During the third voyage (1409-1411) the famous incident with Alagakkonara took place, almost certainly early in 1411. The trilingual inscription (Tamil, Chinese and Persian) has been prepared beforehand in China with the date of February 2nd, 1409, and set up at Galle when the Chinese fleet landed there two years later [45]. Ceylon was again visited during the 6th voyage (1421-1422) and the 7th voyage (1432-1433) [46].

[41] MAYERS, in *China Review*, III (1874-5) and IV (1875); GROENEVELDT in *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, 1877, and in *Supplementary Jottings* in *T'oung Pao* VI (1895), pp. 113-114; PHILLIPS in *J. North China Br.R.A.S.* XX, pp. 209-226 and XXI, pp. 30-42; the same, in *JRAS* 1895, pp. 523-533, 898-900, and 1896 pp. 203-206, 341-351; LÉVI in *J.As.* 1900, I pp. 431-437; ROCKHILL in *T'oung Pao* XVI (1915), pp. 61-159, 236-271, 374-392, 435-467, 604-626.

[42] J. J. L. DUYVENDAK, *Ma Huan re-examined (Verhand. der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, XXXII, No. 3), The Hague, 1933; PELLIOT, *Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au debut du XVe siécle*, in *T'oung Pao* XXX (1933), pp. 237-452; T. YAMAMOTO, *Teiwa no seisei*, in *Tōyō-gakuhō* XXI (1934), pp. 374-404, 506-556; PELLIOT, *Notes Additionelles sur Tcheng Houo et sur ses voyages*, in *T'oung Pao* XXXI (1935), pp. 274-314; PELLIOT, *Encore à propos des voyages de Tcheng Houo*, in *T'oung Pao* XXXII (1936), pp. 210-222; DUYVENDAK, *The True Dates of the Chinese Maritime Expeditions in the Early Fifteenth Century*, in *T'oung Pao* XXXIV (1938), pp. 341-412; [J.W.G. MILLS, *Ma Huan, Ying-yai sheng-lan: the overall survey of the Ocean's shores, 1433*, Cambridge 1970].

[43] DUYVENDAK in *T'oung Pao* XXXIV (1938), pp. 358, 372.

[44] *Op. cit.*, pp. 367-372.

[45] *Op. cit.*, pp. 368-369, 372-373.

[46] *Op. cit.*, pp. 385-386, 390-393: PELLIOT in *T'oung Pao* XXX (1933), p. 308.

SOME REMARKS ON THE PORTUGUESE EMBASSIES TO CHINA IN THE K'ANG-HSI PERIOD

In *T'oung Pao* XLIII (1954), pp. 75-94, Miss Lo-shu Fu has published an interesting study on «The two Portuguese embassies to China during the K'ang-hsi period». The Chinese side of the subject is thoroughly investigated; much less so the European side. This prompted me to undertake some researches in the Roman archives; the results are offered here, along with some remarks of detail on Miss Fu's paper. I must stress that my purpose was only to contribute some new material from the contemporary letters of the missionaries; I fully realize that a final and complete treatment can only be the outcome of careful investigation in the Portuguese archives in Lisbon and Macao.

THE EMBASSY OF MANUEL DE SALDANHA, 1667-1670

This is described in some detail by Miss Fu, pp. 75-87 and much more diffusely by E. BRAZÃO, *Apontamentos para a hist̀oria das relaçõ̃es diplomaticas de Portugal com a China 1516-1753*, Lisbon 1949, pp. 67-109, from Portuguese sources only.

On October 25th 1667, four days after Saldanha's arrival at Canton, Father Luis da Gama wrote:

Acrecentão, que para o negocio spiritual das Christandades e commercio temporal de Macao seria meyo muito efficaz in agora huma embaixada nossa a Pekin; e sem elles là o saberem, no mesmo tempo estavão tratando della os cidadãos de Macao, tendo mandado pedir ao V. Rey da India embaixador Manoel de Saldanha, fidalgo de tanta caldade, valor e prudencia mandado em nome d'El-Rey de Portugal; està-se preparando com o mayor fausto e aparato que pode ser nas circumstancias do tempo presente. Varias diligencias e pesquizas tem mandado fazer os Mandarîs do governo de Cantão a Macao para saberẽ se na realdade he vindo, ao que se não persuadîve ao principio, mas jà se vão desenganando e persuadindo ser verdade o que cuidavão era sò dito; tem mandado novas ao emperador de sua chegada, tanto que vier reposta cõ o beneplacito, entrerà em Cantão, e da Cantão a

Pekin. Quera a Divina Magestade, que o successo desta ambaixada responda aos desejos e esperanças que todos temos [1].

This letter ought to be compared with the important diary of the same father, which mentions quite often the embassy [2].

The Jesuits at Peking wrote quite enthusiastically about the reception of the embassy at court. Father Ludovico Buglio [3], who along with Verbiest acted as interpreter at the imperial audience granted to the ambassador, wrote:

Spem itaque inter metumque tum nobis tum etiam sociis Pekinensibus ita in anticipi fluctuantibus intervenit Serenissimi Lusitani Regis Legatus, cujus felices successus uti metus nostros multum minuere, sic spei plurimum addidere. Nam et Pekinenses nostrorum litterae 11a Augusti ad nos datae et 28 octobris hic acceptae perhibent, memoratus dominus Legatus uno pene semestri in itinere posito, id est sub ipsas mensis Ianuarii anni hujus 1670 calendas dato navigandi initio, tandem pridie calendas Iulij in portum Pekinensem [T'ung-chou] feliciter invectus est, 6 stadijs sinicis ab ipsis regiae muris distantem. Praecessere illi obviam diei unius itinere tres socij nostri Pekinenses equites, allatis secum more Sinico varijs bellariis ac tragemati[bu]s quae D. Legato ejusque comitibus obtulere magna utrimque gaudii significatione.

Ceterum insolita fuit benevolentia extraordinarij favores, quos adolescens etiam nunc Tartaro-Sinicus hic imperator D. Legato exhibuit. Neque enim vulgari et comuni caeteris legatis domicilio, sed uno e magnificentioribus totius Regiae palatijs hospitari ipsum voluit [4]; et quotidiana eiusdem annonam augeri quadruplo iussit supra quam praeberi aliis soleat. Immo illud insuper ad favorem cumulum adjecit, quod cum eger ac diuturna diarrhoea male admodum affectus advenisset Dominus Legatus, duo e regis suis archiatris ad eundem illico destinavit, qui tanto pertinaci malo omni qua possint arte ac industria mederent, ac se de qualicumque curae successu quotidie redderent certiorem. Diplomati item Serenissimi Lusitaniae Regis reciproco diplomate honorifico respondevit, totoque illud vulgavit imperio [5].

Quinto post D. Legati adventum die, adiere Patres Praesidentem Tribunalis Rituum, ab eoque potestatem sibi fieri rogavere visendi D. Legatum cum suis; negavit ille eis,

[1] Extract from a letter of Fr. Luis da Gama in «ARSI» (= Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu), Iap. Sin. 162, f. 196b.

[2] *Diàrio do Padre Luis da Gama* ed. by J. F. Marques Pereira in the periodical *Ta-Ssi-Yang-kuo*, I and II; this edition is not easy to get at.

[3] Ludovico Buglio from Mineo in Sicily, 1606-1682, in China since 1637, author of several Chinese works. See M. BARBERA, *Il P. Ludovico Buglio S.I.*, in *Civiltà Cattolica* 1927, I, pp. 300, 504; II, p. 322.

[4] The normal staying place for the European embassies in the 17th century was the Hui-t'ung kuan in the Legations Street; P. PELLIOT, *Le Ḥoja et le Sayyid Husain de l'Histoire des Ming*, in *T'oung Pao* XXXVIII (1948), pp. 265-266. But our text proves that Saldanha did not lodge there, in spite of what the Russian ambassador Spathari wrote in 1765.

[5] The letter of the king of Portugal was translated into Chinese by Father Verbiest; see below. The reply of the emperor is not included in the *Shih-lu*.

quod codici Rituum et consuetudini Imperij hujus id repugnaret. Patres itaque spe sua hac quidem vice frustrati, non tamen ideo desponderunt animis, quin in aliam nobis potiundi opportunitatem intenti vigilarent, nec spes dilata ipsos fefellit. Nam hac inter advenit in urben redux a venatione Imperator, qui per mensem unum in suburbanam arce sua animum relaxaverat [6]. Occasionem hanc proposito suo peropportunam rati socij, palatium adeunt salutandi, ut aiebant, imperatorem et de incolumi gratulandi gratia. Cognito ipsorum adventu Imperator lauto ibidem prandio excipi eos iussit; quo finito, admissi in conspectum et peracta rite salutatione, eandem quam a Preside petierant nec obtinuerant ab Imperatorem veniam supplices postulant visendi Legatum, et obtinuent illico amplissimam. Sed nec hic stetit Imperatoris propensissima gratificanti Patribus voluntas; uno enim post triduo eidem Rituum Praesidi nuntiari iussit, voluntatem suam hanc esse, ut Patres D. Legato toto aegritudinis suae tempore individua sua assistentia adessent, et de eiusdem valetudinis statu sese idemidem facerent certiorem, uti et fecerunt.

Mensem omnino tenuit haec cum Regiorum archiatrorum tum Patrum indefessa pro D. Legati salute satagentium cura ac studium; cum recuperatis paulatim viribus, tandem pridie calendas Augusti (ipso scillicet D. Patriachae nostro Ignatio sacra die) ad audientiam primam admissus est. Porro commodum acciderat ut hic ipse dies esset decimus quintus mensis Sinici, quo scilicet et Principes Tartari omnes, omnes item quemcunque in Regia magistratum gerentes Praefecti juxta suum quisque ordinem, conditionem ac dignitatem solemnibus indutis vestimentis Imperatorem venerabundi salutare solent. Palatium itaque Imperatoris ingressus D. Legatus cum toto suorum splendide item vestitorum comitatu exceptus fuit in spatiosa interioris palatij aula [7]; ubi eidem etiam oblata honoris gratia portio Tartara certae arboris foliis ac sesami seminibus lacte decoctis constans et europeo etiam palato non ingrata [8]. Peracta interim a principibus dynastis ac magistratibus solemni salutatione, iussit Imperator D. Legatum tantisper expectare, simulque Rituum Praesidi mandavit, ut Patre accerseret. Advolavit is magna cum festinatione ad ecclesiam et Patres cum ipso illico ad palatium. Ostendere ipsi D. Legatum cum suis ibidem praesto stantem in aula interiore proximaque Regio Conclavi, ipsumque Imperatorem in throno suo considentem; qui cum adesse iam Patres vidisset, accedere ad se propius ac subire iussit D. Legatum, et primo statim alloquio, quid valeret, quid haberet percunctatus est. Tum alia atque alia sciscitando D. Legatum per unam omnino semihoram secum detinuit, prudentissimis euisdem responsis mirifice delectatus. Denique quatuor supra sexaginta optimi panni serici volumina offerri D. Legato eiusque comitibus iussit iuxta suam cuiusque conditionem et statum; quod sane perquam singularis tum honoris tum benevolentiae argumentum erat, haec enim exterorum principum Legatis in hac Sinensi Regia dari huiusmodi congiaria solent, nisi in discessu.

Paucis post diebus Tribunalis Rituum Praeses oblato libello Imperatorem monuit, ut moris est de lautiis congiariis discendenti D. Legato offerendis. Et quia quae in hoc libello decreverat nec plura nec maiora erant eis quae nuper Batavorum Legatis data fuerant [9], re-

[6] In the first year of his reign the emperor used to pass time every summer hunting in the Nan-yuan 南苑, south of Peking. HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*, p. 330.

[7] Perhaps the Pao-ho-tien 保和殿.

[8] Perhaps simply tea with milk, which was a favourite drink with the early Manchus. I think Dr Walter Fuchus for this suggestion.

[9] The Dutch embassy of Pieter van Hoorn (1666/7).

spondit Imperator parum esse totum illud, quod ipse in suo illo Rituum Tribunali hac vice dandum decrevisset, ac proinde denuo cum suis deliberaret de congiario haud paulo maiori digniorique; quod est factum [10].

Biduo antequam Patres hanc ad nos darent epistolam, Imperator misit qui suo nomine D. Legatum de praesenti valetudinis suae statu percunctaret, simulque nuntiaret se ipsum adhuc semel videre velle et alloqui, antequam ab aula discederet. Qui omnes, ut supra dictum est, favores sunt honoresque sunt sane extraordinarij ac insoliti; quosque tota Pekinensis Regia ad stuporem usque admirata est. Fuere autem praecipue socij nostri Pekinenses, qui qua pollebant gratia ac industria sua hisce tot tantisque favoribus ac honoribus viam multis ante mensibus stravere.

Ceterum quod ad nos in Cantoniensi hoc exilio etiam nunc detensos attinet, quamdiu D. Legatus Pekino non discesserit consulo non iudicasse socji Pekinenses (et quidem ob gravissimas causas) movere ibi quidpiam circa nostrum ad pristinas stationes nostras reditum; movebunt autem, ut aiunt, lapidem quam primum is inde discesserit [11].

From this letter we glean, among other things, that Saldanha arrived at Peking on June 30th, 1670. He was already a sick man (he was to die at Huai-an fu on the return journey) and was treated by the emperor's own doctors. The first audience took place on July 31st. These dates agree with those in our chief source for the embassy of Saldanha, viz. Fr. Francisco Pimentel's *Breve Relaçao da jornada que fez à corte de Pekin o Senhor Manoel de Saldanha* etc. [12].

A letter of Fr. Francisco Rougemont [13], dated Canton 5th November 1670, insists upon the honours shown to thes ambassador [14]; but his source seems to be merely the aforegoing letter of Fr. Buglio.

Hardly more interesting is a letter of Fr. Filippo Marini [15].

He says that

Legatus Regis Luisitaniae perbenigne et honorifice exceptus est ab Imperatore Sinensi; bis accepimus ad colloquium admissum retulisse regia munera ad Regem Lusitaniae,

[10] A short imperial rescript on this subject is included in the *Shih-lu*, Sheng-tsu, ch. 33, f. 20a.

[11] Letter of Fr. Ludovico Buglio, Peking, August 11th, 1670, in «ARSI», *Iap. Sin* 162, f. 306.

[12] Published by C. R. BOXER and J. M. BRAGA in *Arquivos de Macau*, 2nd series, I (1941), pp. 25-36, 87-96, 163-170, 229-236.

[13] François de Rougemont, of Maastricht, b. 1624, since 1659 in China, missionary Kiangnan, d. 1676. J. DEHERGNE, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Roma-Paris 1973, n. 724.

[14] In «ARSI», *Iap. Sin.* 162, f. 304.

[15] Filippo Marini, of Taggia, n. 1608, went to the East in 1640; he returned to Europe as the procurator of his mission; in 1666 he came again to China anf from 1670 to 1673 he was Provincial of Japan; in 1671 he became bishop-elect of Macao, but never actually took possession of his see; d. 1682. F. RODRIGUES, *A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas missoes*, 2nd ed., Porto 1935, pp. 35 and 38; DEHERGNE, n. 243.

quae pauca Imperatori visa aucta sunt, ut se et Lusitano Rege digna forent; ipsi Legato duo millia aureorum et singulis eius aulicis decem et novem dari mandavi [16]. De discessu ex aula et tertio ultimoque cum Imperatore colloquio adhuc per litteras nil certi intelligi potest; bene sperare ex optimo principio de fine non dissimili licebit. Certum hoc est, quod discedentibus Legato et aulicis amnia per Sinas libera erunt, transitus, commercia, commeatus, nulla vectigalia nulla tributa solvenda. De Macai commercio cum Sinis certa spes, sed ob incertum exitum mercatores omnes adhuc suspenso haerent animo. Hoc anno ad animarum curam ego in Tunkiniam solvo etc. [17].

Of course these sanguine hopes were fulfilled only for a small part. In another letter Fr. Filippo Marini gives what amounts to a short account of the embassy:

Vengo hora a quel che tocca a Manoello Saldagna ambasciatore del Re di Portogallo all'imperatore della Cina. Partì dalla città di Cantone a' 10 di gennaro di quest'anno et arrivò alla corte di Pekino a'30 di giugno; i nostri PP. gli furono all'incontro un dì di cammino, dove fu albergato non in casa destinata agli ordinari ambasciatori, ma in un palazzo di certo mandarino parente del Re [18]. Ordinò l'imperatore che se gli dessero quadruplicate vivande e che lo fossero visitare due medici de' suoi et ogni dì mandassero nuove dello stato dell'infermo.

Fu in questo medesimo tempo l'Imperatore a caccia, e dopo la sua ritornata i nostri PP. furono a palazzo, e doppo i saluti soliti, sapendo l'Imperatore della miglioria dell'ambasciatore, ne mostrò contentezza e fece designare i PP. in palazzo; e su la sera volendo i PP. licentiarsi dichiarando all'Imperatore che andavano di nuovo a visitare l'ambasciatore, ottennero con obligo però che il P. Ferdinando [Verbiest] ogni dì ritornasse a palazzo a vedersi con S. Maestà e riferirgli lo stato dell'ambasciatore, il che puntualmente eseguì. All'ultimo di luglio fece l'ambasciatore sua solenne entrata ricevuto nella Sala Regia dall'Imperatore, che lo brindò col Cià o Tè all'usanza cinese; licenziati gl'altri mandarini ch'erano venuti al cortegio, un mandarino del Tribunale del Li, diremmo noi delle Cerimonie o Riti, fece avviso all'ambasciatore che passasse ad un'altra sala interiore; et in quanto s'aspettava ch'i nostri PP. venissero, chiamò il Re vicino a sè l'ambasciatore e l'interrogò di varie cose d'Europa, a cui diede l'ambasciatore risposta con ogni soddisfattione; sul fine dell'udienza l'Imperatore fece una mercé straordinaria perciò che diede 64 pezze di seta all'ambasciatore in questa prima audienza, essendo che non costuma dare se non nella partenza. Del più che gli diede quando nella ultima audienza si licentiò, sapremo con la venuta dell'ambasciatore; solo per detto comune che ne corre, le cose che seco porta di presenti sono di molta stima, e dicono tutti che con nissuno ambasciatore ha usato l'Imperatore nè di tanta liberalità nè di tanta cortesia. Il P. nostro Ferdinando volle sempre assistesse nelle sopradette audienze etc.

Di quello che per ordine dell'Imperatore si dava ogni dì per il vitto dell'ambasciatore.

Una pentola di latte, un castrato, un'anatra, una gallina, un pesce, un'oncia di Cià o Tè, 32 oncie di farina, altre tante di Tapè [?], compositione di varij ingredienti che serve per dar sapore alle vivande, 64 oncie di varie herbe di horto, 6 carrafe di vino, un'oncia e

[16] These of gold coins do not appear in other sources.

[17] From a letter of Fr. Filippo Marini, Macao 20th October 1670, in «ARSI», *Iap. Sin* 162, f. 302a-b.

[18] Cf. above p. 106, n. 4.

mezza di pepe, 10 oncie di aceto, 8 di Missò [*mi shu* 米 菽 ; Japanese *miso*] [19], ch'è mescolanza di riso e fagiuoli, un'oncia e mezza di olio, 50 mèle, 50 pere, 150 oncie di uva passa, altre tante di varij pomi e frutta simili e quelli di Europa.

Per la persona del secretario e capitano della guardia dell'ambasciatore et altro suo gentiluomo.

Un castrato per due giorni a tutti tre et a ciascuno una gallina il dì, mezz'oncia di Cià, 14 farina, altre tante di Tapè, aceto e pepe, una caraffa di vino, 22 oncie di verdura d'herba d'horto.

A' soldati.

A ciascuno ogni dì 24 oncie di porco, mezz'oncia di Cià, 16 di Tapè, altre tanto di farina, 50 di herbe, 6 carrafe di vino.

Per i due interpreti 50 oncie di porco, mezza di Cià, 24 di farina, 6 carrafe di vino, 14 di herbe et altre tante di altre cose simili [20].

From the above we gather that among the 22 men who were allowed to accompany the ambassador to Peking there was the captain-lieutenant of the carbineers with at least some of his men [21].

This account seemed so important, that it was widely circulated; not less than four copies are extant in the ARSI. In revanche, the Jesuit records in Rome are silent on the return journey and on the death of Saldanha.

On the results of the embassy Fr. Tommaso Valguarnera [22] wrote more than two years later:

Per id tempus interim Pekinum appulit a Serenissimo Lusitaniae Rege Alphonso Sexto ad Sinarum Imperatorem Legatus illustrissimus D. Emmanuel de Saldanha. Nulla ab imperio condito aut illustrior aut acceptior apud Sinas visa est legatio. Pro ea quippe derogatum fuit antiquissimis consuetudinibus; orator gratulabundi amici nomine ad aulam accedit, cum alius nemo nisi tributi pendenti titulo admittatur. Sensit enim vero Imperator magno animi suo gaudio se a Rege Serenissimo solius amicitiae causa salutari, nec obesse ingentia terrarum mariumque divortia, quominus ab ultimo occidente ad orientis fines lectissima virorum turma mitteretur, in qua Lusitani Regni felicitatem laudabat sane et suspiciebat. Quare honoribus honores referre oratorem, in palatij interiorem aulam inter solemnia comitia admittere, familiariter contra Majestatis Sinicae morem cum eo agere, munera ac-

[19] I.e. rice and pulse. These dishes are mentioned, but with plenty of confusions, by Lorenzo Magalotti (1637-1712) in his *Relazione della China*, which is the substance of an interview he had ad Florence in 1665 with Fr. Athanasius Kircher. He speaks of a sort of cheese made of beans, which is used in China as a sauce for cooking all sorts of food; and of the Missò, made of rotten wheat flour used as condiment on the table; L. MAGALOTTI, *Varie operette*, Milano 1825, pp. 115-116. He must have inverted the terms.

[20] From a letter of Filippo Marini dated Macao, 8th December 1670, in «ARSI», *Iap. Sin.* 162, p. 309a-b.

[21] Cf. Lo-shu FU, *Op. cit.*, pp. 81, 83.

[22] Tommaso Valguarnera (1608-1677) was the great missionary of Siam. He was also Visitator of China and Japan 1672-1673. PFISTER, no. 143, p. 385.

cipere et dare ad amicum Regem litteras amicitiae testes rescribere, aliaque inusitatae benevolentiae signa exhibere voluit, quibus acceptissimam sibi fuisse legationem testaretur. Hinc vero non solum in Patres Pekinenses (quorum praesertim studio honorifice conclusa est legatio) se universim in gentem Lusitanam crevit amor et fiducia, pulso illo timore et suspicione quae audito exterorum nomine facile solet concipi. Unde Macaensibus iam navigatio permittitur, quae ipsis indigenis necdum est concessa [23]. Immo Imperator ipse arguentibus Sinis, quod Patres exteri essent et externam legem inducere molirentur respondit: Si exteros esse crimen est, id quoque imputandum Tartaris crimen etc. [24].

Lastly, we may remark that the embassy of Saldanha is mentioned in passing also in a report of Fr. Agustin de San Pascual, dated 1st November 1670 [25] and in two letters of Fr. Verbiest, dated Peking 28th August 1670 and 7th September 1678 [26].

The embassy of Bento Pereira de Faria (1678)

This embassy was purely a Macao affair. Bento Pereira de Faria had been a secretary in the embassy of Saldanha [27] and passed as the spokesman of the merchants of Macao [28]. Now he was charged by the authorities of Macao with conveying to Peking a couple of lions, which some years before the Emperor had expressed the wish to receive. The lion died at sea, the lioness arrived at Macao sometimes in 1677. The emperor was apprised of its arrival and sent order to convey it to court. Bento Pereira was entrusted with the task, and it seems that he left with his dangerous cargo in April 1678 [29].

About this embassy the only document extant in the Roman archives is a statement of the city authorities of Macao, dated 12 november 1680, which ackowledges the help afforded by Fr. Verbiest on this occasion:

Certificamo nos os ministros do governo desta Cidade do Nome de Deos na China, que tendo o Emperador de Tartaria per Edito Imperial prohibido a navegação e contrato

[23] On the trade relaxations see Fu, *opc. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

[24] From a letter of Fr. Tommaso Valguarnera, Macao 1st January 1673, in «ARSI», *Iap. Sin.* 162, f. 345b.

[25] A van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. III, Quaracchi 1936, p. 372.

[26] H. Josson et L. Willaerts, *Correspondence de Ferdinand Verbiest*, Bruxelles 1938, pp. 166-167 and 260-262.

[27] D.F. Navarrete, *Tratados historicos, politicos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, Madrid 1676, p. 364. Cf. Brazão, pp. 84, 95.

[28] C.R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550-1770*, The Haugue 1948, p. 170.

[29] Letter of Fr. Bonaventura Ibañez, dated Macao, January 1678, in *Sinica Franciscana*, III, p. 182.

por todo o seu imperio, e para melhor execução da prohição destruido toda abeira do mar [30], sò afim de ver por esta via destruido o alevantado Coxen senhor da Isla Formosa [31], foi causa de chegar esta cidade no infimo estado da miseria, e seus moradores de todo derotados com a falta da navigação e contrato, que he o com que sempre Macao se conservou na sua antiga opulencia. Rezão por onde buscou sempre este governo todos os meyos para aver o trato antigo, para isso muita soma de prata; que soposto foi dissimulado pelos Tribunais de Cantão a algus barcos nossos navegarem, apura prata que lhes davão. Com tudo considerando este cômum ser impossivel poder-se conservar a cidade com pensois tão exessivas, por ser o que se dava quazi ao que se ganhava; dispos este Governo recorrer ao proprio Emperador por meyo da primeira Embaixada, em que foi Manoel de Saldanha, em a qual despendeo esta cidade de seus moradores mais de secenta mil patacas, sem disso aver melhoramento, antes viramos ir tudo para peyor [32]; e não obstante o pouco que redundou da primeira embaixada feita ao Emperador da China am bem desta Cidade, dispos este Governo em mandar a segunda, em que foi Bento Pereira de Faira por enviado cõ hum leão de sagoate [33] ao dito Emperador em nome de S.A. [34] e juntamente supplicar ao Emperador a conceção das viagems aos Portuguezes de Macao; e segundo o que o mesmo enviando e os mais que con elle forão a Corte de Pekim publicarão e confessarão, que a não ser os Rdos Pes da Sagrada Companhia de Jesus que naquella Corte residem, em particular o Mto Rdo P. Ferdinando Verbiest V. Provincial da mesma provincia da China, sera impossivel alcansar o despacho do que continha o memorial que o dito enviado aprezentou ao Emperador [35], por ser tanto contra a rezão de seu estado; por que os Rdos Pes pello muito que são estimados assim naquella Corte, do Emperador e dos mais Tribunais Supremos, pella muita virtude e recolhimento da vida relie santa não sómente nadita Corte, senão em todo o Imperio da China, aonde tem suas igrejas adquirindo milhares de almas para o ceo por meyo da pregação do S. Evangelho, com tanta gloria da Religiam Xpam. E assim por meyo e industria dos ditos Rdos PP foi o emviado recebido do Emperador com as mayore honras que jamais se vio naquelle Imperio fazer a nenhum Embaixador dos que la forão, estimando a el Rey de Portugal a seus vassalos pellas boas informaçõis que os Rdos PPes derão da Coroa de Portugal; de feiçao com que ficarà sempre naquella Corte em perpetua memoria o Reyno de Portugal. E consta a este governo pella informação que o emviado deu, que no tempo que este chegou a Corte de Pekin, vendo os Rdos Pes ser necessario acressentar ao leão mais couzas para offertar, e não ter elle emvia-

[30] On the scorched-earth policy of the Manchus on the Chinese coast see HSIEH KUO-CHENG, *Removal of coastal population in early Ch'ing period* in *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, XV (1932), pp. 559-596. The measure was taken in 1662.

[31] Chêng Ch'êng-kung, called by the Europeans Coxinga (Kuo Hsing-yeh); see A. HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*, p. 111.

[32] This sharply contradicts the supposition of Miss Fu that the situation improved after the relaxation of the rules in 1669.

[33] On the term *saguate*, meaning a present, see P. PELLIOT, *Sao-houa, sauġa, saugat, saguate*, in *T'oung Pao* XXXII (1936), pp. 230-237.

[34] «His Highness» is prince Pedro, regent of Portugal in the name of king Afonso VI, declered insane and relegated to the Açores. But Afonso maintained the royal title until his death; the credentials of the Portuguese ambassadors were therefore drawn up in his name. This disposes of the assertions of Miss Fu (p. 89) about Potuguese «slyness».

[35] Chinese text in the *Ta-ch'ing Shih-lu*, Sheng-tsu, ch. 76, f. 3 translated by Miss Fu, pp. 89-90.

do levado, deu o Rdo Pe Ferdinando Verbiest hum relogio de muita estima, avaliado em seis centas patacas, afim de com isso alcansar o despacho dezejado, como alcansou, mandando logo ao Tribunal Supremo das Armas [*ping-pu*] que consultasse sobre a materia de conceder a Macao a navegação; aonde tão bem os Rdos Pes acudirão a pedir fosse i despacho favoravel, dando para isso seus sagoates; e por que a materia dependia de dilação, partio o dito enviado da Corte, deixando tudo em corregado aos ditos Rdos Pes para aver de alcansar o fim do despacho, como alcansarão; tanto que no tempo que na Corte foi publicado aver o Emperador concedido o contrato e navegação aos Portuguezes de Macao, logo o Muito Rdo Pe Ferdinando Verbiest despedio correyos a esta Cidade a sua com os treslados da forma que na consulta avia saido, sem embargo do risco que correria se se viesse a saber que mandava esta noticia antes de chegarem as chapas a Cantão [36]. E com as cabais noticias que o dito Rdo Pe dava assim por carta sua feita a esta Cidade, como pellos traslados do despacho que avia saido em letra China, tomou todo este cômum novos alentos, dando a Deos muitas graças em aver alcansado hũa couza tão ardua depois de desoito annos de padecer; e conhecendo este Governo ser tudo (depois de Deos) adquerido pellos Rdos Pes da Sagrada Companhia de Jesus, agradecida esta cidade foi toda emcorporada a render as graças ao Mto Rdo Senhor Bispo eleito de Iapão P. Sebastião d'Almeida [37] então Visitador, assim pello que os Rdos Pes da Corte obrarão, como reconhecidos de ser tudo quẽ elles obrarão ordenado e recomendado pello dito Mto Rdo Senhor Bispo eleito e Visitador, que de hũa tão religiosa e authorizada pessoa senão esperava menos, e não sómente nesta occazião, senão durante o seu governo não foltou a esta Cidade e ao particular em tudo que he foi pedido com tanto amor e charidade come he notado, como dos mais Rdos Pes do mismo Collegio desta Cidade, e angora proximamente partindo da Corte dous Taijẽs [*ta-jên* 大人] a Cantão por mandado do Emperador, ordinandolhe que concluindo o negocio a que erão mandados, chegassem a visitar a Cidade de Macao, e vissem como estavã os Portuguezes a as necessidades que tinhão, como defeito fizerão, aonde chegarão em 17 do mes passado, recebendo todos delles muitos favores e grandes esperanças de tornar Macao na opulencia antiga, couza nunca vista nẽ sonhada em mandar o Emperador a seus grandes a visitar Macao, e em pessoa trazerem Cartas dos Rdos Pes a Corte a esta Cidade, e bem se imfere com isso ser tudo ordinado pello Rdo Pe Ferdinando Verbiest como pessoa estimada do Emperador; e como tal sempre este Governo remeteo e remete suas melhoras ao dito Rdo Pe, e elle com tanto desuello tem obrado, obra e obrarà sempre por esta Cidade, tudo para mayor honra e gloria de Deos e de sua Santa Ley, como verdadeiros missionarios e obreiros que são na vinha do Senhor, assim no Imperio da China como em Tum Kim e Cochinchina, aonde tem feito e fazem muchissima Christandade, e nos mais Reynos por onde andão em todo este sul, como tao bem em serviço do Principe N. Senhor [the regent D. Pedro], que Does guarde, e em conservação desta sua leal cidade e seus moradores. E por nos ser pedida a prezente certidão por hua petição que o Irmão Luis de Figueiredo [38] da mesma Companhia procurador da V. Provincia da China, que foi aprezentada a este governo, o passamos e juramos aos Santos Evangelhos ser tudo o nesta relatado mera verdade, e como a tal se pode e deve dar inteiro credito em

[36] This decree seems not to have been included in the *Shih-lu*. But in any case the Portuguese enjoyed from 1678 to 1683 a temporary monopoly of the China trade; Fu, p. 92.

[37] Fr. Sebastião d'Almeida, of Lageas, n. 1622, was Visitator of China and Japan from 1677 to 1680. Died after 1682. DEHERGNE, n. 26.

[38] Luis de Figueiredo (1622-1705), a native of Macao; DEHERGNE, n. 309.

que al qualquer parte que apresentada for, sem por duvida algua; que hay sellada com o sello desta Cidade hũa Cruz, a assinada por nos officiais da Camara que neste prezente anno servimos.

Dada em meza de Pereação aos 12 do mes de Novembro de 1680.

Subscripta em heza por mem Rodrigo Homem de Azavedo, alferes e escrivão da Camara desta Cidade do Nome de Deos na China; e a fis escrever [39]

signatures follow

Other particulars are given by Fr. Agustin de S. Pascual in a letter of November 27th, 1678. The embassy arrived at Peking in August 1678, to present a lion to the emperor and to beg from him licence to navigate and to go from Macao to Canton for trading; also, that His Majesty might appoint a mandarin to care about the affairs of Macao. Bento Pereira left again for Canton on November 13th, without having reached a definitive agreement but being sure of an eventual favourable reply [40].

The ambassy of 1678 is also mentioned in passing by Bonaventura Ibañez (letter of March 5th, 1678), by Augustin de S. Pascual (letters of March 20th, 1679, and June 14th, 1680) and by Verbiest (letter of September 7th, 1678) [41].

THE CONFIDENTIAL MISSION OF 1709-1711

It has been known for a long time that in 1711 the Jesuit Father João Francisco Cardoso offered to the emperor rich presents on behalf of the king of Portugal. In reality, this was a confidential diplomatic mission, directed against the Papal legation of Maillard de Tournon, who just then had visited the Chinese court. I give here the scanty information which I was able to gather about this episode; it is a great pleasure for me to acknowledge the unfailing kingdness of Fr. Fortunato Margiotti and Fr. Georges Mensaert O.F.M., who supplied me with the unpublished references here quoted.

The Papal legation of Mgr Maillard de Tournon had aroused the bitter hostility of Portugal, who saw in it an infringement of her own Padroado rights and a blow to her pre-eminent place in the Chinese missions. In a letter dated April 3rd, 1709, the king João V wrote to the Viceroy of India Rodrigo da Costa, commanding him to send an ambassador

[39] In «ARSI», *Iap. Sin.* 163, f. 98.

[40] v.d. WYNGAERT, *Sinica Franciscana*, III, pp. 480-481.

[41] *Sinica Franciscana*, III, pp. 191, 495, 515; JOSSON et WILLAERTS, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, p. 262.

to the emperor K'ang-hsi in order to inform him of all that the Portuguese authorities had done in his favour against the interferences of the Legate, and to request him to lift the order to the Macao authorities to keep the Legate prisoner there and to allow him to be sent to Portugal [42].

On November 29th, 1709, the Viceroy replied from Goa representing to the king the enormous costs of an embassy, which Goa would be unable to meet. The Viceroy had instead selected a Jesuit Father, a good mathematician, who would be able to treat all these affairs without such a heavy expense and with more chances of success [43].

In an unpublished letter dated Goa, January 27th, 1710, the Jesuit Visitator of Goa, Fr. Miguel de Amaral [44], wrote the Provincial of Japan Francisco Pinto:

> Ordenou El-Rey ao V. Rey que com nome de S. M. mande hum religioso ao Emperador da China a darlhe noticia do grande impenho com que El-Rey solicita do Papa o que deseja o Emperador acerca dos Ritos Sinicos, e a pedirlhe que Sua Magestade Imperial largue a El-Rey o Patriarca [Maillard de Tournon] e se o Emperador conceder isso, manda El-Rey ao V. Rey que remeta o Patriarca com segurança a Portugal. Manda pois o V. Rey ao PP. Francisco Cardoso S. I., nam com titulo de Embaixador, mas como mathematico, que vay pera ficar em Pekim em lugar do P. Barros morto no naufragio; leva alguas couzas que parecem dignas de se offerecem ao Emperador, a quem depois de o informar de tudo, ha de fazer em nome del Rey a dita petiçam, de que S. Imperial Magestade largua a El-Rey o Patriarca» etc. [45].

Copies of the instructions issued to Fr. Cardoso by the Viceroy Rodrigo da Costa under the dates of 25th April 1710 and 6th May 1710 are extant in the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Fondo India, maço em organisação n. 28.

Fr. Cardoso [46] was thus a semi-official agent of the king of Portugal,

[42] Published in *O Chronista do Tissuary*, III (1869) pp. 26-27.

[43] Published in *O Chronista do Tissuary*, II (1869) pp. 27-30.

[44] Fr. Miguel do Amaral was in that troubled period of mission history one the foremost and most zealous supporters of the claims of the Portuguese Padroado. He was born in 1657 at Viseu, became a Jesuit in 1677 and went out to China in 1682. In 1696 he was sent to Rome to press the point of view of the Portuguese Jesuits. In 1699 he came to Goa, where he was twice (1704-1706; 1707-1709) Visitator. Then he came back to China, and from 1710 to 1718 he was Provincial of Japan (with residence at Macao). He was then recalled to Europe, arriving at Lisbon in october 1725. He died at Coimbra on December 14th, 1730. F. RODRIGUES, *A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas missões*, 2nd ed., Porto 1935, p. 42.

[45] Arquivo Historico Nacional, Madrid, Fondo Jesuitas, 272, no. 146.

[46] João Francisco Cardoso, born in 1677, entered the Company in 1693. He left Lisbon in 1708, arrived at Canton in 1710 and at Peking in January 1711. He was then employed on the great geographical survey of the empire and died in 1723. DEHERGNE, n. 140.

althought from the Chinese point of view ha was simply going to Peking as a mathematician in the imperial service. The Father duly carried out the mission entrusted to him. He arrived at Peking at the end of January 1711, and presented to the emperor the magnificent gifts which the Viceroy of India had procured on behalf of king João V; they were much appreciated and gladly accepted [47].

The results of this mission are difficult to appraise. The Legate had already died in Macao in June 1710, so that a part of the requests of the king of Portugal had lapsed. Nor do we notice a marked improvement in the situation of Macao after 1711. In any case, since this was not an official embassy, no trace of it has been found, nor can be expected to be found, in the Chinese records.

THE LETTER OF 1716

Another attempt by king João V to get into direct contact with K'ang-hsi by means of private correspondence, without the costly and too conspicuous despatch of an embassy, was made in 1716. Fr. De Goville [48], of the French Jesuit mission, wrote in 1717:

Aujourd'hui 8 juin nous apprenons que le *tsong-tou* a reglè que les vaisseaux Europeans ne viendront plus à Canton, mais qu'ils iroient à Macao; c'est là un des fruits de l'accusation du *tsong-ping*...

Il est certain que le Roy de Portugal écrivit une lettre à l'Empereur en 1716. Ce fut le P. Felix Joseph Pereyra [49], qui revenat à sa mission du Tonkin en droiture sur le vaisseau parti de Lisbone au mois de mars de la mesme année estoit porteur de cette lettre, luy mesme me l'a dit icy a Canton. Cette lettre n'a point esté interpretée par le P. Parrenin [50], il faut qu'on ait donné cela à l'Empereur secrètement à dessein, comme il paroist de cacher à tout autre non Portugais le contenu de la lettre. Ce fust donc le P. Mourão [51] ou le

[47] Letter by Fr. Pieter van Hamme, 15th October 1711, in P. VISSCHERS, *Onuitgegeven brieven van eenige Paters der Societeit van Jesus*, Arnhem 1857, p. 88. The list of the presents can be found in a document in the above quoted maço 28 of the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino.

[48] Fr. Pierre de Goville (1668-1758) was procurator of the French Jesuit mission at Canton from 1708 to 1724, after which he went back to France; DEHERGNE, n. 382.

[49] I have no information about this Jesuit missionary in Vietnam.

[50] Fr. Dominique Parrenin (1665-1741), at Peking from 1699 to his death; he regularly acted as interpreter for the imperial government in their relations with the European powers; DEHERGNE, n. 611.

[51] Fr. Joao Mourão (1681-1726), missionary at Peking, was involved in the half-hearted intrigues of prince Yin-t'ang at the time of the demise of the emperor K'ang-hsi; he was imprisoned and put to death by poison in Kansu; A. HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*, Washington 1943-4, pp. 928-929.

P.P. Suarez [52], ou enfin quelqu'autre de la Vice-Province, qui en fist la traduction. En consequence de cette lettre l'Empereur donna ordre au nouveau Vice Roy d'avoir de grands egards pour la ville de Macao, et sitost qu'il arriva à Canton, il fist appeller les principaux de la ville, qui vinrent icy au nombre de 6, il les traita avec des honneurs inouis jusque là, et de la part de l'Empereur loua leur fidélité etc. Quelques uns soupçonnent que le Roy de Portugal disoit dans cette lettre les representations qu'il faisoit auprés du Pape touchant les cérémonies de la Chine, afin de se faire valoir dans l'esprit de l'Empereur et de le disposer favorablement [53].

Whether the letter was concerned chiefly with the economic situation of Macao or with the question of the Ririte, no hint about it is to be found in the Chinese records. And indeed we cannot expect that a private letter, unaccompanied by presents, should be included in the *Shih-lu*; it is not even certain that it reached the emperor at all.

THE PRESENTS OF 1720 (?)

According to Miss Fu (p. 93) «the Senate of Macao delivered their tribute and memorial to the local authorities of Kwangtung to be forwarded to the court. No ambassador was sent; the tribute was too trifling to be carried by a special envoy».

Two documents throw some light on the background of this action of the Macao government. One is a letter by the representative at Canton of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, Rev. Giuseppe Cerù, of March 1718.

Devo in fine partecipare alla Em. Vostra come li Portoghesi di Macao hanno preparato un ricco regalo di 8 casse di robbe europee per offerire per mezzo de' Padri Gesuiti all'imperatore nel giorno del suo nascimento, che è alli 18 della 3a luna, cioè alli 6 di maggio. Alcuni pensano che ciò faccino acciò l'imperatore gli rilasci il solito annuo tributo di 500 scudi, che gli pagano per il territorio della città di Macao. Altri discorrono che sia acciò l'imperatore dia ordine che le navi europee non venghino più a Cantone, ma che vadino a Macao et ivi faccino il loro commercio, e in questa maniera serrare la porta di entrare in Cina alli missionarij che non passano per la via di Portogallo. Io però penso che voglino con questo insolito regalo, che mai hanno fatto, di procurare un mal letto al nuovo legato apostolico (the Patriarch Carlo Mezzabarba) e mal ricevimento del regalo che porte-

[52] Fr. Joseph Suarez (1656-1736), missionary at Peking from 1688 to his death; DEHERGNE, n. 796.

[53] DE GOVILLE, *Journal de ce qui s'est passé en Chine en l'année 1717*, Canton, 17th December 1717, in «ARSI», *Iap. Sin.* 177, f. 526b. The Chinese government soon afterwards changed their minds about granting a virtual trade monopoly to Macao, and at the end of the 4th moon of 1717 the Viceroy in a gathering of high officials intimated that the European vessels would come to Canton as before; ibid., f. 527b.

rà da parte di Sua Santità. Piaccia a Dio che io m'inganni; il tempo porrà tutto in chiaro [54].

But it seems that the presents were not despatched in the spring of 1719, because on May 5th, 1719, a royal councillor in Lisbon gave his opinion on the petition of the Procurator of the city of Macao, who, in case the king were not willing to despatch an embassador from Portugal, proposed to appoint for this task D. Francisco de Alarcão Sotomaior, who had been governor of Macao from 1714 to 1718. The councillor advised against the despatch of an ambassador from Portugal and was for accepting the candidate offered by Macao [55].

As far as we know, the projected embassy of de Alarcão came to nothing. In any case, I quite agree with Miss Fu that the mention of an embassy of Hsi-yang (Portugal and/or the Papacy) in the *Ta-ch'ing Hui-t'ien Shih-li*, ch. 505, f. 4b (edition of 1899), with the date of 1720 [56] really refers to the papal legation of the Patriarch Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba in the same year. But I strongly differ about the identification of the envoy Fei-la-li 斐拉理. These three characters have nothing to do either with Carlo or with Mezzabarba. It is plain enough that they transcribe a name Ferrari or Ferraris. The person alluded to can only be the Barnabite Father Onorato Maria Ferraris [57], who along with his confrere Filippo Maria Cesati [58] arrived at Peking as the forerunner of the Papal legate. They were received at Jehol by the emperor on November 17th 1720. But they brought no tribute and were treated with great suspicion and harshness [59]; they remained practically under arrest till after the arrival of the Legate. As the particulars of the reception described in the *Hui-t'ien Shih-li* agree with those recorded for Mezzabarba, it seems that the forerunner was mistaken by the Chinese text for the head of the legation.

[54] Archives of Propaganda Fide, ROME, *Scritture Congressi Indie Orientali e Cina*, vol. 14 (1718/9), f. 494 [a].

[55] *Parecer sobre as petiçoes do procurador da cidade de Macao*, in the Bibliotheca Nacional, Lisbon, F.G. 1539, ff. 10-14. I owe much thank to Fr. Georges Mensaert O.F.M., who communicated to me the gist of this document.

[56] And not 1719 as Miss Fu has it wrongly.

[57] On Onorato Maria Ferraris (1685-1755) see G. BOFFITO, *Scrittori Barnabiti*, Florence 1933, II, pp. 19-20.

[58] On Filippo Maria Cesati (1684-1725) see G. BOFFITO, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 456-457.

[59] S. VIANI, *Istoria della cose operate nella Cina da Mons. Giovanni Ambrogio Mezzabarba*, Paris 1739, pp. 81-84. A.S. ROSSO, *Apostolic Legations to China*, South Pasadena 1948, pp. 205-208. The subject ought to be taken up again in the light of the documents preserved in the Archives of Propaganda Fide and of the diaries of Matteo Ripa formerly in the Archives of the Archidiocese of Hankow and now in Rome.

I may also note that in a single document translated by Fr. Rosso the Chinese name of Ferraris is Ho Chi-kê 何濟格 which cannot be easily explained [60].

In any case, in view also of the above quoted document, the Portuguese presents of 1720, if they were ever sent, have nothing whatever to do with the entry in the *Hui-t'ien Shih-li* or with the Papal legation of Mezzabarba.

[60] A.S. Rosso, *Apostolic Legations to China*, pp. 335-337.

NUGAE TIBETICAE

Un anno prima della sua morte, avvenuta in tarda età nel maggio 1956, F.W. Thomas aveva pubblicato con la consueta cura ed acribia scientifica il terzo volume del suo *magnum opus* sui documenti tibetani riguardanti l'Asia Centrale [1]. Con questo canto del cigno il grande sanscritista e tibetanologo ci ha dato un altro monumento della sua padronanza di questo difficile ma affascinante argomento. C'è tuttavia un importantissimo documento, nella cui interpretazione io non mi sento di seguire le orme del Thomas; e siccome negli *Addenda et Emendanda* inclusi nel vol. III Egli non ha ritenuto opportuno di modificare o di aggiungere alcunchè alle conclusioni del volume precedente, vorrei presentare le mie obbiezioni, pur rammaricandomi che Egli non sia più tra noi per discuterle.

Si tratta del documento Stein da Tun-huang vol. 69, f. 84, edito e tradotto del Thomas, II, pp. 8-16. È una specie di lettera o di dichiarazione proveniente dalla principessa K'ri-bańs, madre di un principe 'A-ža (T'u-yü-hun). Contiene diverse date, espresse nel ciclo duodecennale degli animali; secondo l'interpretazione del Thomas, esse vanno dal 635 al 643 d. Cr. (nel testo, II, p. 12, stampato per errore 648). Questa datazione è basata soltanto ed esclusivamente sul nome, che ripetutamente ricorre nel documento, della principessa cinese Mun-śeń K'on-co, sposa di un re (*btsan-po*) tibetano il cui nome non appare nel documento. È chiaro e fuor d'ogni dubbio che Mun-śeń K'on-co trascrive il nome cinese Wên-ch'êng Kung-chu 文成公主 (pron. antica: *Miuen-źiäng kung-tśiu*), che è quello della principessa che nel 641 sposò il re tibetano Sroń-btsan-sgampo. La datazione del Thomas sembra quindi riposare su basi solidissime.

Ma considerando il documento più da vicino cominciano a sorgere dei dubbi. Anche se è una copia, esso sembra, se le date del Thomas sono

[1] F.W. THOMAS, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan* (Royal Asiatic Society, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, XXXII, XXXVII, XL), Londra 1935, 1951, 1955.

esatte, un po' troppo vicino nel tempo alla creazione dell'alfabeto tibetano tradizionalmente attribuito a T'on-mi Sambhoṭa. La cerchia in cui esso si muove sembra troppo vasta, troppo «imperiale» in rapporto al giovane ed ancor piccolo stato Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po.

Vediamo ora se questi sospetti sono fondati o no. Il metodo più sicuro per trovare nuovi elementi di giudizio è quello di tentar di ritrovare nuovi elementi di giudizio è quello di tentar di ritrovare nelle fonti coeve i nomi dei personagi menzionati nel nostro documento. Ecco i risultati della mia ricerca:

1) Cuṅ-bzaṅ-'dam-koṅ di Cog-ro (l. 2), malgrado la differenza nel nome del clan, ricorda da vicino il nome di Cuṅ-bzaṅ-'or-maṅ di 'Bro, che fu nominato ministro nel 728; *T.H.* p. 48 [2].

2) K'ri-baṅs (ll. 12 sgg.) è l'omonima principessa tibetana che lasciò il Tibet nel 689 per sposare un capo 'A-ža; *T.H.*, p. 37. Suo figlio è noto solamente col titolo di Maga Thogon Khagan; il principe che portava lo stesso titolo ai tempi di K'ri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan (755-797) era probabilmente un suo discendente.

3) Žaṅ bTsan-to-re (l. 23 è identico a Žaṅ bTsan-to-re Lhas-byin di *T.H.*, p. 42 (Shang Tang-cha-hsi-la del *T'ang-shu*), che nel 710 andò in Cina a prendere la principessa cinese Chin-ch'êng. Morì nel 721.

4) Žaṅ K'ri-bzaṅ (l. 23) fu nominato ministro nel 704 e morì nel 721; *T.H.*, pp. 40-46.

5) 'Bro-žaṅ brTan-sgra-sto (1.32) può essere identificato con Žaṅ rGya-sto, il cui nome ricorre nel 706 e nel 710; *T.H.*, pp. 41-42.

6) dBa's K'ri-bzaṅs-spa-skyes (l. 38) secondo il nostro documento è figlio di Žaṅ Ñen, cioè di dBa's K'ri-gzigs Žaṅ Ñen, che fu primo ministro dal 705 alla sua morte 721; *T.H.*, pp. 41-46.

7) Cog-ro sToṅ-re K'oṅ-zuṅ (ll. 48-49) sembra essere identico a Cog-ro gNaṅ-koṅ, menzionato nel 711; *T.H.*, p. 43.

8) dBa's sTag-sgra-k'oṅ-lod (1.51) compare, esattamente con lo stesso nome, nell'anno 726; *T.H.*, p. 47.

Alcune delle corrispondenze sopra notate erano già state osservate dallo stesso Thomas (II, p. 16; III, pp. 22-23); ma egli non ne trasse le necessarie conseguenze. Gli esempi qui raccolti sono troppo numerosi e troppo calzanti per poter pensare, come faceva il Thomas, a semplici casi di omonimia. La sola conclusione possibile mi sembra essere che qui c'è identità non solo di nomi, ma anche di persone; e che il documento va riportato ai primi anni del regno di K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtan Mes-ag-ts'oms (705-755). La principessa Mun-śeṅ è in realtà la consorte cinese di Mes-ag-ts'oms, Chin-ch'êng Kung-chu. Forse il nome della più antica di que-

ste regine cinesi, famosissimo ormai in tutto il Tibet, veniva attribuito anche all'altra, ottant'anni dopo. In favore della datazione del Thomas sta una sola identificazione, quella della principessa cinese; in favore della data più tarda da me proposta abbiamo ben otto casi di identità di persone. Ritengo quindi che la bilancia penda decisamente a favore della seconda alternativa.

Perciò le date di questo documento, che vanno dall'anno del cavallo a quello della tigre, debbono venir corrette in 706-714. L'anno del cane, in cui secondo il nostro documento la principessa cinese sposò il re tibetano, è identico all'anno del cane nel quale, secondo *T.H.*, p. 42, Chinch'êng Kung-chu arrivò dalla Cina; corrisponde al 710.

THE DALAI-LAMAS AND REGENTS OF TIBET: A CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY

INTRODUCTION

Modern Tibetan history, and chiefly that of 19th century, suffers from a general vagueness and uncertainty about dates. The usual accounts [1] rely on second-hand information and on the Chinese texts, whose data after 1750 are meagre and insufficient the nearer one comes to our times: the one vital exception is the Gurkha war of 1791-2. The fact is that the 19th century can be defined as the colonial period of Tibetan history: a time of peace but not of prosperity, drab and uninteresting by all standards. Accordingly, the official lives of the Dalai-Lamas, who always died quite young, give only details of their education, studies, audiences etc. For the Chinese, Tibet had become an uninteresting protectorate, whose affairs were handled directly by the two Manchu residents in Lhasa (*amban*) with scanty reference to the Peking government, and therefore comparatively little material on Tibet can be found in the enormous collection of the Veritable Documents (*Shih-lu*) of the late Ch'ing dynasty.

It is my purpose to place on a sounder footing the chronology of the Dalai-Lamas and above all of the regents, who in fact were almost invariably the actual rulers of Tibet in the 18th and 19th centuries. It is *not* my intention to write a history of Tibet during the last two centuries, and historical material as such is not to be sought for in this article, although it will be noticed that in some points closely connected with chronological problems I have departed from this rule and allowed myself to expatiate somewhat. This is particularly the case for the late 19th century, a period about which hitherto nothing was known, or nearly so.

[1] W.W. ROCKHILL, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China*, in *T'oung Pao* XI (1910), pp. 1-104; G. SCHULEMANN, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*[2], Leipzig 1958.

[The Tibetan dates are reduced to their Western equivalents according to the tables of D. SCHUH, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Zeitrechnung*, Wiesbaden 1973.]

The following abbreviations will be used:

Kloṅ-rdol = Kloṅ-rdol Bla-ma, *bsTan-'dsin-gyi-skyes-bya-rgya-bod-du-byon-pa'i-miṅ-gi-graṅs*, vol. ZA of his *gsuṅ-'bum*.

Life 5th DL = Life of the 5th Dalai-Lama *(Za-hor-gyi-ban-de-Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mts'o'i-'di-snaṅ-'k'rul-pa'i-ro-rtsed-rtogs-brjod-kyi-ts'ul-du-bkod-pa-du-kū-la'i-gos-bzaṅ)*, by Sans-rgyas-rgya-mts'o, regent of Tibet 1679-1705; vols. CA, C'A and JA of the *gsuṅ-'bum* of the 5th Dalai-Lama.

Life 8th DL = Life of the 8th Dalai-Lama (*rGyal-ba'i-dbaṅ-po-t'ams-cad-mk'yen-gzigs-c'en-po-rje-btsun-Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-pa'i-dbaṅ-p'yug-'Jam-dpal-rgya-mts'o-dpal-bzaṅ-po'i-žal-sṅa-nas-kyi-rnam-par-t'ar-pa-mdo-tsam-brjod-pa-'dsam-gliṅ-t'a-gru-yaṅs-pa'i-rgyan*), composed in 1811 at bsTan-rgyas-gliṅ,under the orders of the rTa-ts'ag and then of the De-mo Qutuqtu, regents of Tibet.

Life 9th DL = Life of the 9th Dalai-Lama (*rGyal-ba'i-dbaṅ-po-t'ams-cad-mk'yen-pa-Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-pa'i-'byuṅ-gnas-ṅag-dbaṅ-Luṅ-rtogs-rgya-mts'o-bzaṅ-po'i-žal-sṅa-nas-kyi-rnam-par-t'ar-pa-mdor-mts'on-pa-dad-pa'i-yid-'p'rog*), compiled by order of the De-mo Rin-po-c'e, regent of Tibet 1811-1819.

Life 10th DL = Life of the 10th Dalai-Lama (*rGyal-ba'i-dbaṅ-po-t'ams-cad-mk'yen-gzigs-bcu-pa-c'en-po-Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-'jam-dpal-bstan-'dsin-Ts'ul-k'rims-rgya-mts'o-dpal-bzaṅ-po'i-rnam-par-t'ar-pa-ṅo-mts'ar-nor-bu'i-'p'reṅ-ba*), written in 1846 by order of the Rva-sgreṅ Rin-po-c'e, regent of Tibet 1845-1862.

Life 11th DL = Life of the 11th Dalai-Lama (*Lhar-bcas-skye-rgu'i-gtsug-nor-'p'ags-c'en-p'yag-na-padmo-rje-btsun-Ṅag-dbaṅ-bstan-pa'i-sgron-me-mK'as-grub-rgya-mts'o-dpal-bzaṅ-po-'i-rnam-par-t'ar-pa-ṅo-mts'ar-lha'i-rol-myoṅ-byaṅs-can-rgyud-du-bsñan-pa'i-tambura*), written by order of the Rva-sgreṅ Rin-po-c'e, regent of Tibet 1845-1862.

Life 12th DL = Life of the 12th Dalai-Lama (*Lhar-bcas-srid-ži'i-gtsug-rgyan-rgyal-mc'og-ñur-smrig-'c'aṅ-ba-bcu-gñis-pa-c'en-po'i-rnam-par-t'ar-pa-rgya-mts'o-lta-bu-las-mdo-tsam-brjod-pa-dbaṅs-śel-me-loṅ*), compiled by the P'ur-bu-lcog Rin-po-c'e Blo-bzaṅ-ts'ul-k'rims-byams-pa-rgya-mts'o.

Life 13th DL = Life of the 13th Dalai-Lama (*Lhar-bcas-srid-ži'am-gtsug-rgyan-goṅ-sa-rgyal-ba'i-dbaṅ-po-bka'-drin-mts'uṅs-med-sku-p'reṅ-bcu-gsum-pa-c'en-po'i-rnam-par-t'ar-pa-rgya-mts'o-lta-bu-las-mdo-tsam-brjod-pa-ṅo-mts'ar-rin-po-c'e'i-p'reṅ-ba*. Printed 1940 at the Žol Par-k'aṅ by order of the Rva-sgreṅ Rin-po-c'e, regent of Tibet.

Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu = *gŽuṅ-žabs-rnams-la-ñe-bar-mk'o-ba-bla-dpon-rim-byon-gyi-lo-rgyus-t'am-deb-loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu* [2]. Modern copy in my possession.

THE DALAI-LAMAS

I. dGe-'dun-grub, who is postumously considered as the first Dalai-Lama, was born in the Iron-Sheep years 1391 in a small farm in the Srad

[2]On this work see J. BACOT, *Titres et colophons d'ouvrages non canoniques tibétains* in *BÉFEO* 44 (1954), p. 328 n. 64 [Printed by Tharchin, Kalimpong 1956].

valley not far from Sa-skya [3]. Kloṅ-rdol calls the place Ṅar-mts'o in gTsaṅ Śab-stod [4], *i.e.*, in the upper Śab (Shap) valley, south-west of Shigatse [5]. He died at bKra-śis-lhun-po on the 4th day of *dgun-zla 'briṅ-po* (the 12th month) of the Wood-Horse year *i.e.*, 11th January, 1475 [6].

II. dGe-'dun-rgya-mts'o, posthumously considered as the second Dalai-Lama, was born on the 3rd day of *rgyal-zla* (12th month) in the Tibetan Fire-Monkey year and in the Hor Wood-Sheep year [7], *i.e.* 30th December, 1475, near rTa-nag rDo-rje-gdan; his family name was Sreg-mi [8]. He died in the dGa'-ldan P'o-braṅ at 'Bras-spuṅs [9] on the 8th day of *nag-pa* (Caitra; 3rd month) of the Water-Tiger year (24th March, 1542) [10].

III. bSod-nams-rgya-mts'o was born on the 25th day of the first spring moon (*dpyid-zla daṅ-po*, the 2nd month) of the Water-Hare year (30th March, 1543) [11]. His birth place was mDa'-rtse dGa'-k'aṅ-gsar-goṅ

[3] Life of dGe-'dun-grub (*rJe-t'ams-cad-mk'yen-pa-dGe-'dun-'grub-dpal-bzaṅ-po'i-rnam-t'ar-ṅo-mts'ar-rmad-byuṅ-nor-bu'i-'p'reṅ-ba*), written in 1494 by Ye-śes-rtse-mo, abbot of bKra-śis-lhun-po; f. 5a-b.

[4] Kloṅ-rdol, f. 20a; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu, p. 2.*

[5] These local names in Central Tibet, and others to be mentioned later, can be looked up on the maps in A. FERRARI, *mK'yen-brtse's Guide to the holy places of Central Tibet*, Rome, 1958.

[6] Life of dGe-'dun-grub, ff. 55a, 60a. The Life of the Sixth Dalai-Lama, f. 98a, and Kloṅ-rdol, f. 20a, give the 8th day of *rgyal-zla* (12th) i.e. the 14th January, 1475. It is noteworthy that their dates of the early Dalai-Lamas mostly differ from the usual ones. I am unable to account for this discrepancy.

[7] Life of the 6th Dalai-Lama, f. 98a, Kloṅ-rdol f. 20a, *Vaiḍūrya-ser-po* (Lokesh Chandra edition) I, pp. 96-97 and *Re'u-mig* (Lokesh Chandra edition), p. 51, give the year as Wood-Sheep. The variance is due to a different beginning of the year. In the modern «Hor» calendar the year begins with the third winter month. The ancient Tibetan year started apparently with the second winter month. As late as the times of S. Ch. Das (*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, London 1904, p. 145) «the New Year of the working class» was celebrated one month earlier than official New Year. [For a more scientific explanation see D. SCHUH, *Op. cit.*].

[8] Autobiography of dGe-'dun-rgya-mts'o (*rJe-btsun-t'ams-cad-mk'yen-pa'i-gsuṅ-'bum-t'or-bu-las-rje-ñid-kyi-rnam-t'ar*; vol. KA of his *gsuṅ-'bum*), ff. 2a-3a; Kloṅ-rdol, f. 20a; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 2. rTa-nag is the valley of a left-bank tributary of the gTsaṅ-po, north-west of Shigatse.

[9] This palace was the residence of the Dalai-Lamas until the Great Fifth shifted it to the Potala.

[10] Life of the 3rd Dalai-Lama (see below), f. 6a; *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 302; Kloṅ-rdol, f. 20b; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 2.

[11] Life of the 3rd Dalai-Lama (*rJe-btsun-t'ams-cad-mk'yen-pa-bSod-nams-rgya-mts'o'i-rnam -t'ar-dṅos-grub-rgya-mts'o'i-śiṅ-rta*) composed by the 5th Dalai-Lama (vol.

in the sTod-luṅ valley west of Lhasa [12]. His first meeting with Altan Khan, who granted him the title Dalai-Lama, took place on 15/V (Hor)/ Earth-Tiger (19th June, 1578) [13]. He died in Mongolia on the 26th day of *nag-pa* (3rd month) of the Earth-Mouse year (21th April, 1588) [14].

IV. The fourth Dalai-Lama Yon-tan-rgya-mts'o was born on 1/I (Hor)/Earth-Ox (15th February, 1589) in the Kukunor region [15]. He died on the 15th day of *rgyal-zla* (12th month) of the Fire-Dragon year (21st January, 1617) in the dGa'-ldan P'o-braṅ at 'Bras-spuṅs [16].

V. The fifth Dalai-Lama Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mts'o (often called the Great Fifth, lṄa-pa-c'en-po) was born on 23/IX (Hor)/Fire-Serpent (21st. October, 1617) at P'yiṅs-pa sTag-rtse in 'P'yoṅs-rgyas [17]. In 1642 he became temporal ruler of Tibet. He died on 25/II/Water-Dog (2nd April, 1682) [18].

VI. The sixth Dalai-Lama Ts'aṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o was born on the first day of *nag-pa* (3rd month) of the Water-Pig year (27th April, 1683) at Mon mTs'o-sna, also called La-'og Yul-gsum near sBas-yul mK'an-pa-steṅs [19]. He was solemnly enthroned on 25/X/Fire-Ox (8th December

ṄA, 3, of the latter's *gsuṅ-'bum*), f. 12a; also G. HUTH, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, Strassburg 1896, p. 201. Kloṅ-rdol, f. 20b, gives another date: 11th day of *nag-pa* (3rd month), i.e. 15th April, 1543.

[12] Life of the 3rd Dalai-Lama, f. 10a; Kloṅ-rdol, f. 20b: *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 3.

[13] Life of the 3rd Dalai-Lama, f. 94b; G. HUTH, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

[14] Life of the 3rd Dalai-Lama, f. 107a; Life of the 4th Dalai-Lama, (see below), f. 7a; *dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 302; G. HUTH, *Op. cit.*, p. 231. The Life of the 6th Dalai-Lama and Kloṅ-rdol give another date: *6/nag-pa*, i.e. 2nd April.

[15] Life of the 4th Dalai-Lama (*'Jig-rten-dbaṅ-p'yug-t'ams-cad-mk'yen-pa-Yon-tan-rgya-mts'o-dpal-bzaṅ-po'i-rnam-t'ar-pa-nor-bu'i-p'reṅ-ba*), composed by the 5th Dalai-Lama (vol. ṄA, 2, of the latter's *gsuṅ-'bum*), f. 9b; also G. HUTH, *op. cit.*, p. 233, and *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 4. The Life of the 6th Dalai-Lama and Kloṅ-rdol, f. 20b, give another date: 7/VII (18th August, 1589).

[16] Life of the 4th Dalai-Lama, f. 50b; also G. HUTH, *op. cit*, p. 246. The Life of the 6th Dalai-Lama and Kloṅ-rdol, f. 20b, give 5/XII (Hor) (11th January, 1617); *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 4, has 25/XII (1st February), but this seems to be a clerical error.

[17] *Life 5th DL*, Ca, f. 22b. On his birthplace see G. TUCCI, *The tombs of the Tibetan kings*, Rome, 1950, pp. 30-31.

[18] *Life of the 6th Dalai-Lama* (see below), f. 98a; *Vaiḍūrya-ser-po* (woodprint), f. 416a; Kloṅ-rdol, f. 20b. *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 8, has 15/II, which must be a scribal error.

[19] Life of the 6th Dalai-Lama, (*T'ams-cad-mk'yen-pa-drug-pa-Blo-bzaṅ-rin-c'en-Ts'aṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o'i-t'un-moṅ-p'yi'i-rnam-par-t'ar-pa-dukūla'i-'p'ro-'t'ud-rab-gsal-gser-gyi-sñe-mo*) f. 87a-b. Only the first volume of this work was ever written. Is is first

1697) [20], was deposed on 17/V/Fire-Dog (28th June 1706) and died near the Gongga-nōr on his way to China on 10/X (15th November, 1706) [21].

Pad-dkar-'dsin-pa Ṅag-dbaṅ-ye-śes-rgya-mts'o, born in 1686 most probably as a natural son of Lha-bzaṅ Khan, was installed by his father in 1707 and was confirmed by the emperor on the 10th April, 1710. But he was regarded by the vast majority of the Tibetans and Mongols as an usurper and was never recognized by the clergy; he is not included in the official list of the Dalai-Lamas. In 1717 he was deposed by the Dsungars and in 1720 was deported by the imperial commanders to China, where he died in 1725 [22].

VII. The seventh Dalai-Lama Blo-bzaṅ-bskal-bzaṅ-rgya-mts'o was born on 19/VII/Earth-Mouse (4th September, 1708) in the hamlet (*žol*) below the Li-t'aṅ monastery in K'ams [23], was enthroned in the Potala on 15/IX/Iron-Mouse (15th October, 1720) [24], and died on 3/II (Hor)/Fire-Ox (22nd March, 1757) [25].

VIII. The eighth Dalai-Lama 'Jam-dpal-rgya-mts'o was born on 25/VI/Earth-Tiger (29th July, 1758) at T'ob-rgyal in upper gTsaṅ [26]. On 10/

(Ka) and only volume of the *gsuṅ-'bum* of the 6th Dalai-Lama, although the Tōhoku Catalogue wrongly lists it as the first item of the *gsuṅ-'bum* of the 7th Dalai-Lama. It was apparently compiled by order of the regent Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o, and the last event mentioned (f. 514a) belongs to the middle of 1701. — See also *rGyal-ba-sku-lṅa-pa-drug-par-'p'os-bskor-gyi-gtam-rna-ba'i-bžud-len-yid-kyi-kun-dga'*, f. 99b. I owe many thanks to Professor R.A. Stein for giving me details about this rare work, which is said to have been composed by the regent Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o in 1696. — See also Kloṅ-rdol, ff. 20b-21a, and cf. *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 9.

[20] *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 9.

[21] Life of the 7th Dalai-Lama (see below), ff. 10a-11b; Kloṅ-rdol, f. 21a; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 10.

[22] [L. PETECH, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, Leiden 1972, pp. 17-20, 53, 76, 104-105].

[23] Life of the 7th Dalai-Lama (*rGyal-ba'i-dbaṅ-po-t'ams-cad-mk'yen-gzigs-rdo-rje-'c'aṅ-Blo-bzaṅ-bskal-bzaṅ-rgya-mts'o'i-žal-sṅa-nas-kyi-rnam-par-t'ar-pa-mdo-tsam-brjod-pa-dpag-bsam-rin-po-c'e'i-sṅe-ma*), compiled 1758-59 by the lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu (vol. KA of the *gsuṅ-'bum* of the 7th Dalai-Lama), f. 15a-b.

[24] Life of the 7th Dalai-Lama, f. 66b; Kloṅ-rdol Bla-ma, *bsTan-pa'i-sbyin-bdag-byuṅ-ts'ul-gyi-miṅ-gi-graṅs* (vol. 'A of his *gsuṅ-'bum*), f. 11b.

[25] Life of the 7th Dalai-Lama, f. 536a; Kloṅ-rdol, f. 21a; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 17. On the last day of the 2nd month (18 April, 1757) the governor of Szechwan informed the emperor that the Dalai-Lama had died in the same month; *Kao tsung-Shih-lu*, ch. 533, f. 30a-b.

[26] *Life 8th DL*, ff. 10b-11a and 14a-b. Kloṅ-rdol, f. 21a, give the year only. *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 17, gives 2/VI (7th July).

VII/Water-Horse (29th August, 1762) he was solemly enthroned in the Potala [27]. Except for the years between 1786 and 1788 he never actually ruled; and even during that short period his administration was by no means a success (see below). He died on 18/X/Wood-Mouse (20th November, 1804) [28].

IX. The ninth Dalai-Lama Luṅ-rtogs-rgya-mts'o was born on 1/XII (Hor)/Wood-Ox (20th January 1806) at lDan-ma T'ub-bstan-c'os-'k'or on the banks of the 'Bri-c'u (upper Yangtzekiang) [29]. Having been confirmed by the emperor on the 5th March, 1808 [30], he was formally enthroned in the Potala on 22/IX (Hor)/Earth-Dragon (10th November, 1808) [31]. He died, still a minor, on 16/II (Hor)/Wood-Pig (26th March, 1815) [32].

X. The tenth Dalai-Lama Ts'ul-k'rims-rgya-mts'o was born on 29/III (Hor)/Fire-Mouse (25th April, 1816) at gNas-stod Nor-bu-groṅ near Li-t'aṅ [33]. He was selected by drawing lost from a golden cup, under the new procedure prescribed by the Chinese government, on 15/I/Water-Horse (6th February, 1822) in the presence of the Paṇ-c'en Rin-po-c'e and of the Manchu residents [34]. Being confirmed by the emperor, he was installed in the Potala on 8/VIII(Hor)/Water-Horse (23rd September, 1822) [35]. Although he reached majority and was duly given full ordination by the Paṇ-c'en Rin-po-c'e on 7/IV/Wood-Horse (15th May, 1834) [36], his biography does not mention his ever having been given rul-

[27] *Life 8th DL*, f. 27a-b; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 17.

[28] *Life 8th DL*, f. 351b; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, pp. 20-21. The *Shih-lu* for 1804 and 1805 contain no document bearing on this event.

[29] *Life 9th DL*, ff. 13b and 16a.

[30] *I-hai*/II/13. Chia-ch'ing; *Jên-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 192, ff. 11a-12a.

[31] *Life 9th DL*, ff. 66a-72b. *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 21, has the wrong date 22/VII (12th September).

[32] *Life 9th DL*, ff. 181a-b, 185a; *Life 10th DL*, f. 19b. [The news was received at Peking on 24th April 1815; *Jên-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 304, l. 13a].

[33] *Life 10th DL*, ff. 16b, 20b, 22a.

[34] *Life 10th DL*, ff. 59a-60b. As I am kindly informed by Professor R.A. Stein, the circumstances of the election of the 10th and 11th Dalai-Lamas, as seem from the Chinese angle, are described in the *Hsi-tsang pei-wén* 西藏碑文, which is found at the end of the *Hsi-tsang tsou-wén* 西藏奏文.

[35] *I-hai*/III/2.Tao-kuang, *Hsüan-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 31, f. 41a; also ch. 32, ff. 6a-8b. The ceremony is very fully described in *Life 10th DL*, ff. 95b-117a.

[36] *Life 10th DL*, f. 283a. The same work, f. 289a, translates an imperial edict dated 1/VII/14.Tao-kuang (5th August, 1834) concerning the ordination; this document is mentioned but not reproduced in *Hsüan-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 254, f. 1b.

ing powers. He died after a long illness on 1/IX/Fire-Bird (30th October 1837) [37].

XI. The eleventh Dalai-Lama mK'as-grub-rgya-mts'o was born on 1/IX(Hor)/Earth-Dog (19th October, 1838) at dKon-brtsegs-gśis, close to the east of mGar-t'ar in K'ams [38]. On 23/VII/Iron-Ox (8th September, 1841) his name was drawn from the golden cup [39], and according to an imperial decree of the 29th September 1841, he was enthroned in the Potala on the 16/IV(Hor)/Water-Tiger (25th May, 1842), in presence of the lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu [40]. Having reached full age, on the 13/I/Wood-Hare (1st March, 1855) he was granted by imperial order the seals of office and the ruling powers [41]. He was thus the first Dalai-Lama for a long time to enjoy a spell of power; this fact was hitherto unknown. But his rule was not to last for long. Already in the 6th month his health broke down, and on 24/XII/Wood-Hare (31st January, 1856) the young Dalai-Lama died [42], after having governed the country for a few months only.

XII. The twelfth Dalai-Lama 'P'rin-las-rgya-mts'o was born on the 1/XII(Hor)/Fire-Dragon (26th January, 1857) near rDsiṅ-p'yi in 'Ol-dga' [43]. On the 13/I/Earth-Horse (25th February, 1858) he was chosen by lot [44], and on the 3/VII/Fire-Monkey (19th August, 1860) he was en-

[37] *Life 10th DL*, ff. 328a-329a. On the 8th December, 1837, the *ambans* were ordered to present the condolences of the emperor for the death of the Dalai-Lama; *I-yu*/XI/17.Tao-kuang; *Hsüan-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 303, f. 13a.

[38] *Life 11th DL*, ff. 5a, 8a-b.

[39] *Life 11th DL*, ff. 17b-18a. [There were four candidates. The imperial orders for the selection ceremony had been issued on 6th February, 1841; *Hsüan-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 344, ll. 31a-32a].

[40] *Life 11th DL*, ff. 19a-20a. *Ping-shên*/VIII/21.Tao-kuang, *Hsüan-tsung Shih-lu* ch. 355, f. 34a. Upon his return to court on the 18th January 1843 the lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu gave a very favourable account of the character and intelligence of the boy Dalai-Lama; *Jên-ch'en*/XII/22.Tao-kuang, *Hsüan-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 387, f. 5a-b.

[41] *Life 11th DL*, f. 252a.

[42] *Life 11th DL*, f. 261a. The text is rather confused and gives the impression that the 7th month is intended. This is, however, impossible, because *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 24, gives the date 25/XII, and because the news of the decease, which reached Peking on the 10th March 1856 (*Jên-ch'en*/II/6.Hsien-fêng, *Wên-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 190, f. 6a-b) cannot have been delayed overmuch.

[43] *Life 12th DL*, f. 20a-b.

[44] *Life 12th DL*, f. 30a-b. The news reached Peking on the 14th April; *Ting-ch'ou*/III/8.Hsien-fêng, *Wên-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 247, ff. 3a-4a.

throned in the Potala [45]. When the regent died, the emperor decreed that the Dalai-Lama, who was by then nearly 18 years old (counting in the Chinese fashion), should take over the administration. The ceremony of the assumption of ruling powers took place on the 14/II(Hor)/Water-Bird (11th March 1873) [46]. We have thus the same surprising information as in the case of the 11th Dalai-Lama. The assertion, so often repeated, that no Dalai-Lama after the 8th and before the 13th assumed power, falls therefore to the ground. Of course we can safely assume that his rule was merely a nominal one, the more so as no particular political activity is mentioned in the biography. Between the fifth and the ninth month of 1874 the sickly young man undertook the fatiguing journey to the C'os-'k'or-rgyal lake, which every Dalai-Lama must make once in his life [47]. It proved fatal to the young ruler, who fell ill and died on the 20/III/Wood-Pig (25th April, 1875) [48].

XIII. The thirteenth Dalai-Lama T'ub-bstan-rgya-mts'o was born on the 5/V/Fire-Mouse (26th June 1876) at Glaṅ-mdun K'aṅ-steṅ in Dvags-po [49]. [On 14th July, 1877, the imperial government was informed by the *amban* that the boy was certainly the rebirth of his predecessor, and] on the 11/I/Earth-Tiger (13th February, 1878) he was formally recognized as the Dalai-Lama, without having gone through the formality of the choice from the golden cup (the Tibetan text is formal on this point) [50]. On the 14/VI/Earth-Hare (1st August, 1879) he was enthroned in the Potala [51]. On the 8/VIII/Wood-Sheep (26th September 1895), he assumed power [52], and since then he ruled the country as only the Great Fifth had done before him, giving Tibet her one spell of independence during the last two and a half centuries. He died on the 30/X/Water-Bird (17th December 1933) [53].

[45] *Life 12th DL*, ff. 53a-56a. *Wu-wu*/IIIbis/10.Hsien-fêng (14th May, 1860), *Wên-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 314, f. 13a-b.

[46] *Life 12th DL*, f. 191b. *Wên-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 349, ff. 8b-9a; ch. 362, f. 11a-b.

[47] *Life 12th DL*, ff. 202b-228b.

[48] *Life 12th DL*, ff. 235b-237a. The *Shih-lu* contain no mention of his decease.

[49] *Life 13th DL*, ff. Ka, f. 32a-b.

[50] *Tâ-tsung Shih-lu*, ch 52, f. 2b; *Life 13th DL*, f. 48a-b.

[51] *Life 13th DL*, ff. 55b seqq. Imperial gifts for the occasion had been sent to him on *i-ch'ou*/III/5.Kuang-hsü (12th April, 1879); *Tê-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 90, f. 7a. *Life 13th DL*, Ka, f. 253a.

[52] *Life 13th DL*, Ka, f. 256b.

[53] *Life 13th DL*, K'a, ff. 316b-317a.

XIV. The fourteenth Dalai-Lama bsTan-'dsin-rgya-mts'o was born on the 5th June 1935 at sTag-'ts'er near the Śar-rdsoń (or Śar-sdoń) monastery south-west of sKu-'bum in Amdo; on the 22nd February 1940 he was solemnly enthroned in the Potala [54]. On the 17th November 1950 he took over the government, although he was still a mere boy, and on the 23rd May 1951 he signed the treaty with China that spelt the end of old Tibet. After the collapse of the Tibetan rising, he crossed the Indian border on the 31st March 1959; and since then he has been living in exile at Dharamsala.

THE REGENTS

The office of a regent (*sde-srid, sde-pa, srid-skyoń*) was created about 1642. If we define the regent as the caretaker of the spiritual and temporal rights of the Dalai-Lamas, we can distinguish three separate periods in the development of this office.

From 1642 to 1706 the regent was the head of the civil and political (but not of the military) administration, and exercised the temporal rights which belonged the Dalai-Lama, but could not be wielded personally by him. At first he was appointed by the Qośot Khan, but soon the choice fell practically in the hands of the 5th Dalai-Lama.

After an interval marked by the personal rule of Lha-bzań Khan (1706-1717), there was no regent in the sense defined above, but a head of the state who acknowledged only the suzerainty of the Manchu emperor, without any notice being taken of the secular rights of the Dalai-Lama. Only during the exile of the 7th Dalai-Lama (1728-1735) a spiritual and disciplinary representative was appointed.

The third period begins with 1757. As a matter of principle, the regent is only the vicegerent exercising the secular and disciplinary rights of the Dalai-Lama during the latter's minority. He can be only a monk and may be chosen only within a narrow circle of ecclesiastical dignitaries.

We give now a list of the regents of the first period.

The treasurer (*p'yag-mdsod*) of the Dalai-Lama, bSod-nams-rab-brtan, alias bSod-nams-c'os-'p'el, was installed by Gušri Khan as regent on or even before his grant of the sovereignty of Tibet to the Dalai-Lama

[54] The ceremonies are fully described in a Tibetan booklet by B. GOULD, *Ltar-bcas-srid-žiʼi-gtsug-rgyan-gońs-rgyal-dbań-sku-ʼpʻreń-bcu-bži-pa-cʻen-po-ńos-ʼdsin-žu-tsʻul-dań-gser-kʻrir-mńaʼ-gsol-sogs-mdo-tsam-bkod-pa*, Lhasa 1940.

(1642) [55]. He died in the Bla-brań on the 3/III/Earth-Dog (5th April, 1658) [56]. After his death, the Dalai-Lama conducted personally the administration during two years.

On the 13/VII/Iron-Mouse (19th August, 1660) the Jaisang sDe-pa (or Ñań-p'ran sDe-pa) 'P'rin-las-rgya-mts'o was installed as regent in the presence of Guśri Khan's two sons bKra-śis Batur and Dayan Khan, who on this occasion divided between themselves the territories inherited from their father [57]. He died on the 17/II/Earth-Monkey (30th March, 1668) [58], and once more the Dalai-Lama took over the administration for one and a half year.

On the 1/VIIIbis/Earth-Bird (26th September 1669) the *mc'od-dpon* Blo-bzań-mt'u-stobs was formally appointed to office [59]. In the third month of 1675 he was involved in a scandal concerning a Sa-skya-pa nun (*btsun-mo*) called bKra-śis-lags, and his hurried departure for Zańs-ri made the matter even more delicate. The Sa-skya authorities tried to whitewash him, but public opinion was convinced of his guilt [60]. He was dismissed, but upon the earnest representations of the monks of Se-ra and 'Bras-spuńs, as well as of the whole officialdom, he was granted the title of ex-regent (*sde-srid zur-pa*) and the fief of Zańs-ri, from which he took his name [61]. At the end of the year he was honourably entertained by the Qośot Khan, and on the 12/I/Fire-Dragon (26th February 1676) he departed for Zańs-ri [62].

On the 27/VIII/Wood-Hare (16 October 1675) the office was given to Blo-bzań-sbyin-pa of 'P'yońs-rgyas gZims-k'ań, hitherto steward of the

[55] The exact date is not to be found in the *Life 5th DL. Loń-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 5, gives 1642. The *Re'u-mig*, p. 69, places the event in the previous year (*lo-sńa-ma*), and this statement is corroborated by Kloń-rdol Bla-ma, vol. 'A of the *gsuń-'bum*, f. 16a, according to whom bSod-nams-rab-brtan governed for 18 years, i.e. 1641-1658.

[56] *Life 5th DL*, Ca, ff. 261b-262a; *Loń-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 6. The Bla-brań is the complex of official buildings near and around the gTsug-lag-k'ań, the main temple of Lhasa.

[57] *Life 5th DL*, CA, f. 297b; Kloń-rdol Bla-ma, vol. 'A of the *gsuń-bum*, f. 16a; *Loń-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 7.

[58] *Life 5th DL*, C'A, f. 44b. In the *Loń-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 7 (at least in my copy), the date is wrongly written as 17/V.

[59] *Life 5th DL*, C'A, f. 84b; *Loń-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 7.

[60] *Life 5th DL*, C'A, ff. 241a, 243a.

[61] *Loń-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, pp. 7-8, where the event, however, is mistakenly shifted back to the third month of 1674.

[62] *Life 5th DL*, C'A, ff. 270a, 274a, 278b.

rNam-rgyal-grva-ts'aṅ monastery in the Potala [63]. But four years later, on the 13/V/Earth-Sheep (21st June, 1679), he resigned and retired to meditation, on which occasion he was granted the fief of sNe'u-gdoṅ (hence his name sNe'u-gdoṅ-pa sDe-srid) [64].

He was succeeded by A-bar Saṅ-rgyas-rgya-mts'o, born 1653 [65], a nephew (*sku-ts'a*) of the former regent 'P'rin-las-rgya-mts'o [66]. He was installed on the 6/VI/Earth-Sheep (14th July, 1679) and ruled Tibet during a generation, concealing for a long time the death of the 5th Dalai-Lama and trying not without success to steer a safe course between Manchu and Dsungars. His doom came at the hands of the new Qośot ruler Lha-bzaṅ Khan, whom he had tried to poison. Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o, surprised in Lhasa by a sudden attack, fled to sNaṅ-rtse in the sTod-luṅ valley, but surrendered after a short resistance, being compelled thereto by the heads of the clergy. He was handed over to the custody of Lha-bzaṅ Khan's wife Jerinraśi (Ts'e-riṅ-bkra-śis), who caused him to be put to death, probably on the 19/VII (8th September) 1705 [68].

Legally speaking, at the time of his death Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o was no longer in office. In 1702 the profligate young Dalai-Lama had «given back his vows» to the Paṇ-c'en Rin-po-c'e (*i.e.*, was unfrocked). Perhaps this was felt to be a blow to the prestige of the man who had been practically responsible for selecting him; anyhow, the fact is that in the Water-Sheep year 1703 he resigned his post and installed his eldest son Ṅag-dbaṅ-rin-c'en as regent, although actual power remained in his hands as before [69]. The new regent kept the empty and meaningless title for some months after the death of his protector; then (1706) he was dismissed by Lha-bzaṅ Khan, sent to China and exiled at Dolon-nor in Chahar [70].

[63] *Life 5th DL*, C'A, f. 261; Kloṅ-rdol Bla-ma, vol. 'A of the *gsuṅ-'bum*, f. 16a; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 8. The *Re'u-mig*, p. 72, wavers between 1675 and 1676.

[64] *Life 5th DL*, JA, ff. 125a-126b, 128a; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 8.

[65] *Re'u-mig*, p. 70.

[66] *Life 5th DL*, JA, f. 132b. A. CSOMA DE KÖRÖS, *A grammar of the Tibetan Language*, Calcutta 1834, p. 191, says that «he is generally believed, in Tibet, to have been the natural son of» the 5th Dalai-Lama. This statement has been often repeated by modern authors, but seems to be due to a misunderstanding (spiritual son!); no Chinese or Tibetan text, and not even the contemporary accounts of the Italian missionaries, so full of gossip, know anything about it.

[67] *Life 5th DL*, JA, ff. 132b-133a; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 8.

[68] See the discussion in L. PETECH, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, p. 22.

[69] *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 9. Cf. *Re'u-mig*, p. 75.

[70] *Kokonor Annals*, p. 439.

During the second period there was no regent in the real sense of the term, since the Dalai-Lama was not considered as the temporal ruler of Tibet. A list of the Tibetan heads of state during those years can be found in *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, p. 283. The Dalai-Lama was limited to the ecclesiastical field, where of course he exercised his powers directly. Only when on the 23rd October, 1728, he was compelled to leave Lhasa for his exile at mGar-t'ar in K'ams, he appointed a vicegerent for his spiritual-disciplinary rights. This was not the K'ri Rin-po-c'e, as it was sometimes (and wrongly) supposed [71]. The Italian missionaries, who resided at that time in Lhasa, call the new regent «Chiesé, abbot of Ciotin»; and the correct state of affairs is described in the *Life 7th DL*. The churchman concerned was the rGyal-sras («Chiesé») Rin-po-c'e 'Jigs-med-ye-śes-grags-pa (1696-1740), abbot of C'os-ldiṅ («Ciotin») in 'On, who enjoyed great influence at the court in the Potala and was on this occasion entrusted with the care of the spiritual rights and interests of the Dalai-Lama. He did not, however, assume the title of a regent, but only that of an acting abbot of 'Bras-spuṅs. He kept his office till the Dalai-Lama came back to Lhasa on the 3rd September 1735 [72].

After the murder of the last lay «king» 'Jigs-med-rnam-rgyal (11th November, 1750), the Dalai-Lama entrusted dGa'-bži Paṇḍita with the provisional conduct of the administration; but this appointment was not recognized in Peking, and on the 23rd April, 1751, an imperial edict laid down that the Dalai-Lama himself should govern Tibet, with the help of a council of four ministers.

We give now the list of the regents of the third period.

During the last years of the 7th Dalai-Lama, the De-mo Qutuqtu Ṅag-dbaṅ-'jam-dpal-bde-legs-rgya-mts'o [73] had obtained a position of great influence at his court [74]. When the Dalai-Lama died (22nd March, 1757), the administration was provisionally carried on by the

[71] As late as in G. SCHULEMANN, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*^{2}, Leipzig 1958, p. 306.

[72] L. PETECH, *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, I, Rome 1952, pp. 222-223.

[73] The series of the De-mo Qutuqtu can be found in Kloṅ-rdol, ff. 21b-22a.

[74] W. W. ROCKHILL, *The Dalai-Lamas of Lhasa*, in *T'oung Pao* XI (1910), p. 46n, quotes the *Ta-Ch'ing hui-tien*, ch. 737, f. 13b, to the effect that «the De-mo Qutuqtu was appointed by the Emperor Comptroller (管理) of the Treasury (尚上) and of ecclesiastical and lay affairs in 1751. The following year he was given the title of Paldän Nomenhan, and in 1753 he was made «Comptroller of Tibetan Affairs» (管理西藏

council of ministers [75]. The emperor was confronted with the problem (for which there was as yet no precedent to be followed) of organizing the government of Tibet during the vacancy of the see and the long minority of the future Dalai-Lama. His decision was taken swiftly enough. Already on the 29th April, 1757, twelve days after the news of the death of the Dalai-Lama had reached Peking, the De-mo Qutuqtu was appointed regent of Tibet and the lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu was sent to Lhasa to supervise the change-over in the government [76]. The imperial document reached Lhasa on the I/V (17th June) [77]. But the official seal was granted only in 1759. Thus began the long rule of the De-mo Qutuqtu, whose monastery De-mo lies in Koṅ-po on the left bank of the gTsaṅ-po, but whose actual residence was always the royal monastery of bsTan-rgyas-gliṅ in Lhasa. It is indeed a pity that we know so little about the life of this churchman; no biography of him seems to be extant. He remained in office till his death, which happened on the 22/I/Fire-Bird (1st March, 1777) [78].

We are much better informed about his successor, whose biography (of 39 leaves) is included in the collection of the lives of the K'ri Rin-po-c'e [79]. Ṅag-dbaṅ-ts'ul-k'rims was born 1721 in the neighbourhood of Co-ne in Amdo and had a brilliant scholarly career. When the emperor asked for a private tutor in theology (*ti-shih* 帝師), he was unanimously proposed for the task by the authorities of the three great monasteries of 'Bras-spuṅs, Se-ra and dGa'-ldan, and received the appointment from the Dalai-Lama, the Paṇ-c'en Rin-po-c'e and the De-mo Qutuqtu; on the 5/IX(Hor)/ Water-Horse (22nd October, 1762) he arrived in Peking [80]. During

事務)». [However, Rockhill mistook Chia-ch'ing 16,17 and 18 (1811, 1812, 1813) for Ch'ien-lung 16, 17 and 18 (1751, 1752, 1753). The passage he quoted actually refers to the second De-mo regent].

[75] *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 17.

[76] *Kuei-mao*/III/22. Ch'ien-lung; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 534, ff. 13b-14b.

[77] *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 17. According to the *Life 8th DL*, the official title of the De-mo Qutuqtu was *'p'rin-las-pa rgyal-ts'ab*, something like chargé d'affaires and regent.

[78] *Life 8th DL*, f. 79a.

[79] *dGe-ldan-gser-k'ri-rin-po-c'er-dbaṅ-sgyur-ba'i-skyes-mc'og-dam-pa-k'ri-c'en-rim-byon-rnams-kyi-rnam-t'ar-rmad-byuṅ-nor-bu'i-p'reṅ-ba*. It includes the lives of the 47th to the 71st K'ri Rin-po-c'e, covering the period 1699-1829, and was compiled betweeen 1810 and 1831. The life of the 61st K'ri Rin-po-c'e will be quoted here simply as *Biography*.

[80] *Biography*, f. 5a.

fifteen years of activity as imperial preceptor he became one of the intimates of the emperor, whose full confidence he enjoyed. Thus it is not surprising that after the death of the De-mo Qutuqtu he was appointed as regent with the title Erdeni Nomun Khan [81]. Until his arrival, the ministers (*žabs-pad*) conducted provisionally the administration [82]. On 5/VII/Fire-Bird (8th August, 1777) he reached Lhasa [83], and on the 14/VII(17th August) [84], or 15/VIII(17th September) [85], took formally office. In the next year he, the imperial favorite, was selected by the clergy as the 61st K'ri Rin-po-c'e of dGa'-ldan, the third highest ecclesiastical rank in Tibet [86]. He occupied this dignity during the seven years prescribed by custom, till 1785 [87].

The Dalai-Lama had in the meantime reached full age, and his long-delayed assumption of full powers could not be postponed any longer. By imperial order the ceremony, consisting mainly in the handing over of the office seals, was performed on 1/IV/Earth-Ox (22nd July, 1781) [88]. Now the Dalai-Lama ruled over Tibet, not however autocratically, but in close collaboration with the former regent. The latter, however, had wished for a long time to return to Peking, and his imperial pupil too desired it. Thus on the 2nd May 1786 he was recalled to court, taking advantage of the death of the lCaṅ-skya Rin-po-c'e Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje and of the need for an influential churchman to lead the search for his reincarnation [89]. Upon his

[81] The appointment was intimated in Lhasa on the 7/III (14th April, 1777); *Life 8th DL*, ff. 80a.

[82] *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 18.

[83] *Biography*, f. 8a.

[84] *Life 8th DL*, f. 82b.

[85] *Biography*, 12b; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 18.

[86] *Biography*, f. 15a; *Life 8th DL*, f. 84b.

[87] *Life 8th DL*, f. 149

[88] *Life 8th DL*, ff. 118a-119b. We may surmise that this long delay in, and sudden decision of, installing the Dalai-Lama was due to the fact that Chinese politics in Tibet had hitherto banked chiefly on the 3rd Paṇ-c'en Rin-po-c'e, who was cherished and honoured by the emperor as no Tibetan churchman before him. It is significant that only after the death of the Paṇ-c'en at Peking in November 1780 the imperial government «remembered» that the granting of full powers to the Dalai-Lama was long overdue, and consented to have it carried out. The only document of this period in the *Shih-lu* concerning Tibet is in the main an announcement to the religious authorities of the death of the Paṇ-c'en; *kuei-wei*/I/46. Ch'ien-lung (2nd February, 1781), *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 1122, ff. 9a-10b.

[89] *Wu-yin*/IV/51.Ch'ien-lung, *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 1252, f. 8a-b; *Life 8th DL*, ff. 158a-159b.

arrival he received the title of a Samati Bakśi, to which we shall return presently.

The Dalai-Lama remained now alone at the helm and conducted personally the government of Tibet during three years.

But faced with the crisis of the first Gurkha invasion (July-August 1788), the unworldly and weak Dala-Lama failed to rise to the occasion; the Chinese documents of this period register many complaints of imperial officers and officials in Tibet about his incapacity and indecision. Once the tension had decreased, the emperor decreed that «affairs of state in Tibet needed an active grand Lama, to conduct the administration in agreement with the Dalai-Lama; this would result in a blessing for the country». On the 26th May 1789 he appointed to this office the rTa-ts'ag sPrul-sku Ye-śes-blo-bzań-bstan-pa'i-mgon-po, of the royal monastery Kun-bde-gliń in Lhasa [90]; in the Chinese documents he is called the Chilung 濟隴 (rJe-druń) Qutuqtu. On this occasion he received the title Biliqtu and the rank of a *jasaq*. The ministers (*bka'-blon*) were ordered to follow his instructions, which meant a practical supersession of the authority of the Dalai-Lama [91]. This position as a collaborator of the Dalai-Lama and prime minister was later coupled (at least for a time) with the Mongolian title Samati Bakśi, corresponding to the Tibetan bSam-gtan mK'an-po. He resided in the Lhag-sgo K'ań-gsar palace.

The situation did not improve at first. The Dalai-Lama was «very pious and well read in the sacred texts, but too credulous in front of others and without authority and wisdom». Moreover, his younger brother Blo-bzań-dge-'dun-'grags-pa and other men on his entourage harassed and cheated the merchant class and unmercifully exploited the pilgrims. The rJe-druń Qutuqtu soon was hand in glove with them and supported them in front of the Chinese government [92]. When their behaviour at last grew too outrageous, the emperor exiled the mischiefmakers to Peking; the rJe-druń Qutuqtu too was summoned thither (28th September, 1790).

The former regent and K'ri Rin-po-c'e was again sent to Lhasa [93]. In

[90] The series of the Guń-ru rTa-ts'ag rJe-druń sPrul-sku is found in Kloń-rdol, f. 22a. They existed at least since the middle of the 17th century and are repeatedly mentioned in the *Life 5th DL*.

[91] *Wu-wu*/V/54.Ch'ien-lung, *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 1328, ff. 1b-2a; *Life 8th DL*, f. 179b.

[92] *Hsin-ch'ou*/V/55.Ch'ien-lung (3rd July, 1790), *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 1355, ff. 9b-10b. This state of affairs was known in Peking already in August 1789; *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 1333, f. 12a-b.

[93] *Wu-ch'en*/VIII/55.Ch'ien-lung, *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 1361, ff. 11b-13b.

this period the *Shih-lu* call him by the Mongolian title Galdan Śiregetü (a translation of dGa'-ldan K'ri), to which the Chinese title *ch'an-shih* 禪師 is added. He was andowed with special powers and received instructions concerning his relations with the Dalai-Lama, the ministers and the *amban* [94]. On 9/XII (13th January 1791) he arrived in Lhasa [95], but died already on 27/III/Iron-Hog (29th April 1791) in the Potala [96].

The rJe-druṅ Qutuqtu had left Lhasa shortly before and had not yet arrived in Peking [97]. In spite of his misbehaviour, his influence at court was such that the emperor, as soon as he received the news of the death of the old Samati Bakśi, at once decided that the rJe-druṅ Qutuqtu should return to Tibet and take over the government in concurrence with the Dalai-Lama (7th June, 1791 [98]. The new administrator arrived in Lhasa on 8/VIII (5th September, 1791). The situation at once improved, the Dalai-Lama seemed to take a grip of himself, and on the 17th October 1791 the emperor was able to allow his brother to return to Lhasa [99]. On the 31Ist March, 1792, the rJe-druṅ Qutuqtu received the title of Hui-t'ung Ch'an-shih 慧通禪師 which appears in the Tibetan texts as Hu-t'uṅ Žan-je [100]. Working in close agreement with the Chinese authorities, he steered Tibet through the delicate period of the Gurkha war, and remained at the helm also after the reorganisation of 1793, which limited the powers of his office, and of the Tibetan government generally, in favour of the *ambans* [101]. As a matter of fact, his twenty-years' rule meant a substantial strengthening of Chinese influence and the beginning of the semicolonial epoch corresponding to the 19th century. After the death of the eighth Dalai-Lama, the rJe-druṅ Qutuqtu became regent. He died at Kun-bde-gliṅ in the Iron-Horse year 1810 [102].

[94] *I-yu*/IX/55. Ch'ien-lung (15th October 1790), *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 1362, ff. 17b-22a.

[95] *Life 8th DL*, f. 186b.

[96] *Biography*, f. 39a; *Life 8th DL*, ff. 188b, 192b. He was the abbot of the royal monastery of mTs'o-smon-gliṅ; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 19; A. FERRARI, *mK'yen-brtse's Guide to the holy places of Central Tibet*, p. 94.

[97] *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 19.

[98] *Keng-ch'en*/V/56.Ch'ien-lung, *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 1378, f. 6a-b.

[99] *Jên-ch'en*/V/56.Ch'ien-lung, *Kao-tsung Shih-lu* ch. 1387, ff. 12a-13b.

[100] *Wu-yin*/III/57.Ch'ien-lung, *Kao-tsung Shih-lu* ch. 1398, f. 11a-b; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 19.

[101] W.W. ROCKHILL, in *JRAS* 1891, pp. 7-13, and in *T'oung Pao* XI (1910), p. 53. I remark in passing that Rockhill's *p'yi-blon* is a wrong reconstruction of Ch'i-lung, the Chinese transcription of rJe-druṅ.

[102] *Life 9th DL*, ff. 116b-117; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 19. The Tibetan texts give only the year, not the day and month.

His successor was De-mo Blo-bzaṅ-t'ub-bstan-'jigs-med-rgya-mts'o [103], abbot of bsTan-rgyas-gliṅ and a rebirth of the first De-mo regent; he was born in 1778. On 16/III/Iron-Sheep (9th April 1811) he received the imperial appointment [104]. After the death of the minor 9th Dalai-Lama he was confirmed as regent on 2/X (3rd November, 1815) [105]. But later he came into conflict with Peking, because he did not want to follow the regulations of the Ch'ien-lung emperor concerning the selection by lot of the Dalai-Lama, and insisted, along with the *amban* Yü-lin, on the immediate and unconditional recognition of the Li-t'aṅ boy (who later indeed became the 10th Dalai-Lama). On the 10th April, 1819, he was sharply rebuked by the emperor; in case he dared to go unauthorized to Peking in order to present his petition directly to the emperor, he was threatened with inquiry, arrest and punishment [106]. The threat was gratuitous, because the regent had died of smallpox shortly before at bsTan-rgyas-gliṅ, on 3/III/Earth-Hare (28th March, 1819) [107]; but this event could not yet be known in Peking.

On the 5/III (30th March) the *ambans* appointed regent the *sprul-sku* of mTs'o-smon-gliṅ, Ṅag-dbaṅ-'jam-dpal-ts'ul-k'rims [108]. He was the rebirth of the Galdan Śiregetü Samati Bakśi that had died in 1791, and is given the same titles in the Chinese documents. Having been born in 1792, he was still quite young. On 13/VIII (1st October, 1819) he received the office seal [109], and after the election of the 10th Dalai-Lama he was confirmed in office on the 25th April, 1822 [110]. He was by far the most forceful character in 19th-century Tibet. By dint of astuce, energy and glibness he maintained himself in power throughout a generation; but we know too little of the Tibetan history of those years, since all the sources seem to leave us in the lurch. His end was tragical. His enemies in the council of ministers formally accused him to the emperor, who in

[103] G. SCHULEMANN, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*[2] p. 348, speaks of an interim administration by the K'ri Rin-po-c'e, but the Tibetan and Chinese texts seem to know nothing about it.

[104] *Life 9th DL*, f. 123a.

[105] *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, pp. 21-22bis.

[106] *Wu-shên*/III/24.Chia-ching, *Jên-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 355, ff. 16b-17a. The date of W.W. Rockhill, in *T'oung Pao* XI (1910), p. 65, is wrong.

[107] *Life 10th DL*, f. 37a; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 22bis.

[108] *Life 10th DL*, f. 37a-b.

[109] *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 22ter.

[110] *Chi-mao*/*IIIbis*/2.Tao-kuang, *Hsüan-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 32, f. 7a-b.

the first instance sent out Ch'i-shan 琦善 as *amban* [111]. On the 21st July, 1844, the latter was charged with the summoning of a sort of committee of inquiry, composed of the Paṇ-c'en Rin-po-c'e as chairman, and the De-mo (Ti-mu), rJe-druṅ (Chi-lung) and Rva-sgreṅ (Lieh-chêng) Qutuqtus as members, in order to investigate the official activity of the Samati Bakśi. The Paṇ-c'en was to take over the administration at once, and later on he was to propose, in agreement with Ch'i-shan, a suitable successor to the regency [112]. The verdict of the committee, which declared the Samati Bakśi guilty, was received in Peking on the 16th November, 1844 [113]. But in Lhasa things did not go off so smoothly. On 6/VIII (18th September) Ch'i-shan declared the regent deposed and arrested, and the Paṇ-c'en took over the administration. But the monks of Se-ra raised a tumult, in which several persons were killed and the former regent was freed. The latter, however, was experienced and wise enough to know that any serious resistance against the imperial troops was out of questions; he allowed himself to be handed over to the *amban* and was sent into banishment to Manchuria; [then he returned to the Kansu border, where he died in 1854] [114].

Now the Paṇ-c'en Rin-po-c'e carried on the administration during eight and a half months [115].

On the 26/VI/Wood-Serpent (31st May, 1845) the *sprul-sku* of Rva-sgreṅ, Ṅag-dbaṅ-ye-śes-ts'ul-k'rims-rgyal-mts'an, was installed as regent, being granted the title of Ačitu Qutuqtu [116]. He kept his office till the assumption of ruling powers by the Dalai-Lama on 13/I/Wood-Hare (1st March, 1855). On 23/II (9th April) he took his leave from the young pontiff in order to retire to Rva-sgreṅ [117]. But when the Dalai Lama fell ill, he returned to Lhasa (8th month) [118]; and after the demise of the Dalai-Lama, the Ačitu Qutuqtu once more took charge on 26/XII (2nd Feb-

[111] D. 1854. He was the unlucky negotiator with the British at Canton in 1840-41. His life in A.W. HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, pp. 126-129.

[112] *Jén-yin*/VI/24.Tao-kuang, *Hsüan-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 406, f. 5a-b.

[113] *Keng-tzu*/X/24.Tao-kuang, *Hsüan-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 410, ff. 6a-7a.

[114] E.R. HUC, *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartaria, le Thibet et la Chine*, Tournai 1850, pp. 312-317; W.W. ROCKHILL, in *T'oung Pao* XI (1910), p. 67. Is is odd that there is not a single word in *Life 11th DL* about this most important event.

[115] *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 23. *Life 4th PC*, f. 289a.

[116] *Life 11th DL*, f. 62a; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 24. [He was born in 1827, since according to E.R. HUC, *Op. cit.*, p. 317, he was eighteen in 1845].

[117] *Life 11th DL*, f. 256b.

[118] *Life 11th DL*, f. 259b.

ruary, 1856) [119]. It appears, however, that his powers were this time more restricted. The official imperial appointment spoke only of a provisional, acting direction of the finance department, and this in dBus only; gTsaṅ was under the administration of the *gsol-dpon* of bKra-śis-lhun-po, regent during the vacancy of the see and the minority of the Paṇ-c'en Rin-po-c'e [120]. And even for this lowly position he received the final confirmation only on the 14th April, 1858 [121].

At the beginning of 1862 a conflict was brewing between the Rva-sgreṅ Qutuqtu and the leading monks of dGa'-ldan and 'Bras-spuṅs, over a matter of alms to the colleges of 'Bras-spuṅs. The prince-abbot of Sa-skya, bDag-c'en bKra-śis-rin-c'en-lha-skyoṅ, and the regent (*sku-ts'ab*) of bKra-śis-lhun-po tried in vain to mediate. On account of these squabbles government activity came practically to a standstill, since the regent was unwilling or unable to carry on his official duties. A proposal was put forward from many sides, to hand over powers to the Dalai-Lama [122], although we can hardly see how the six-years old child could undertake any political responsibility. The situation grew to a head, the monks gathered together and assumed a threatening position against the regent, then dwelling in the bŽi-sde monastery in Lhasa. The situation was reported to Peking, and the emperor entrusted the newly appointed *amban* Ching-wên and the other *amban* Man-ch'ing, who was already in Lhasa, with the task of holding an inquest and of deposing the regent by taking away from him the office seals (4th June, 1862) [123]. The situation became more and more threatening; the monks armed themselves with the guns and ammunition found in the Potala, while the regent threatened to summon the wild Ṅo-log warriors from Amdo to Lhasa, — a threat that many years later the 13th Dalai-Lama was to employ more than once and always with good effect. A small-scale civil war broke out in the town, and the *ambans* charged the old and highly respected minister, the bŚad-sgra *žabs-pad*, with the task of preventing hostilities. These news reached Peking on the 18th July [124]. But by this time the decision in Lhasa had fallen; the Rva-sgreṅ Qutuqtu fled in all haste by the northern route to China, carrying

[119] *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 24. *Wên-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 190, f. 6a-b.

[120] *Kuei-yu*/VII/6.Hsien-fêng (18th August, 1856), *Wên-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 204, ff. 8a-9a.

[121] *Ting-ch'ou*/III/8.Hsien-fêng, *Wên-tsung Shih-lu*, ch.247, ff. 3a-4a.

[122] *Life 12th DL*, f. 90a.

[123] *Chi-ch'ou*/V/1.T'ung-chih, *Mu-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 27, ff. 37a-39a.

[124] *Kuei-yu*/VI/1.T'ung-chih, *Mu-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 32, ff. 10a-12a, 12b-13b.

with him the state seals: and on 21/VI (17th July) bŚad-sgra took power [125].

When the imperial government was informed of this (on the 29th August), they took away from the fugitive regent all titles and ranks and issued a warrant of arrest against him. At the same time the former minister bŚad-sgra dBaṅ-p'yug-rgyal-po was appointed regent with the title Nomin Khan [126]; he received the imperial letters patent on 7/IX/Water-Dog (29th October, 1862) [127]. But he was an old man, since he appears in the texts as minister already about 1829; and thus it was not surprising that he died only two years later, on 25/VIII/Wood-Mouse (25th September, 1864) in the Nor-bu-gliṅ palace [128].

He was followed by the former K'ri Rin-po-c'e of dGa'-ldan [129] and teacher of the Dalai-Lama (*yoṅs-'dsin*), Blo-bzaṅ-mk'yen-rab-dbaṅ-p'yug, who took over the administration on 29/IX/Wood-Mouse (28th October, 1864) [130]. [On 28th December of the same year the emperor appointed him as Nomun Khan and regent]; the letters patent and seal were received at Lhasa on 7/IV/Wood/Ox 31st May, 1865 [131]. His period of office was peaceful with the exception of an episody of those monkish squabbles that fill modern Tibetan history. One mK'an-po dPal-ldan-don-grub attained paramount influence over the monks of dGa'-ldan and was supported also by a *bka'-blon* and other high officials. They planned to compel the regent to retire. When dPal-ldan-don-grub's conspiracy was discovered, he rebelled along with the monks of dGa'-ldan in the 4th month of 1871. The *ambans* intervened with great energy. The Dalai-Lama was brought into safety away from the Nor-bu-gliṅ and a strong force was marshalled. dGa'-ldan monastery was attacked and taken after a vigorous defence, during which the buildings suffered some damage. dPal-ldan-don-grub was court-martialled and shot, his accomplices imprisoned, interrogated

[125] *Life 12th DL*, f. 92b; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 25. The deposed regent betook himself at once to Peking in order to present himself before the government and to prove his innocence; but he fell ill and died immediately upon his arrival. Only on the 30th March, 1877, his memory was rehabilitated and permission was given to search for his rebirth and to instal it in his see; *jên-yin*/II/3. Kuang-hsü, *Tê-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 48, f. 2a-b.

[126] *I-mao*/VIII/1.T'ung-chih, *Mu-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 36, ff. 23a-24a.

[127] *Life 12th DL*, f. 95a.

[128] *Life 12th DL*, f. 121a; *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, p. 26.

[129] His dates as K'ri Rin-po-c'e are not known. In the *Life 12th DL*, he appears as being still in office in 1858, but as retired (*zur*) in 1860.

[130] *Life 12th DL*, f. 125b.

[131] *Mu-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 122, f. 45b-46a. *Life 12th DL*, f. 125b. For the seal see *Mu-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 149 ff. 17a-18a.

and punished, while the simple monks were left off unscathed [132]. The whole episode seems to have been due to the ambition of one single man, without deeper motives or further consequences. The regent died on 18/IX/Water-Monkey (19th October, 1872) [133]. He received no successor, and five months later the young Dalai-Lama assumed ruling powers (see above).

After the untimely death of the 12th Dalai-Lama (about 25th April, 1875), the council of ministers (*bka'-śag*) took care of current affairs during some months. Then the ecclesiastical general assembly (*ts'ogs-'du*) was convened, apparently for the first time as no mention of this body occurs before; it nominated as regent the rTa-ts'ag rJe-druṅ Qutuqtu of Kun-bde-gliṅ, called Ṅag-dbaṅ-dpal-ldan-c'os-kyi-rgyal-mts'an (1875). [The imperial approval vas given on 8th November, 1875]; but the seal of office vas received in 1877 only [134]. He died on 8/IV/Fire-Dog (11th May, 1886) [135].

The ecclesiastical assembly met once more, and on the 13/V/Fire-

[132] *Ting-mao*/VI/10.T'ung-chih (25th July, 1871), *Mu-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 313, ff. 14b-16a.*Hsin-mao*/IX/10.T'ung-chih, (17th October 1871), *Mu-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 319. ff. 8a-9a; *Life 12th DL*, ff. 184a-185a. This seems to be the real background of a confuse and wrongly dated story, which appears in C.H. DESGODINS, *Mission du Thibet*, p. 19, and after him in G. SCHULEMANN, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*[2], p. 359. In 1869 a Lama called Pe-tchi (?) is said to have gained great influence and power by promising, to expel the Chinese by means of a military dictatorship. But he wanted also to abolish the dignities of Dalai-Lama and Paṇ-c'en Rin-po-c'e; and therefore he was soon overthrown, while the displaced regent came back in 1870. But neither the *Shih-lu* nor the *Life 12th DL*, know anything about it. The latter work has nothing peculiar to register during 1869; and the next year is nearly completely occupied by the first stay of the young Dalai-Lama at dGa'-ldan and 'Bras-spuṅs and the ceremonies connected herewith, in which the regent always appear in a prominent place. And the only mention of Tibet in the Chinese documents is on the occasion of the imperial approval to these same proceedings; *chi-wei*/IV/9.T'ung-chih (23rd May, 1870), *Mu-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 281, f. 9b. Father Desgodins must have heard on the frontier a distorted and much exaggerated rumour centering around the events of 1871.

[133] *Life 11th DL*, f. 188b. The Chinese documents have nothing about the decease of the regent. As late as the 23rd November, 1872, he appears in a document as the acting administrator of finance affairs; *chia-hsü*/X/11.T'ung-chih, *Mu-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 343, ff. 13b-14b.

[134] *Tê-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 21, f. 2b. *Loṅ-ba'i-dmigs-bu*, pp. 26-27. Another document transmits to the regent words of thank and gifts, as an acknowledgment from the Throne of the care and circumspection displayed by him during the search for the new rebirth of the Dalai-Lama; *keng-shên*/III/5.Kuang-hsü (7th April, 1879);*Tê-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 90, ff. 2b-3a. On *i-ch'ou*/VI/5.Kuang-hsü (10th August, 1879) the emperor appointed him chief tutor (*yoṅs-'dzin*) of the boy Dalai-Lama; *Tê-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 97, f. 10b.

[135] *Life 13th DL*, Ka, f. 138b. [According to others he died on 9th June].

Dog (14th June, 1886) it chose as regent the De-mo Qutuqtu of bsTan-rgyas-gliṅ, by name Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-'p'rin-las-rab-rgyas. He took office with solemn ceremony on 13/IX (10th October) [136]. On the 26th September 1895 he was compelled to cede the ruling powers to the 13th Dalai-Lama; according to the official version, on repeated occasions he had tendered his resignation, and this time it was accepted [137]. In 1899 the Dalai-Lama was warned of a conspiration by the ex-Regent against his life. The De-mo Qutuqtu thereupon was placed under arrest in his own monastery of bsTan-rgyas-gliṅ. On 3/V/Earth-Pig (11th June, 1899) he died there, hardly of a natural death, although the official version is at pains to tell us that no violence was done to him. At the time of his death he was 45 years old, which places his birth in about 1854 [138].

After the death of the thirteenth Dalai-Lama the ecclesiastical general assembly at the end of January 1934 [139] appointed as regent the *sprul-sku* of Rva-sgreṅ, T'ub-bstan-'jam-dpal-ye-śes-rgyal-mts'an, born in 1912; by doing so, the assembly merely gave effect to a wish expressed by the deceased Dalai-Lama. In February 1941 the regent resigned and retired to Rva-sgreṅ. On the 13th April, 1947, he was arrested on account of his alleged complicity in a conspiracy, and died on the 8th May a prisoner in the Potala [140].

The *sprul-sku* of sTag-brag [141], Ṅag-dbaṅ-gsuṅ-rab-grub-t'ob-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mts'an [142], born about 1873, was chosen in 1941 by the

[136] *Life 13th DL*, Ka, f. 140a.

[137] *Life 13th DL*, Ka, f. 254b-257b. [The news arrived at Peking on 17th October, 1895; *Tê-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 375, ff. 11b-12a].

[138] *Srid zur ñid kyaṅ bsTan gliṅ c'os rar mts'ams bcad bžugs mus t'og nas sku srog la c'ad las kyi ṛgol ba'i rkyen yaṅ yaṅ med par dguṅ graṅs že lṅa'i t'og tu sku ts'e'i 'du byed 'dor ba'i ts'ul bstan 'dug. Life 13th DL*, Ka, f. 324a; and generally ff. 321b-324a.

[139] LI TIEH-TSENG, *The historical status of Tibet*, New York 1959, p. 166. Confirmed and precised by a kind communication from Mr. Hugh Richardson, the last British and first Indian agent in Lhas, who was an eye-witness of the events and therefore ranks as a first class authority in these matters. I wish to thank him here for his ever-ready help and unfailing patience.

[140] The date of birth as is found in CH. BELL, *Portrait of the Dalai-Lama*, London 1946 p. 197. The other dates were communicated to me by Mr. Richardson. LI TIEH-TSENG, *op. cit.*, p. 187, places the arrest of the ex-regent on the 14th April.

[141] «sTag-brag lies about 9 miles to the west of Lhasa, across the sTod-luṅ-c'u in a high valley; it is an old site». So far Mr. Richardson. The name of this monastery is hardly ever mentioned in Tibetan literature; however, one sTag-brag Blo-gros-rgya-mts'o appears under the date of 1615 in the *Re'u-mig*, p. 65.

[142] So Richardson, and also I. TOLSTOI, *Across Tibet from India to China*, in *National Geographic Magazine*, 90 (1946), pp. 178, 198.

ecclesiastical general assembly, officially as acting regent only. He remained in office till the young Dalai-Lama took over the government on the 17th November 1950. He died at an old age not long afterward, perhaps in 1952 [143].

[143] These dates too are due to the kindness of Mr. Richardson.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY INSCRIPTIONS OF NEPAL

The chronology of the Nepal inscriptions earlier than the Newari Samvat of 879-880 A.D. is a problem that has often exercised ingenuity of scholars during the last seventy years. These inscriptions [1] can be divided into two groups:

Group 1 (from Mānadeva to Śivadeva), with dates ranging from 386 to 535.

Group 2 (Aṃśuvarman and his successors), with dates ranging from [29 to 250].

We shall proceed to give a summary of the solutions proposed by various scholars.

In 1884 Bhagvanlal Indraji attributed Group 1 to the Vikrama Samvat of 57 B.C. and Group 2 to the Harṣa era of 606 A.D. [2].

In 1888 J.F. Fleet attributed Group 1 to the Gupta era of 320 A.D. and Group 2 to the Harṣa era [3].

In 1905-1908 S. Lévi attributed Group 1 to a Licchavi era (not occurring elsewhere) of 110 A.D. and Group 2 to an era of Tibetan origin (also not documented elsewhere) starting in 595 A.D. [4]. He based his cal-

[1] The standard edition of the early Nepalese inscriptions was the one by R. GNOLI, *Nepalese inscriptions in Gupta characters* (Serie Orientale Roma, X, 2), Rome 1956. [Two more editions have appeared recently: Dh. VAJRĀCHARYA, *Licchavikālkā abhilekh*, Kathmandu 2030 V.S. (=1973 A.D.); and D.R. REGMI, *Inscriptions of ancient Nepal*, 3 vols., New Delhi 1983. My quotations refer to Gnoli; corrections and additions from the other collections are specially noted].

[2] BHAGVANLAL INDRAJI, *Some considerations on the history of Nepal*, in *Ind. Ant*, XIII (1884), pp. 411-428.

[3] J.F. FLEET, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, Calcutta 1888, Appendix IV: *Chronology of the early rulers of Nepal*, pp. 177-191.

[4] S. LÉVI, *Le Népal*, 3 voll., Paris 1905-1908; theory first advanced by him in *Note sur la chronologie du Nepal*, in *J.As.* 1894, 2, pp. 55-72.

culations upon chronological data which, however, are capable of other interpretation. The findings of Lévi were accepted in full by P. Landon [5] and H. C. Ray [6].

In 1934 R. G. Basak discussed at length the question, strongly disagreeing with Lévi, whom he partly misunderstood. The foundations of Basak's theory are the reading 300 in the dates which according to Lévi begin with 500 [7]. He proposed to assign most of Group 1 to the Vikrama era and the rest (Gnoli n. XXIV, XXV, XXX, XXX, XL) to the Gupta era. For Group 2 he accepted the Harṣa era [8].

In 1935 K.G. Sankar took up the matter again, relying only on Hsüan-tsang's mention of Aṃśuvarman and completely overlooking the remaining Chinese and the Tibetan synchronisms. This led him to attribute Group 1 to an hypothetical era of 34 or 53 A.D. and Group 2 to an equally hypothetical era of 538 A.D. founded by Yaśodharman of Malva [9].

In 1936 K. P. Jayaswal re-discussed the problem, subjecting Lévi to a partly justified criticism. He would read 320 instead of 520 in nos. XXXI and XL. Calculating on the basis of the chronological data found in no. XXXVIII, he attributed Group 1 to the Gupta era and Group 2 to an era of 595, founded by Amśuvarman and having nothing in common with Tibet [10].

In 1941 D. N. Mookerjee, in the course of a study on the Harṣa era, concluded that the first Licchavi, down to Vasantadeva, used the Vikrama era; that the later Licchavi used the Śaka era; and that Group 1 is dated in the Śaka era with omitted centuries [11].

In 1945 R. C. Majumdar rejected Basak's theory on paleographical grounds. Working chiefly upon no. LXXXI and the *vaṃśāvalīs*, he suggested two possibilities for Group 2: either regnal years of Aṃśuvarman continued by his successors, or Śaka era with omission of the hun-

[5] P. LANDON, *Nepal*, 2 vol., London 1928.

[6] H. CH RAY, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, Calcutta 1931, pp. 185-234.

[7] This reading cannot be upheld, as shown by Gnoli's plates. I may mention that the reading 500 was accepted also by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, late Epigraphist to the Government of India.

[8] R.G. BASAK, *History of North-Eastern India*, London 1934, pp. 239-302.

[9] K.G. SANKAR, *The early chronology of Nepal*, in *IHQ* XI (1935), pp. 304-312.

[10] K.P. JAYASWAL, *Chronology and history of Nepal 600 B.C. to 880 A.D.*, in *JBORS* XXII (1936), pp. 157-264.

[11] D.N. MOOKERJEE, *The date of the so-called Harsha era*, in NIA III (1940-41), pp. 244-254.

dreds, although for the latter alternative he found difficulties in the dates 119 and 153 (nos. LXXVII and LXXXI) [12].

In 1952 R. D. Regmi on rather flimsy grounds accepted 34 A.D. for Group 2. [13].

In 1960 Regmi, revising his book, subjected the matter to a thorough discussion and suggested for Group 1 an era starting some time between 68 and 78, and for Group 2 an era starting between 568 and 578 [14].

Lastly in 1961 R. C. Majumdar, revising and completing his paper of 1945, concluded that Group 1 is dated in the Śaka era and Group 2 in the Śaka era with five centuries omitted [15].

The solution of all these difficulties is really simple. It comes from a chronological list known both to the Indian and the Tibetan tradition.

On the Indian side, it is found at the end of the *Sumatitantra*, an astronomical work of which two early manuscripts are extant, one in Kathmandu [16] and one in London [17]. The Kathmandu text lists the dynasties of Yudhiṣṭhira and Duryodhana for 2000 years, the Nandas for 800 years [18], Candragupta (Maurya) for 132 years [19], Śudraka for 247 years [20], the Śaka-rāja for 498 (*vasu-randhra-kṛta*) years, At the end of the other face of the leaf there is a note by a later hand: *Yudhiṣṭhira Duryodhana ubhau rājyābda 2000, Nanda rājyābda 800, Candragupta*

[12] R.C. MAJUMDAR, *The chronology of the early kings of Nepal*, in *B.C. Law Volume*, I, Calcutta 1945, pp. 626-641.

[13] D.R. REGMI, *Ancient and medieval Nepal*, Kathmandu 1952, pp. 71-72, 83-84.

[14] D.R. REGMI, *Ancient Nepal*, Calcutta 1960, pp. 92-103, 127-131.

[15] R.C. MAJUMDAR, in *JAS* I (1959), pp. 47 seqq. (published in 1961).

[16] Darbar Library, IV.60.2. The last leaf published in facsimile and transcription by K.P. JAYASWAL, *Op. cit.*, pl. VI and p. 193, In the Nepal National Archives there is another, modern ms. of the *Sumatitantra*, which lacks this final addition.

[17] C. BENDALL, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1902, pp. 193-194.

[18] The duration of the reign of the Nandas according to the *Purāṇas* is 100 years; PARGITER, *Puranic text of the dynasties of the Kali age*, Oxford 1913, pp. 26 and 29. But in *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, London 1922, p. 287, he allots to the Nandas 80 years, of which our 800 would be a simple expansion.

[19] According to the *Skandapurāṇa*, Śudraka is the founder of the Andhra dynasty, and this seems to be the case here, although there are also other versions. S. KONOW, *Das indische Drama*, Berlin 1920, pp. 56-57. But the duration here given corresponds to none of those found in the *Purāṇas* for the Andhras, which vary between 300 and 460.

[20] Duration according to the *Purāṇas*, 137 years. Cf. PARGITER, *Puranic text of the dynasties of the Kali age*, pp. 26-30; H.G. SHASTRI, *The Puranic chronology of the Mauryan dynasty*, in *J.Or. Inst. M.S. Univ. Baroda* IX (1959-60), pp. 387-392; also R. MORTON SMITH, *Ancient Indian chronology*, II, in JAOS 77 (1957), pp. 276-280.

rājyābda 132, Śudrakadeva rājyābda..., Śaka rājyābda 498, Mānadevasya rājyābda 304, śubham. The London ms. does not contain this late addition. It gives the same main text as above, with the variant Śākarāja for 418 (*vasu-candra-kṛta*) years, which is of course wrong [21]; and it adds at the end the following: *seṣa yutāś-ca ambarāgni 304 śrī-Mānadevābda-prayujyamānā etāni piṇḍakalivarṣamāhuḥ*.

The same tradition was known also in Tibet, and Sa-skya Paṇ-c'en (1182-1251) took it as the basis for his chronological calculations. His work is known through two quotations, one by Bu-ston and the other by Sum-pa mK'an-po.

In the first quotation the list is as follows: after the death of the Buddha, 137 years; after king dGa'-byed (Nanda), 800 years [22]; after Zla-sruṅ (Candragupta), 231 years; after brJid-mańs [23], 724 and 814 years; after 'Od-zer-go-c'a (Aṃśuvarman), 242 years till the time of the Tibetan king K'ri-gtsug-lde-brtsan Ral-pa-can; in all, 2955 years after the *pariṇirvāna* [24].

The Sa-skya list in the *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* is more or less the same: gYul-brtan (Yudhi-ṣṭhira), 2000 years; dGa'-byed (Nanda), 800 years, Zla-sruṅ (Candragupta), 231 years: rJed-mańs (Śudraka), 724 years; Bal-gnas (?), 814 years: Go-c'a ([Aṃśu]varman), 242 years; then K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtsan. After this, the tale is taken up again in other words: two thousand years after Yudhiṣṭhira founded an era (*lo-bcos-nas*), the Buddha was born; 137 years after the *pariṇirvāṇa*, king dGa'-byed; after king Go-c'a founded an era (*lo-bcos-nas*) 242 years down to king K'ri-gtsug-lde-brtsan. Calculating this as the Water-Tiger year (822), it means 2955 years after the death of the Buddha [25]. Sum-pa mK'an-po gives many other examples and dates drawn from Tibetan religious history, and from these we may conclude without any doubt that Sa-skya Paṇ-c'en operated with a Nirvāṇa era of 2133 B.C. [26]

[21] The mistake, however, is an old one, because the Tibetan version is based on a text which already showed it, as we shall see presently. The other variant noticed by Jayaswal (*-ādvi-* for *-ābdhi-*) does not exist and is due to a misreading by Bendall.

[22] Of course I disregard Obermiller's arbitrary correction of *brgyad-brgya* (800) of the text into *brgya-brgyad* (108).

[23] Literally: «*vaiśya-śūdra*».

[24] *History of Buddhism by Bu-ston*, transl. E. Obermiller, II, Heidelberg 1933, p. 106.

[25] *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, ed. S. Ch. Das, Calcutta 1908, I, pp. 123-124.

[26] This Sa-skya-pa Nirvāṇa era is employed also in the *rGyal-rabs-gsal-ba'i-me-loṅ*, pp. 11-12 (Tucci ms.), where we are told that from the death of the Buddha to the return to Tibet of Tiśri Kun-blos (i.e. Sa-skya Kun-dga'-blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an-dpal-bzaṅ-po,

The Tibetan dates are partly wrong, but it is easy to discover the main cause of error; it is the ignorance by the early translator of one of the fundamental rules of Indian chronology: *aṅkānāṃ vāmato gatiḥ*, according to which the figures rendered by indicative names are to be read backward; thus *vasu*(=8)-*randhra*(=9)-*kṛta*(=4) is to be read 498. The earlier Tibetan translators and compilators read the figures in the direct order [27] with some additional mistakes; thus we have 231 for 132, 724 for 247, 814 for 418 (apparently the Tibetans followed a text akin to the London ms., which has 418 instead of 498).

There are two new elements in the Sa-skya-pa list. One, the 137 years after the *parinirvāṇa* does not concern us here [28]. The other is the 242 years between Aṃśuvarman and Ral-pa-can. Sa-skya Paṇ-c'en (or Sum-pa mK'an-po) refers this to the date of the Lhasa treaty of 822, which is wholly out of place here: it stands to reason that the calculation should be from accession to accession, as in all the other istances. We know that the Sa-skya-pa tradition, as laid down in the works of Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an (1147-1216) and of 'P'ags-pa (1235-1280), placed the accession of Ral-pa-can in the Fire-Bird year 817 [29]; and 817-242=576 [30], in the same date as in the *Sumatitantra*

We may, therefore, safely conclude that the Aṃśuvarman era of Sa-skya Paṇ-c'en and the Mānadeva era of the *Sumatitantra* are one and the same. How the name of Mānadeva was tacked on an era apparently founded and certainly used by Aṃśuvarman is a moot point; we shall hazard a guess at a later stage. Let me, however, point out that the name of Mānadeva, as connected with an era, occurs neither in Nepalese epi-

1299-1327; cf. G. Tucci, *Tibetan painted Scrolls*, p. 253) in the Water-Dog year 1322, 3455 years had passed. The same calculation is also found in Sanang Setsen, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, St. Petersburg 1829, p. 17.

[27] Later on, the *vāmato gatiḥ* rule was accepted also in the Tibetan and is regularly followed by Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o (1653-1706) in his astrological work *Vaiḍūrya-dkar-po*.

[28] It is the date given by the isolated Sammatīya tradition (as preserved by Bhavya) for the first great schism of the Buddhist community under king Nanda. A. Bareau *Trois traités sur le sectes bouddhiques*, in *J.As.* 1956, p. 172. Cf. E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, Louvain 1958, pp. 307-309.

[29] G.Tucci, *The validity of Tibetan historical tradition*, in *India Antiqua*, Leiden 1947, p. 314. As a matter of fact, Ral-pa-can began his reign in 815; P. Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa*, Paris 1952, p. 232n; H. Sato, *Historical study of Ancient Tibetan*, II, Kyoto 1959, pp. 868-688; but this is not relevant here.

[30] Counting in the Chinese fashion, which is employed also in the historical literature of Tibet, e.g. in the *Deb-t'er-sṅon-po*.

graphy [31] nor in the original text of the *Sumatitantra* nor in the Tibetan version of the same tradition; it occurs only in two later glosses to the Sanskrit text.

As for the meaning of this chronological tradition, it seems that most of it refers to eras in actual use in Nepal and to the periods of time for which they were current in succession. Such are the Yudhiṣṭhira era, i.e. the Kaliyuga of 3102 B.C., the Śaka of 78 A.D., the Aṃśuvarman of 576 and the Newari of 879 A.D. For the Nanda, Maurya and Śudraka, the reference seems to be to the Puranic lengths of reign, as no such eras are known to have existed. The main thing to note is that according to this tradition the Śaka era of 78, the Aṃśuvarman era of 576 and the Newari Samvat of 879 were used one after the other in Nepal.

There is, however, another point that needs elucidation. The total difference between the Śaka and the Newari era is said to be 498+304=802. Actually it is one year less (879/880-78/9=801). But this apparent discrepancy is due to the fact that the Śaka era is Caitrādi and the Newari Samvat is Kārttikādi. Thus the actual difference is 801 years and 7 months, which the tradition rounds up to 802 years. Of course we do not know whether the changeover from Caitrādi to Kārttikādi was made by Aṃśuvarman or by the originator of the Newari Samvat. And thus if 498 is a round number for 497 years 7 months, then the Aṃśuvarman era was Kārttikādi and began on the 20th October, 575. If 304 is a round number for 303 years 7 months, then the Aṃśuvarman era is Caitrādi and began on 14th March, 576.

We shall now proceed to apply the results thus obtained to the actual dates found in the inscriptions. Group I is dated in the Śaka era, the first inscription being of 386 (464 A.D.) and the last of 535 (613 A.D.). Group 2 is dated in the «Mānadeva» era, the first inscription being of 29 (605 A.D.) and the last of 250 (826/7 A.D.). There is a little piece of corroborating evidence for this. Inscription XL of 535 (613 A.D.) was issued by the *dūtaka* Vikramasena Rājaputra, the same who acted as such in the nearly contemporary inscriptions XXXVII of 32 (608 A.D.) and XXXIX of 34 (610 A.D.). The change of era was by some reason disregarded by the scribe of no. XL; but as the *dūtaka* is the same, there is no doubt that the three inscriptions belong to the same period.

Let us now test the result with the few indipendent data from Tibetan and Chinese sources. First of all, there is the text of Hsüan-tsang who

[31] All the dates in the early Nepalese inscriptions are without specification of the name of the era.

speaks of Ang-shu-fa-mo (Aṃśuvarman) as of a «recent ruler». [32]. Since Hsüan-tsang travelled near the border of Nepal about 637 and the dates of Aṃśuvarman range from 596 to 621, the two elements agree. If there is any truth is the Tibetan tradition according to which a daughter of Aṃśuvarman (596-621) married the Tibetan king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po (c. 610/620-649), these two series of dates too are in agreement.

Again, we know from Chinese texts that Narendradeva (Na-ling-ti-po, Shih-li Na-lien-to-lo) was ruling Nepal on dates ranging from 643 (or one or two years earlier) to 657 [33]. According to the inscriptions, Narendradeva was on the throne between 69 and 82, that is between 645 and 658 A.D., which fits perfectly whith the Chinese account.

One problem now remains: can the early Nepalese dates be verified? No inscription mentions the day of the week; apparently it was not yet of current use in the valley. We are thus left with only eight inscriptions containing elements lending themselves to verification. They are one inscription (no. I) mentioning the *nakṣatra* and seven mentioning an intercalary month.

The date of inscription no. I is 386 Jyeṣtha *śukla pratipad*, Rohiṇi *nakṣatra*. Working by the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, this tithi ended on the 23rd April, 464 A.D., at 38 *ghaṭika*, while the Rohiṇi *nakṣatra* was prevailing till the same day at 46 *gha-ṭika*. This would be suitable enough. But it is only fair to remark (as done already by S. Lévi) that this conjunction is by no means rare and is thus of little significance.

In Gnoli's collection, the inscriptions with intercalary months are the the following [with additions and corrections from the more up-to-date works of Dh. Vajrācharya and D.R. Regmi]:

No.	Year	Intercalary month
	395	Āṣāḍha
	435	Pauṣa
XIV	449	Āṣāḍha
	479	Āṣāḍha
XX	487	Āṣāḍha
XXVI and XXVII	517	Āṣāḍha
XXVIII	519	Pauṣa
	31	Pauṣa
XXXVIII	34	Pauṣa
	250	Āṣāḍha

[32] Th. WATTERS, *On Yüan Chwang's Travels*, II, p. 84.

[33] On the chronology of Wang Hsüan-ts'ê's missions to India and Nepal see S. LÉVI, *Le Nepal*, I, p. 156, and P. PELLIOT, *Autour d'une traduction Sanskrite du Tao-tê-king*,

Only two intercalary months occur in this table: Āṣādha and Pauṣa period. This shows at once that a special system, which utilized these two months only for intercalation and was used in medieval Nepal, prevailed also in this early period. This system, which is a lineal descendant from the *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga* of late Vedic times, was fully described by me elsewhere [34] and I do not need to repeat myself. Suffice it to say that its essential feature is that whenever one of the first six lunar months contains no *saṅkranti*, whichever that month may be, it is always Āṣāḍha which is duplicated as an intercalarly month; when one of the last six lunar months contains no *saṅkrānti*, whichever that month may be, it is always Pauṣa which is duplicated as an intercalary month. The fact that one such system is followed in these inscriptions precludes all possibility of utilizing the intercalation for determining the starting point of the era, as it has been attempted again and again since the times of S. Lévi. For example, Lévi based his theory of an Aṃśuvarman era of 595 on the Pauṣa intercalation of the year 34, which according to the Sūrya Siddhānta could fall only in 629 A.D.; but in the Nepalese system it is possible on the following dates: 589, 591, 599, 608, 610, 618, 627, 629, 635, 646 etc (by *madhyama* reckoning).

But beyond this point we cannot go. By no Siddhānta, by no system, with no era, can we get intercalations at the intervals stated in the table above. The difficulty can not be overcome for the moment.

As for the dynastic history of the Aṃśuvarman period, we may reconstruct it on the following lines. In 576 Aṃśuvarman, then the man behind the throne, installed a puppet of his, Mānadeva, followed later by Guṇakāmadeva. Both are mentioned in Kirkpatrick's *vaṃśāvalī* as the immediate predecessors of Śivadeva. They must have been the kings who issued the Mānāṅka and Guṇāṅka coins [35], which are closely connected, both chronologically and typologically, with those of Aṃśuvarman [36]. Then Śivadeva was placed on the throne. But in 605 [37] he was deposed or

in *T'oung Pao* 13 (1912), pp. 351-352. The dates were finally determined by P.PELLIOT, *Notes sur quelques artistes des Six Dynastie et des T'ang*, in *T'oung Pao* 22 (1923), pp. 280-282.

[34] L. PETECH, *Mediaeval history of Nepal*, Rome [1984, pp. 11-20].

[35] This was suggested already by Sankar and by Jayaswal.

[36] See D.W. MAC DOWALL, *The coinage of ancient Nepal*, in *JNSI* XXI (1960), pp. 39-53. But MacDowall places the Mānāṅka and Guṇāṅka coins *after* those Aṃśuvarman and Jiṣṇugupta (pp. 42 and 45).

[37] The last inscription of Śivadeva and Aṃśuvarman is dated 526 or 527, i.e. 604 or 605 A.D. The first inscription of Aṃśuvarman alone is dated 29 = 605 A.D.

died, and Aṃśuvarman began to rule without a puppet king, employing (or starting) the era of his first protegee Mānadeva [38].

Some time afterwards (615) he dropped from the inscriptions the title of *mahāsāmanta* and kept only the simple *śrī*; on the other side, he assumed full royal titles on the coins, and these are granted to him also by his successor Jiṣṇugupta. The reason for this is unknown. The *vaṃśavalīs* allow him 42 (Kirkpatrik's) or 43 (Gopāla) [39] years; this must be correct if we understand thereby years of effective power, even if nominally subordinate to the Licchavi. To his regime we may attribute the foundation of the new residence Mānagṛha. We notice also that the Buddhist inscriptions begin under his rule and that the Mānadeva Vihāra is mentioned for the first time in one of his inscriptions. From all this it has been inferred with some justification that the Mānadeva of 576 was the first Buddhist king [40].

It appears that in his last years Aṃśuvarman recognized the hereditary rights of the *yuvarāja* Udayadeva, who may have belonged either to the family of Mānadeva (because his son employs the «Mānadeva» era) or to that of Śivadeva (because his descendants boast of being Licchavis). In 637, when Hsüan-tsang was at Vaiśālī, the king was a Licchavi and Aṃśuvarman was already dead. Following Regmi on this point, we may accept that the successor was Udayadeva, whose reign is attested (although in a wrong genealogical position, between Vasantadeva and Gaṇadeva) by Kirkpatrick's and the *Gopāla-vaṃśāvalī*, as well as by the inscription of Jayadeva. The account of the *T'ang-shu* concerning Na-ling-ti-po must in any case be referred to him, because according to the Jayadeva inscription Udayadeva was the father of Narendradeva. This means that he was deposed in favour of his brother Dhruvadeva, a puppet of Jiṣṇugupta. Their successor Bhīmārjuṇadeva and Viṣṇungupta were deposed by the Tibetans, who placed on the throne Udayadeva's son Narendradeva. This event may have taken place in 641, because of a doubtful piece of Tibetan evidence. The Tun-huang chronicles tell us that one Yu-sna-kug-ti of Bal-po (Nepal) was killed and Na-ri-ba-ba was appointed king; this happened apparently in the same year in which the Chinese

[38] That is, unless the era is Aṃśuvarman' own, and the name of Mānadeva is due to a mistake of later scribes; see above.

[39] The *Gopāla-vaṃśāvalī*, first noticed by Bendall, is one of the two earliest and most trustworthy chronicles of Nepal, going back to the end of the 14th century; cf. L. PETECH, *Op. cit.*, pp. 5-7. It was published (not without mistakes) by Yogi Naraharinath, in the Nepalese periodical *Himavatsaṃskṛti*, I (2016 V.S.), pp. 9-15.

[40] D.R. REGMI, *Ancient Nepal*, p. 119

princess came to Tibet (641) [41]. Possibly these two persons are to be identified with Viṣṇugupta and Narendradeva [42]. The year 641 is also that of the last inscription of Viṣṇugupta.

In any case, Narendradeva was a Tibetan protegee at the time of Wang Hsüan-ts'e's visit in 647 [43] and his mentioned in the Chinese texts under the names of Na-ling-ti-po and Shih-li Na-lien-to-lo [44]. We may also identify him with the Mānavendra of the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra* after whose 80 years of reign a Mleccha domination followed [45] Mānavendra is usually identified whit Mānadeva, but the name is really perfectly synonymous with Narendra.

A doubtful point concerning this period is the (later) Tibetan tradition according to which Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po (c. 610/620-649) married a daughter of Aṃśuvarman. There is also another version, because according to the *rGyal-rabs-gsal-ba'i-me-loṅ* (Tucci ms., pp. 59 and 78) she was a daughter of king De-ba-lha of Nepal. The name is highly suspicious, but one Devaladeva is actually mentioned in the *Gopāla-vaṃśāvalī* about this period.

We sum up the chronology of this period as follows:

Vṛṣadeva
Śaṅkaradeva
Dharmadeva
Mānadeva 464-505
(Māhīdeva)
Vasantadeva 506-532
Vāmanadeva 538
Rāmadeva 545
Gaṇadeva 560-565
Gaṅgādeva 567
Mānadeva 576
Guṇakāmadeva
Śivadeva, with Aṃśuvarman as *mahāsāmanta* 590-604

[41] J. BACOT, F.W. THOMAS and Ch. TOUSSAINT, *Documents de Touen-houang*, Paris 1946, p. 13

[42] [This interpretation of the Tun-huang text should probably be abandoned.]

[43] The *Shih-chia-fan-chih*, Taishō ed. vol. LI, p. 951b, states that at the time of writing (650) Nepal was under Tibetan suzerainty.

[44] In the first name, Na-ling may be a transliteration of the Tibetan Na-ri, while the second name is directly shaped on the Sanskrit Śrī Narendra; apparently the Chinese historians did not recognize the identy of the two.

[45] K.P. JAYASWAL, *Imperial History of India*, Lahore 1934, pp. 20-21.

Aṃśuvarman 605-621
Udayadeva 621
Dhruvadeva 624-625
(Jiṣṇugupta 624-635)
Bhīmārjunadeva 631-641
(Viṣṇugupta 640-641)
Narendradeva 641-679
Śivadeva 685-705
Jayadeva 713-733
Mānadeva 756

LES MARCHANDS ITALIENS DANS L'EMPIRE MONGOL *

On a souvent dit que la grande floraison des relations commerciales entre la Méditerranée et l'Empire des successeurs des Gengis Khan fut une conséquence de la *Pax Mongolica* ainsi que de la sûreté et de la liberté des communications au travers de l'Asie Centrale. Ces faits sont exacts, mais seulement en partie.

La plupart des documents d'archives et des autres matériaux relatifs au commerce avec le Cathay, appartiennent au second quart du XIV^e^ siècle, alors que l'empire mongol n'était plus qu'un souvenir du passé, et que même l'empire mongol de Chine était tombé dans une décadence profonde. Il est certain que la sûreté des routes commerciales était entrée désormais dans les habitudes, et c'est justement au cours de ces années qu'un manuel florentin à l'usage des marchands assurait à ses lecteurs que le chemin pour aller de Tana (au fond de la mer d'Azov) au Cathay était très sûr, aussi bien pendant le jour que la nuit, ainsi que le disaient le marchands qui l'avaient parcouru [1]. Toutefois l'intensité du trafic de cette époque paraît être surtout la conséquence d'un phénomène indépendant des vicissitudes politiques de l'Asie. Comme l'a remarqué M. Lopez, on était alors au comble de ce qu'on appelle la «Révolution commerciale», qui était en train de transformer lentement l'Europe non moins radicalement qu'allait le faire la «Révolution industrielle» du commencement du XIX^e^ siècle, en étendant la portée de l'influence économique et commerciale du continent et en élevant son niveau de vie [2]. Mais c'est là un problème dont il n'y a pas lieu de s'occuper ici. Seuls présentent ici de l'inté-

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* Texte remanié d'une conférence faite le 24 mai 1962 à l'Institut des Hautes Études chinoises.

[1] FRANCESCO BALDUCCI PEGOLOTTI, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans, Cambridge Mass., 1936, p. 22.

[2] R.S. LOPEZ, *Venezia e le grandi linee dell'espansione commerciale nel secolo XIII*, dans *La civiltà veneziana del secolo di Marco Polo*, Florence, 1955, p. 46-47.

rêt les faits aux-mêmes, c'est-à-dire l'activité des marchands italiens dans l'empire mongol.

Il faut tout d'abord fixer une limite géographique au sujet et laisser à part le commerce avec la Horde d'Or ou Khanat de Qipčaq dans la Russie méridionale; la proximité des frontières polonaises et hongroises, et la présence des comptoirs génois de Caffa et de Tana dans la mer Noir créent des problèmes qui offrent un caractère tout à fait différent.

Notre information sur ces faits est tirée de deux genres de sources. La première relève de l'activité diplomatique et religieuse du Saint-Siège, de la France et de l'Angleterre, et des ambassades qu'ils échangèrent avec les Grands Khans et surtout avec les Ilkhans d'Iran. Les relations des légats du pape, des missionnaires et d'autres envoyés font quelquefois allusion aux marchands rencontrés en route, dont les comptoirs représentaient pour les ambassadeurs des points d'appui moral et financier qu'ils ne pouvaient pas négliger. Cette activité diplomatique n'avait pas en soi de buts commerciaux; l'élément religieux y balançait le facteur politique constitué essentiellement par la lutte avec l'ennemi commun, les Mamlouks d'Égypte, qui menaçaient les dernières colonies franques de Palestine et de Syrie, les confins mongols de la Djezira et le royaume chrétien de la Petite Arménie, vassal des Mongols. Cependant, la diplomatie de l'Occident ne pouvait se passer de la coopération d'obscurs marchands, établis dans les villes de l'empire mongol ou voyageant à l'intérieur de celui-ci.

La seconde est directe et repose sur les documents des archives vénitiennes et génoises provenant de l'activité des marchands d'outre-mer. Ce sont surtout des documents juridiques regardant la formation de sociétés commerciales, les procés qui en dérivent, quelques actes des deux gouvernements en matière commerciale, etc.

L'objet du commerce était avant tout la sois du Cathay (*seta catuya* ou *captuya* ou *catuxta*), qui avait commencé d'arriver en Europe de trés bonne heure. Déjà en 1257 elle avait atteint la Méditerranée, et les Génois la vendaient en Italie et dans les foires de Champagne. Un fait curieux a été relevé: la soie chinoise était inférieure en prix et en qualitè à celle d'autres pays moins éloignés de l'Europe, comme le Talish et Merw au Turkestan. L'importation de la soie chinoise était un commerce qui était avantageux non pas à cause de la qualité, mais par la quantité et ses prix relativement bas [3]. A côté de la soie, on trouve surtout des brocarts et d'autres étoffes précieuses.

[3] R.S. LOPEZ, *Nuove luci sugli italiani in Estremo Oriente prima di Colombo*, [réimprimé dans *Su e giù per la storia di Genova*, Gênes 1975,] p. 102-104. IDEM, *Chinese*

La forme la plus répandue de ce commerce était appeleé *colleganza* à Venise et *commenda* ailleurs. Elle joignait pour un seul voyage un associé qui restait chez lui (*stans*) et un autre qui partait (*procertans* ou *tractator*). L'associé sédentaire fournissait généralement les deux tiers du capital, le voyageur fournissant le reste. On achetait avec ce capital des marchandises qu'on revendait dans le pays de destination; le produit à son tour était placé en merchandises exotiques vendues au retour. Le gain ou la perte des opérations étaient répartis entre les associés; au XII[e] siècle, la proportion était des trois quarts pour le *stans* et un quart pour le *tractator*. Pour réduire de très grands risques, à l'ordinaire le *tractator* concluait plusieurs contrats de *colleganza* avec différents associés, et le *stans* fractionnait son capital en *colleganze* diverses. Aprés le XIII[e] siècle, cette forme d'association prit de plus en plus le caractère d'un contrat de mutualité ou de dépôt avec intérêt dépendant des fluctuations du marché monétaire, ou fixé d'avance [4].

A peu d'exceptions près, ce qui fait défaut dans les chartes vénitiennes et génoises c'est l'élément narratif, qui d'ailleurs reste exclu par la nature même du document. Ce genre de sources est quelque peu terne et tout à fait pauvre au point de vue géographique. On peut seulement deviner l'existence de tout un réseau d'intérêts, de correspondances locales, d'une activité complexe de longs voyages audacieux, que les chartes laissent entrevoir, mais dont elles ne soufflent mot. Dans les documents génois, cette réticence est très souvent voulue. Les marchands faisaient en sorte de ne pas mentionner devant le notaire le vrai but de leur voyage; les risques étaient énormes, la concurrence était vive, et une indiscrétion du notaire, fût-elle involontaire, pouvait faire échouer l'entreprise la mieux conçue. On trouve ainsi des documents dans lesquels le marchand promet d'aller là où Dieu le guidera (*ire quo Deus mihi administraverit*); ou la seule destination immédiate est indiquée et il n'est rien dit des étapes suivantes; par exemple, il est promis d'aller à Ceute et où l'on voudra (*promittit ire apud Septam et quo maluerit*). Un cas extrême est celui des frères Vivaldi, qui, avant de partir pour leur malheureux essai de circumnavigation de l'Afrique, conclurent des contrats «pour diverses parties du monde», pour Majorque, et même pour la Romanie (empire byzantin), c'est-à-dire pour direction opposée à celle qu'ils comptaient prendre [5].

silk in Europe in the Yuan period, dans *JAOS*, 72 (1952), p. 72-76. Le deuxième article n'est que la traduction anglaise d'un petite partie du premier.

[4] G.LUZZATTO, *La commenda nella vita economica dei sec. XIII e XIV con particolare riguardo a Venezia*, dans *Studi di storia economica veneziana*, Padoue, 1954, p. 59-79.

[5] R.S. LOPEZ, *Nuove luci...*, p. 95-96.

A cette époque, c'est un fait général, une règle presque absolue, le marchand qui effectue un voyage n'écrit pas de relations; il n'est pas intéressé à la publicité et aime mieux garder pour lui ce qu'il connaît. Les envoyés du pape et du roi de France écrivent, et écrivent beaucoup, non seulement pour informer leurs souverains, mais aussi pour faire connaître à l'Europe chrétienne les pays qu'ils ont visités. Les marchands n'en font pas autant; Maffeo et Niccolò Polo n'ont pas écrit une ligne. Marco Polo est une exception seulement apparente. Sa carrière ne fut pas vraiment celle d'un marchand, mais plutôt celle d'un administrateur ou, si l'on veut, d'un gentilhomme au service de Qubilai. Il ne parle presque jamais de ses affaires, et les informations purement commerciales dans son livre sont inférieures en nombre et en importance à celles données par Odoric de Pordenone, frère mineur et missionnaire. Plus encore, il semble que l'existence même du livre de Marco Polo soit due, au moins en partie, à l'insistance et à l'intérêt purement littéraire de Rustichello de Pise, que profita des loisirs forcés de sa captivite pour faire raconter ses aventures au grand voyageur. L'autre œuvre littéraire qui concerne le commerce, la *Pratica della Mercatura* de Francesco di Balduccio Pegolotti, est également due, non pas à un marchand-voyageur, mais à la diligence d'un commis de banque, qui s'enquit auprès des marchands de passage de toutes les voies commerciales utilisées à son époque.

Les documents se trouvent exclusivement à Gênes et à Venise. Nous savons par des mentions isolées que des marchands florentins, siennois et pisans prenaient également part au commerce avec la Perse et le Cathay. On sait que Lucques était le plus grand centre de l'industrie de la soie en Europe occidentale et absorbait la majeure partie de l'importation de la soie faite par Gênes. Mais la perte presque totale des cartulaires toscans de la fin du XIII[e] et du commencement du XIV[e] siècle empêche d'en retrouver les traces [6].

Les documents qui subsistent permettent cependant de déterminer approximativement l'époque où commença ce commerce. Pour l'Asie Centrale et la Chine, Niccolò et Maffeo Polo furent vraiment des pionniers; aucun document, aucune charte, aucun renseignement indirect ne nous permettent de remonter plus haut. Pour l'Iran, plus près des comptoirs francs de la Terre Sainte et du royaume armènien de Cilicie, une colonie marchande italienne est attestée à Tabriz au moins dès 1264; il se peut même qu'elle remonte à la période précédant la conquête mongole.

[6] R.S. LOPEZ, *Nuove luci...*, p. 94.

Bien souvent on ignore les noms mêmes des marchands italiens qui firent le voyage du Cathay; il est rarement possible de savoir si leur voyage se fit par mer en partant des échelles du golfe Persique ou de l'Inde, ou bien par les routes de l'Asie Centrale.

Les premiers furent les frères Niccolò et Maffeo Polo, qui quittèrent Constantinople pour le Cathay en 1261 et rentrèrent à Venise en 1269. Ils partirent pour un second voyage en 1271 en prenant avec eux Marco, le jeune fils de Niccolò. Leur séjour en Chine fut fort long, et ils revinrent à Venise seulement en 1295.

Pendant leur désastreux voyage le long des côtes de l'Inde, ils durent croiser quelque part, sans cependant le rencontrer, un marchand qui voyageait dans la direction opposée. Nous savons seulement ce que nous en dit le Frère Jean de Montecorvino, le futur archevêque de Pékin, qui l'appelle *dominus Petrus de Lucalongo fidelis christianus et magnus mercator*. Ce «grand marchand» quitta Tabriz en 1291 avec Frère Jean et l'accompagna jusqu'en Chine. Nous ne savons pas s'il y resta ou s'il retourna en Perse, puis s'il revint au Cathay. En tout cas, il était à Khanbaliq en 1305, quand il y acheta un terrain dont il fit cadeau au Frère Jean pour y bâtir la cathédrale catholique [7]. Certains ont affirmé que Pierre de Lucalongo était Génois. Mais il existait à Venise une famille Longo, et dans sa généalogie les prénoms Pierre et Luc sont très fréquents. Il est fort vraisemblable qu'il faut lire Petrus de Luca Longo; ce serait alors un Pierre Longo, fils de Luc, Vénitien [8].

Certes, les Italiens qui dans ces années parvinrent à la cour du Grand Khan n'avaient pas tous la position sociale et les qualités morales de Pierre. L'archevêque eut beaucoup à se plaindre d'un médecin-chirurgien lombard, qui arriva à Khanbaliq en 1303 et «infecta ces places avec blasphèmes incroyables au sujet de la cour de Rome, de notre Ordre et de la situation dans l'Occident» [9].

Les premières années du XIV^e^ siècle virent l'essor de l'église catholique en Chine, en même temps qu'une toute petite communauté marchande génoise dut s'y former; son activité est attestée seulement dans les ports, car les marchands semblent avoir préféré, comme Pierre de Lucalongo, la voie maritime à celle de terre. André de Pérouse, évêque de Zaitun, la moderne Ts'iuan-tcheou, dans une lettre de janvier 1326, mentionne des

[7] A. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica Franciscana*, I, Quaracchi, 1929, p. 352-353.

[8] R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, *Sulle orme di Marco Polo*, dans *L'Italia che scrive*, (1954), p. 122, n. 27.

[9] A. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *op. cit.*, p. 349-350.

Génois qui vivaient dans la grande port: «Je vis de l'aumône royale susmentionnée, dont la valeur peut s'élever à cent florins d'or par an, ou à peu près, selon l'estimation des marchands génois» [10]. La prééminence des Génois dans le commerce de la Chine est confirmée par le fait que Pegolotti donne tous les poids et les mesures sur la route du Cathay en termes génois [11]. Cette prééminence était si bien connue dans l'Occident, que Boccace commence ainsi un de ses contes d'ambiance «chinoise»: «Il est chose très certaine, si l'on peut faire foi à la parole de quelques Génois et d'autres hommes qui ont été dans ces pays-là, que dans les régions du Cathay il y avait un homme de noble famille...» [12]. C'est dire que les Génois étaient considérés comme connaissant mieux que quiconque le Cathay.

Le personnage le plus éminent de la colonie génoise en Chine, du moins celui qui nous est le mieux connu, est Andalò de Savignone [13]. Son nom se rencontre pour la première fois en 1336, quand, résidant alors en Chine, il fut chargé par l'empereur Toghan Temür d'une ambassade auprès du pape. Sa lettre de créance, qui nous est parvenue en traduction latine, le nomme André le Franc, et témoigne qu'il avait été envoyé avec quinze compagnons «dans le pays des Francs au-delà des sept mers où le soleil se couche, pour ouvrir le voie aux ambassadeurs qui seront envoyés fréquemment par nous au pape et par le pape à nous»[14]. Andalò était aussi chargé par les Alains chrétiens de la garde impériale de demander au pape un nouvel archevêque et des nouveaux prêtres. A la fin de 1338, l'ambassade fut reçue avec beaucoup de distinction à Avignon par Benoît XII, qui promit l'envoi d'un légat pontifical. En juin, Andalò et ses compagnons, munis de lettres du pape à Philippe VI, se rendirent à Paris, d'où ils rentrèrent en Italie.

Mais à côté de sa mission politique Andalò était chargé d'une autre tâche, plus modeste mais peut-être liée de plus près à ses activités privées. La lettre de Toghan Temür est fort clair à ce sujet: «Aussi, qu'ils nous amènent de l'Occident chevaux et autres merveilles». On s'étonne un peu

[10] A. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *op. cit.*, p. 375-376.

[11] F.B. PEGOLOTTI, *op. cit.*, p. 22-23; R.S. LOPEZ, *Chinese silk...*, p. 74.

[12] G. BOCCACCIO, *Decameron*, X, 3.

[13] Sa famille avait dèjà beaucoup de liens avec le commerce de l'empire mongol. Des documents génois montrent Niccolò de Savignone résidant à Tabriz en 1292, et Lanfranchino de Savignone à Soldaia en Crimée en 1274. G.I. BRATIANU, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la mer Noire au XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1929, p. 307, 321.

[14] G. GOLUBOVICH, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terrasanta e dell'Oriente Francescano*, Quaracchi, 1923, IV, p. 250.

d'apprendre que le Génois Andalò ait essayé de se procurer ces chevaux justement à Venise, l'éternelle ennemie et rivale de Gênes. C'était probablement pour en faire un seul achat, car il avait interprété à sa manière les mots «autres merveilles» (*et alia mirabilia*) en décidant d'apporter à l'empereur des verreries et des joyaux de cristal; il ne pouvait s'en procurer de plus beaux qu'à Venise. Cette décision n'était pas originale; d'autres marchands, parmi lesquels les Polo, avaient essayé d'étonner les Khans mongols avec des «joyaux» de cristal [15]. Ou trouve la trace de cette commission pour le Grand Khan dans les délibérations du Sénat de Venise. Le 22 décembre 1338, le Sénat décréta qu'«on permît au noble Andalò de Savignone de Gênes, ambassadeur du seigneur empereur des Tartares du Cathay, qui en faisait supplique en son nom et au nom des autres ambassadeurs dudit seigneur empereur, de pouvoir emmener à ces pays-là de cinq à dix chevaux et des joyaux (*iocalia*) de cristal pour la valeur de mille à deux mille florins d'or». Le même jour, une autre délibération précisait les conditions du permis d'exportation: «Que Andalò de Savignone, envoyé et ambassadeur du seigneur empereur des Tartars, puisse exporter de Venise en personne ou par un messager de cinq à dix chevaux et joyaux jusqu'à la valeur de deux mille florins, et les emmener aux pays et terres dudit seigneur empereur sur les vaisseaux de nos Vénitiens» [16]. Ainsi, Andalò aurait respecté le monopole vénitien de la navigation du Levant. Mais, évidemment, c'était trop prétendre d'un Génois; finalement, Andalò partit de Gênes sur un navire génois, probablement après avoir acheté chevaux et joyaux à Gênes.

Il parvint ainsi à Naples, où l'ambassade était attendue par légat pontifical, le Franciscain Jean de Marignolli. Ils partirent de Naples le 28 mars 1339 et débarquèrent à Caffa en Crimée, d'où la légation pontificale continua par voie de terre, à travers les territoires de la Horde d'Or. On sait que l'un des chevaux italiens parvint à Pékin, et qu'il y fit grande sensation. L'empereur ordonna aux poètes de la cour d'en faire les louanges, et quelques-unes de ces compositions nous sont conservées [17]. Le peintre Tcheou Lang en fit le portrait, et ce tableau existait encore en 1815; peut-êutre a-t-il disparu dans le sac du Palais d'Été, en 1860 [18].

[15] R.S. LOPEZ, *Venezia e le grandi linee...*, p. 50-51.

[16] R.S. LOPEZ, *Nuove luci...*, p. 132.

[17] A.C. MOULE, *Christians in China before 1550 A.D.*, London, 1930, p. 257-258n.; W. FUCHS, *Ein Gesandtschaftsbericht über Fu-lin in chinesischer Wiedergabe aus den Jahren 1314-1320*, dans *Oriens Extremus*, 6 (1959) p. 126-127.

[18] P. PELLIOT, *Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme-Orient*, dans *T'oung Pao*, 15 (1914), p. 642-643.

Nous ne savons pas si Andalò parvint aussi à Pékin: [en tous cas, en 1345 il était déja de retour a Gênes] [19].

Un dernier renseignement de un voyage sur marchands génois au Cathay est donné par une sentence d'un tribunal génois de janvier 1344. Tommasino Gentile, en route pour le Cathay, «tomba malade et resta à Ormes (Hormuz dans le golfe Persique), abandonné là par ses compagnons qui continuèrent leur voyage vers le Cathay». Y arrivèrent-ils jamais? Personne ne peut le dire. Quant à Tommasino, il retourna en Europe en passant par Tabriz; mais en agissant ainsi, il viola le boycott proclamé par le gouvernement de Gênes contre les princes djoubaniens, seigneurs de la ville. La sentence du tribunal l'acquittat de ce délit, en reconnaissant le cas de force majeure [20].

Si intéressantes que soient les chartes, les documents le plus vivants du point de vue humain sont deux inscriptions. Il s'agit des fameuses pierres tombales trouvées pendant les travaux de démolition des murailles de Yang-tcheou sur le bas Fleuve Bleu. A une époque indéterminée, peut-être à la fin de la dynastie des Ming, on les avait employées comme matériel de construction. La premiére montre gravé une image de la Vierge avec l'Enfant Jésus; au-dessous, des scènes du martyre de sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie, évidemment exécutées par des artistes locaux sur des modèles occidentaux. L'inscription, en beaux caractères gothiques, est la suivante: *In nomine Domini. Amen. Hic iacet Katerina filia quondam Domini Dominici de Yilionis, quae obiit in anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo secundo de mense Iunii* [21]. [La deuxième pierre montre une gravure de la resurrection des morts et du Jugement dernier et l'inscription suivante: *In nomine Domini. Amen. Hic iacet Antonius filius quondam domini Dominici de Yilionis qui migravit anno Domini MCCCXXXXIIII de mense Novembris* [22].

Le père d'Antoine et de Catherine est connu par une carte génoise de 1346 concernant les dettes et les legs de feu Jacobus de Oliverio *in dicto suo testamento quod dicitur factum fuisse et scriptum in partibus Catagii per Dominicum Ilionis prout nobis asseruit ipse Johannes* [de Olive-

[19] [Document publiè par L. LIAGRE-DE STURLER, *Les relations commerciales entre Gênes, la Belgique et l'Outremont d'après les archives notariales génoises (1320-1400)*, Bruxelles-Rome 1969, n. 176].

[20] R.S. LOPEZ, *Nuove luci...*, p. 134-135.

[21] Publié par F.A. ROULEAU, *The Yangchow Latin tombstone as a landmark of medieval christianity in China*, dans *HJAS*, 17 (1954), p. 364-365.

[22] [Publié par K'ENG CHIA-T'ING, *Two Latin tomb inscriptions of the period of Yuan from the city walls of Yang-chou*, dans *Kaogu*, 1963, 8, p. 449-454].

rio]» [23]. Comme il est peu vraisemblable que Dominic aie amené avec soi sa fille en partant de Gênes (les marchands laissaient les femmes à la maison), il avait probablement épousé une chinoise. En tous cas, on a ici la trace d'une famille génoise établie à Yang-chou aux environs de 1340, dans la cadre d'une petite communauté marchande dont les Oliverio aussi faisaient part.]

Les Génois ne doivent pas nous faire oublier les Vénitiens, à qui les Polo avaient montré la voie. Mais les documents qui les concernent sont fort rares.

En 1305, Jean de Montecorvino confiait sa première lettre à des marchands vénitiens, qui retournaient de la Tartarie et qui étaient munis d'une «tablette d'or». c'est-à-dire d'un sauf-conduit de l'empereur mongol [24].

En 1335, messire Paolo Duodo, podestat de Pola, faisait testament en disposant de ses biens. Parmi ceux-ci se trouvent des sommes engagées dans un voyage commercial de son frère au Cathay. «Et si le Crèateur Très-Haut vient à reconduire à Venise mes crédits (*meam rationem*) du Cathay, qu'a mon frère Luchetto...» De ce Luchetto Duodo nous savons seulement qu'en 1336 il était à Tana sur la mer d'Azov et que, l'année suivante, il était encore absent de Venise [25].

Il se peut que Luchetto Duodo ait fait partie d'un groupe de marchands vénitiens auquel appartenait aussi Giovanni Loredan. Peu de temps avant 1339, Loredan était revenu du Cathay à Venise, où il rendit le capital et les fruits de sa *colleganza*. Le fait est noté incidemment dans un long document concernant une autre entreprise des Loredan [26], dont il sera question plus loin.

Un autre Loredan paraît dans trois documents vénitiens. Il s'agit de Franceschino Loredan, un descendant quelque peu aventureux, pour ne pas dire plus, de la grande famille patricienne. A la date du 17 janvier 1342, il est dit qu'«il y maintenant trois ans que Francesco, fils dudit messire Marco, est allé au Cathay avec la valeur de plus de 300 livres de grossi». Il avait suivi la route de la mer Noire, car Pietro Loredan l'avait

[23] [R.S. LOPEZ, *Trafegando in partibus Catagii: altri genovesi in Cina nel Trecento*, dans *Su e giù per la Storia di Genova*, p. 184-185].

[24] La lettre fut envoyée au vicaire et aux confrères de Gazaria (Crimée) «per mercatores venetianos qui a Tartaria redierunt», Chronique du Frère Elemosina, citée par G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, III, Quaracchi, 1919, p. 90, et par A.C. MOULE, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[25] R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, *Catay*, dans *Miscellanea in onore di Roberto Cessi* (Storia e Letteratura, Raccolta di studi e testi, 71), Rome, 1958, p. 299-301.

[26] Le renseignement concernant Giovanni Loredan est cité par R.S. LOPEZ, *Venezia e le grandi linee*, p. 54.

recommandé à Zontolà d'Ancône, résidant à Tana. Il est certain que Franceschino fit réellement le voyage du Cathay en 1339 ou dans les années suivantes. Il est mentionné deux fois comme messire Franceschino Lauredano de Cathayo dans le actes d'un procès de juin 1349, qui le montrent impliqué dans le rapt et le viol d'une religieuse; pour ce crime, il fut d'ailleurs emprisonné à Venise de juin 1349 à juin 1350.

Après quoi, il jugea bon de s'éloigner de Venise, car une charte d'août 1359 déclare saufs des crédits dus à Franceschino Loredan a Catayo, absent à cette date [27].

Un autre marchand vénitien, Pietro Zulian del Cathayo, est mentionné en septembre 1342 à propos d'une élection à la Quarantia, l'un des tribunaux de la république. De même, ce n'est guère qu'un nom pour nous la *colleganza* de Andriolo Balanzano et Francesco Condulmer, dont un document de juin 1350 cite des sommes dues «pour la société qu'ils avaient ensemble *ad Cathayum*»; c'est un renseignement extrêmement vague, dont on ne sait s'il concerne un voyage en Chine ou seulement le commerce avec la Chine [28]. Ce document est cependant intéressant, car il montre qu'un capital a pu être rassemblé par petites quotes-parts dans un cercle assez large, tandis qu'auparavant les capitaux provenaient du milieu familial.

Ce sont des textes chinois qui nous renseignent sur la fin de l'activité commerciale européenne au Cathay. L'histoire des Ming renferme une notice sur le pays de Fou-lin 拂菻, qui dans les textes des T'ang indique l'empire byzantin, mais qui à l'époque mongole et sous les premiers Ming signifie le pays des Francs, c'est-à-dire l'Europe chrétienne [29]. Ce texte rapporte qu'à la fin des Yuan un homme du Fou-lin, appelé Nie-kou-louen 捏古倫, vint en Chine pour y faire du commerce. Quand après la chute des Yuan il ne put plus revenir dans son pays, l'empereur Hong-wou, le 2 octobre 1371, le manda en sa présence et ordonna de lui donner un placet impérial, pour qu'il le remît à son roi. Le placet ne faisait qu'annoncer, en termes fort flamboyants, l'accession de la nouvelle dynastie. De plus, l'empereur commanda que l'ambassadeur P'ou-la 普剌 et sa suite fussent munis de lettres et cadeaux de soieries pour les remettre au roi de ce pays. Plus tard, le Fou-lin envoya une ambassade avec tribut,

[27] R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, *Catay*, p. 301-302.

[28] R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, *Catay*, p. 302-303.

[29] P. PELLIOT, *Le Ḥōja et le Sayyid Ḥusain de l'Histoire des Ming*, dans *T'oung Pao*, 38 (1948), p. 163 n. Mais un texte paraît entendre sous le terme Fou-lin l'Espagne chrétienne ou musulmane; W. FUCHS, *op. cit.*

qui ne fut plus renouvelée; les relations cessèrent jusqu'à l'arrivée des Jésuites à la fin du XVI[e] siècle [30].

On ne sait absolument rien de P'ou-la et de sa mission, qui ne durent pas parvenir en Europe. Même obscurité pour l'ambassade du Fou-lin qui en aurait été la conséquence. Cependant, on peut-être penser que l'un des douze Franciscains envoyés au Cathay en 1370 par le pape Urbain V pour y accompagner le nouvel archevêque de Pékin, le Parisien Guillaume Du Prat, ou Du Pré [31], y soit effectivement parvenu; mais on ne saurait insister sur cette hypothèse. Quant à Nie-kou-louen, ce mon paraît transcrire Niccolò et le texte dit expressément qu'il était un commerçant. Il faut probablement voir en lui le dernier représentant des aventureux marchands italiens qui si longtemps avaient sillonné les voies de mer et de terre pour aller en Chine [32]. Il n'y avait plus de place pour eux dans la Chine des Ming, qui se fermait aux influences étrangères. Le renvoi courtois de Nie-kou-louen équivalait à une expulsion masquée. Le commerce du Cathay touchait à sa fin.

Le Khanat mongol du Djagatai n'était important que comme carrefour des routes entre l'Iran, la Russie du Sud, l'Asie Centrale et l'Inde. Gillotus *mercator*, aussi appelé Guillaume de Modena, marchand génois qui subit le martyre avec les Franciscains en 1339 à Almaligh, fut peut-être un marchand en transit [33]. Toutefois, le vrai centre commercial de la région était Urgenǰ, la vielle capitale du Khwarezm. Dans cette ville était fabriquée une étoffe dont le nom, *organdi*, est employé encore à l'heure actuelle. Mais Urgenǰ était surtout un centre de trafic caravanier et de

[30] *Ming-che*, 326, 16 *b*-17 *b*. Une partie seulement de ce texte se trouve déjà dans la *Ta Ming Che-lou*, T'ai-tsou, k. 10, qui est le seul à donner la date exacte.

[31] G. GOLUBOVICH *op. cit.*, V, Quaracchi, 1927, p. 149-154. Cf. C. SCHMITT, *Un pape réformateur et un défenseur de l'unité de l'Église: Benoît XII et l'orde des Frères Mineurs (1334-1342)*,Quaracchi, 1959, p. 377.

[32] Bretschneider, suivi par F. Hirth, avait jadis proposé une identification avec Niccolò de Bantra. Mais ceci repose sur une erreur: Niccolò de Banzia (tel est le nom correct) était l'un des évêques suffrageants de Jean de Montecorvino; il mourut dans l'Inde du Sud, en route pour la Chine, avant 1326; A. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, III, p. 422-423, voulait identifier Nie-kou-louen avec ce Frère Niccolò qui fut nommé en 1333 successeur de Jean Montecorvino comme archevêque de Pékin. Il partit pour la Chine et il se peut qu'il y soit arrivé effectivement; du moins, en 1338, le pape remerciait le Khan du Djagatai d'avoir fait bon accueil à Niccolò lors de son passage. Mais la chronologie paraît s'y opposer, er le *Ming-che*, dit expressément que Nie-kou-louen était venu en Chine pour y faire du commerce.

[33] A. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *op. cit.*, p. 511, 528. Sur l'évêché franciscain d'Almaligh, voir G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, III, p. 252-253.

commerce: *spacciativa terra di mercatantia*, comme disait Pegolotti [34]. Il y eut même pendant quelques années un évêché catholique, dont le titulaire, en 1340, était le Franciscain Frère Matteo [35].

Nous pouvons suivre les traces des caravanes qui parcouraient la vieille route, connue depuis le temps de Rome et des Kuṣāṇa, qui en côtoyant la mer Caspienne pénétrait dans la vallée de l'Amu-Darya, traversait les montagnes de l'Afghanistan et descendait dans le Panǰab, puis dans la vallée du Gange. Nous savons beaucoup de choses sur la *colleganza* formée en 1338 par les Vénitiens Giovanni, Paolo et Andrea Loredan, Marco Soranzo, Marino Contarini et Baldovino Querini pour un voyage de commerce à Delhi. Les documents, longs et compliqués, concernent le procès auquel donna lieu la liquidation de la société; ils ont été étudiés par M. Lopez [36]. La caravane suivit la route de Constantinople par Tana jusqu'à Astrakhan, où ils rencontrèrent le Vénitien Andrea Giustiniani qui venait d'Urgenǰ. Ils passèrent ensuite par Urgenǰ, franchirent l'Hindukuš et descendirent à Ghazna; Giovanni Loredan mourut près de cette ville. A Delhi, leurs marchandises furent données «en présent» au sultan Muhammad Tughlaq, lequel leur donna en échange la somme énorme de 200.000 besants. Mais une partie du gain disparut dans les éternels *bakhshish* nécessaires pour échapper aux exigences des douaniers indiens. Le retour se fit par la même route, et à Urgenǰ l'actif fut divisé et la société fut liquidée. Incidemment, nous sommes informés de la présence à Urgenǰ d'un autre Vénitien, Francesco Barbarigo, auquel fut fait un emprunt.

Le voyage d'Urgenǰ était chose normale encore une génération plus tard. Selon un acte du 1er décembre 1363, le Vénitien Andreolo Dandolo déclare que l'année précédente, en voyageant de Tana vers Urgenǰ, il avait rencontré en route Franceschino de Noder venant d'Organci (Urgenǰ). Franceschino, arrivé à Venise, prétendait avoir été dépouillé de tous ses biens en route; c'était probablement un prétexte pour se soustraire au payement de ses dettes. Pour son malheur, Dandolo témoigna que Franceschino non seulement ne s'était plaint de rien, mais qu'il avait même offert protection en sa caravane contre quiconque aurait essayé de

[34] F.B. PEGOLOTTI, *op. cit.*, 21.

[35] G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, IV p. 310. En 1329, Jean XXII avait nommé le Dominicain Tommaso Mancasole évêque de Semiscant, c'est-à-dire de Samarcande. Mais il semble que cet évêché fut de très courte durée; G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, III, p. 354-355.

[36] R.S. LOPEZ, *Nuove luci...*, p. 361-368, 393-398; IDEM, *Venezia e le grandi linee...*, p. 54-82.

voler ses marchandises. De plus, Dandolo avait ouï dire que, à Urgenj, Franceschino préférait les maisons de joie aux maisons d'affaires et qu'une amie à lui, qu'on appelait narquoisement la Franceschina, lui avait coûté près de 1.500 besants [37]. On voit ainsi qu'en 1362 le voyage du Don inférieur à l'Amu-Darya se faisait encore avec beaucoup de sécurité et de régularité, bien que l'empire mongol ne fût plus qu'un souvenir du passé et qu'on fût déjà à la veille de la tempête de Tamerlan.

Ces documents vénitiens jettent beaucoup de lumière sur le trafic en Asia Centrale vers la moitié du XIV^e^ siècle. Au centre se trouve Urgenj, qui devait être une ville très riche, même après la dissolution de l'empire mongol. On pouvait y trouver même des produits de la Chine, car, dans un cahier de comptes de ce Marco Soranzo qui avait participé au voyage des Loredan aux Indes, on trouve enregistré à la date du 13 septembre 1371 la vente de deux *tabulae laboratae ad opera de Chataio*, évidemment des souvenirs de voyage conservés par le vieux Soranzo [38].

Le commerce italien en Iran peut être considéré sous un double aspect. Il s'agit en somme d'un étape du commerce dans l'empire mongol, dont le royaume les Ilkhans continua à dépendre jusqu'à premières années du XIV^e^ siècle, plus longtemps que les autres États successeurs de l'empire de Gengis-Khan. Il était en même temps l'extrême prolongement du commerce du Levant, beaucoup plus ancien et plus actif, qui constituait la vie économique même des républiques maritimes italiennes.

Les routes qui servaient à ce trafic étaient fixées depuis longtemps d'après des itinéraires dus à des raisons économiques aussi bien que politiques, et datant des Croisades. Il y en avait deux: celle de la mer Noire, menant à Tabriz par Trébizonde et Baibourt; celle de la Petite Arménie, si bien décrite par Pegolotti, partant du port de Layas en Cilicie et atteignant Tabriz par le pays kurde.

Le premier marchand sur lequel nous sommes informés est Pietro Viglione ou Vilioni de Venise, fils de messire Vitale Veglione; son testament, daté: Torisi (Tabriz) le 2 mai 1264, est certifié par huit autres commerçants y résidant, dont aucun n'est Vénitien [39]. Déjà sous le règne de Hülegü, peu après la formation du Khanat mongol d'Iran, la colonie marchande de Tabriz était donc nombreuse, bien établie dans la place et jouis-

[37] R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, *Sulle orme di Marco Polo*, p. 122, n. 36; R.S. LOPEZ, *Venezia e le grandi linee...*, p. 52-53.

[38] R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, *Catay*, p. 303.

[39] [B. CECCHETTI,] *Testamento di Pietro Vioni veneziano fatto a Tauris, Persia, MCCLXIV, X Dicembre*, dans *Archivio Veneto*, 26 (1883), p. 161-165.

sant d'une certaine sécurité financière et commerciale. Plus tard, un évêché y sera établi et confié aux Dominicains, et deux couvents franciscains y seront fondés [40]. Le document dit que Pietro Vilioni représentait à Tabriz une société, dont il est possible que Marco Polo, non pas le voyageur mais son oncle, ait fait partie.

Les relations entre Mongols et Génois commencèrent aussi de bonne heure, car déjà en 1269, des «nunci Tartarorum» (la Horde d'Or?) arrivèrent à Gênes [41]. Un document génois nous apprend que le 18 mai 1280, Luchetto de Recco sommait Lamba Doria de lui payer un dette de 198 livres d'argent, qu'il devait lui remettre à Tabriz ou à Siwas, au choix du créancier [42]. La colonie marchande de Tabriz continuait donc d'être prospère.

Les nouvelles deviennent beaucoup plus frequentes après 1282. On était alors à l'époque des ambassades envoyées par les Ilkhans en Occident, au cours des années qui précédèrent et suivirent la conquête mamlouke des dernières places chrétiennes en Terre Sainte.

En 1286 l'Ilkhan Arghun envoya au pape et aux principaux souverains d'Occident une ambassade, pour mettre au point une action commune contre les Mamlouks d'Égypte. Cette ambassade, confiée au prélat nestorien Bar Sauma, présentait une occasion préciuse pour sauver les restes du royaume de Jérusalem et du comté de Tripoli. Elle n'aboutit cependant à aucun résultat pratique, surtout à cause de la longue vacance du Saint-Siège et de la tiédeur des princes chrétiens, chez lesquels l'esprit de croisade avait fait place à des considérations beaucoup plus positives. Il n'y a pas lieu de refaire l'histoire, au reste bien connue, de cette ambassade, qui arriva en Europe en 1287. Un intérêt certain s'y attache du fait que deux Italiens y participèrent. Leurs noms se rencontrent déjà dans une lettre d'Arghun au pape en date 18 mai 1285; elle nous est parvenue seulement dans une fort mauvaise traduction latine. Ces deux Italiens son Ugeto Terciman (= *tarjuman* «interprète») et Thomas Banchrinus (= *bancherius* «banquier»)[43]. De ce texte très obscur on pourrait peut-être conclure que Thomas et Ughetto étaient arrivés à la cour d'Arghun avec cet Isa *Kelemci* (interprète) et le *cingsang* Pulad ou Bolod, qui avaient été envoyés

[40] G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, Quaracchi, 1913, II, p. 265-267.

[41] C. IMPERIALE, (ed.), *Annali genovesi di Caffaro*, IV, Rome, 1926, p. 115.

[42] G.I. BRATIANU, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire*, p. 314-315.

[43] J.B. CHABOT, *Notes sur le relations du roi Arghun avec l'Occident*, dans *Revue de l'Orient latin*, II (1894), p. 570-571.

par Qubilai en 1283 et étaient parvenus en Iran à la fin de 1284 ou au commencement de 1285 [44]. Dans ce cas, ces deux Italiens seraient revenus de Chine où ils auraient séjourné dans les mêmes années que celles où les Polo y demeuraient. Mais il ne s'agit que d'une hypothèse, assez mal fondée, sur un texte corrompu et trés peu intelligible [45].

Quoi qu'il en soit, ils accompagnèrent en 1287 Bar Sauma et le chrétien d'Extrême-Orient (*erkegün*) Sabadinus dans leur voyage en Europe. Leurs noms, dans la forme «Thomas de Anfusiis» et «Uguetus interpretes», paraissent plusieurs fois dans des lettres du pape Nicolas IV: *Copiosae benignitatis* (au patriarche nestorien Mar Yahbalaha III, du 7 avril 1288), *Ad summi praesulatus* (à Arghun, du 2 avril 1288), *Intelliximus referentibus* (à Arghun, du 2 avril 1288) [46]. Depuis longtemps Thomas a été reconnu comme un membre de la famille des banquiers génois Anfossi [47], mais jusqu'à présent son nom ne s'est retrouvé dans aucun document génois.

Une autre lettre du pape (*Laetamur in domino*, du 13 avril 1288) s'adresse collectivement à neuf chrétiens, interprètes du roi des Tartares. Parmi eux se trouvent un certain Balaba de Gênes[48], un certain Giovanni Barlaria dont le nom est sûrement génois [49], et trois Vénitiens: Pietro da Molin, Gerardo de Ca' Turco, Giorgio Zuffo. Le pontife les félicite du zèle avec lequel ils favorisent la diffusion de la religion chrétienne et les incite à seconder toujours mieux l'oeuvre des missionnaires [50]. Il faut évidemment les identifier avec des commerçants italiens résidant à Tabriz ou à la cour d'Arghun, toujour prêts à servir l'Ilkhan comme interprètes, soit pour des motifs religieux, soit, ce qui est plus sûr, pour les avantages qu'ils pouvaient en tirer pour leurs affaires.

Cependant, les commerçants n'avaient pas toujours de chance avec

[44] P. PELLIOT, *Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale*, p. 639-640; IDEM, Compte rendu de l'édition de Marco Polo par CHARIGNON, dans *T'oung Pao*, 25 (1928), p. 159-162.

[45] A.C. MOULE, *Christians in China...*, p. 106, comprend le texte tout autrement: Isa seul vient du Cathay en Iran; après l'accomplissement de cette tâche, Arghun l'envoie en Occident avec Ughetto et Thomas.

[46] J.B. CHABOT, *op. cit.*, p. 577, 581, 584.

[47] C. DESIMONI, Compte rendu de W. HEYD, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Levante-Handels im vierzehnten Jahrhundert*, dans *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 4, I (1878), p. 305-306.

[48] En 1300 on trouve un certain «Nicolaum qui dicitur Balaban de Ivria», marchand à Famagouste. C. DESIMONI, *Actes passés à Famagouste de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sumbuceto*, dans *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, I (1893), p. 76.

[49] G.I. BRATIANU, *Recherches sur le commerce génois...*, p. 18.

[50] J.B. CHABOT, *op. cit.*, p. 591.

Arghun. Un document vénitien nous parle d'un voyage de commerce fait en 1286 par Pietro Viadro et Simeone Avventurato à la cour d'Arghun; les marchandises consistaient comme de coutume surtout en joyaux et cristaux. Ils en firent présent au souverain mongol (*quod castellum portavi et dedi regi Tartarorum Argono*); en retour, il était sous-entendu que le roi devait s'acquitter avec des présents d'une valeur au moins équivalente; mais pour un fois le Mongol accepta les dons sans rien donner en échange [51]. Une telle action allait à l'encontre des conventions de politesse existant à cette époque, qu'elles fussent orientales ou non; mais c'était un risque que chaque marchand devait prendre.

La figure centrale dans le tableau des relations diplomatiques entre les Ilkhans et l'Occident est constituée par le Génois Buscarello Ghisolfi, avec son frère Percivalle et son neveu Corrado. Pour une fois il est possible de suivre d'une manière satisfaisante sa carrière. Il possédait une maison à Gênes et il ne se détacha jamais de sa patrie, dont il conserva la nationalité. Son nom paraît pour la premiére fois en 1274 comme participant à l'armement d'une galère. En 1279, il figure avec plusieurs de ses frères dans un charte rédigée par le notaire de la loge génoise de Layas en Petite Arménie. Son nom se trouve aussi dans deux documents gènois de 1280 et 1281 [52].

Sa première mission diplomatique fut l'ambassade envoyée par Arghun dans les jours qui suivent Pâques 1289. Cette fois l'ambassadeur ne fut pas un Mongol assisté par des interprètes latins. Évidemment préoccupé par l'accueil fort tiède que l'Occident faisait à ses propositions d'alliance, Arghun confia son nouveau message directement à un Franc, espérant qu'il recevrait une meilleure réception. En fait, Buscarello fut le chef de la mission, dont nous ne connaissons pas les noms des autres membres. En septembre 1289, il se présentait au pape, qui le munit de lettres de créance pour le roi d'Angleterre, en priant celui-ci d'écouter ses propositions et de mettre au point avec les Mongols une action commune contre les Musulmans [53]. Buscarello se rendit à Paris (novembre-décembre 1289), où il remit à Philippe le Bel la lettre d'Arghun. L'original mongol de la lettre est encore conservé à Paris aux Archives nationales; il a été publié et étudié maintes fois. La lettre proposait une campagne commune, en fixant le rendez-vous à Acre pour janvier 1291. Buscarello y est dû-

[51] R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, *Catay, Sulle orme di Marco Polo*, p. 120.

[52] C. DESIMONI, *I conti dell'ambasciata ai Chan di Persia nel MCCXCII*, dans *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 13 (1877-1884), p. 554.

[53] J.B. CHABOT, *op. cit.*, p. 614.

ment accrédité comme ambassadeur, avec le nom de Müskeril et le titre de *qorči*, ou porte-carquois, l'une des sections de la garde royale mongole [54]. En plus, le Génois exposa par écrit au roi les détails des propositions d'Arghun, qui selon la coutume ne pouvaient pas se trouver dans la lettre officielle [55].

Buscarello se rendit ensuite à Londres, où il arriva le 5 janvier 1290. Nous ne possédons pas d'information directe sur ses pourparlers avec Édouard I[er], qui durent être à peu près les mêmes que ceux qu'il eut avec Philippe IV. Nous connaissons seulement la réponse d'Édouard; il y prend un demi-engagement de partir, s'en rapporte au pape et annonce qu'il va envoyer une ambassade [56]. Il semble qu'après un séjour de vingt jours à Londres, Buscarello retourna à la cour papale. Il y fut rejoint peu après par une nouvelle mission d'Arghun, dont le chef était le noble mongol Čaghan, sous les ordres duquel passa Buscarello. L'envoyé pria le pape d'appuyer toute une série de requêtes et de propositions adressées au roi d'Angleterre, ce que Nicolas IV fit dans sa lettre *Cum dilecti filii*, remise à Buscarello le 2 décembre 1290 [57].

Peu aprés, la chute d'Acre (mars 1291) et l'anéantissement des dernières positions franques en Syrie et en Palestine apportaient de grands changements à la situation. Nous ignorons si Buscarello alla une seconde fois en Angleterre. Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'en août 1291 il était à Gênes, où plusieurs documents furent signés et datés sous le porche de sa maison. Dans cette occasion il emprunta, par contrats distincts, à huit personnes, la somme de 919 livres génoises, déclarant, avec la prudence et la réticence coutumières des chartes génoises, qu'il allait partit pour la Romanie [58]. En réalité, nous savons que Buscarello devait accompagner en Iran l'envoyé anglais Sir Geoffrey de Langele (Langley?), dont les comptes de voyage sont conservés en partie et ont été publiés par Desimoni. Ceux-ci montrent que Buscarello guida la mission anglaise jusqu'à Samsun sur la mer Noire.

Arghun était mort entre temps et avait été remplacé par son frère Gaikhatu (1291-1295), qui passa sa première année de règne dans les ter-

[54] E. HAENISCH, *Zu den Briefen der mongolischen Ilkhane Arghun und Öljetü an den König Philipp den Schönen van Frankreich*, dans *Oriens*, 2 (1949), surtout p. 219-229.

[55] J.B. CHABOT, *op. cit.*, p. 610-613. Cf. A. C. MOULE, *Christians in China...*, p. 118.

[56] J.B. CHABOT, *op. cit.*, p. 615-616.

[57] J.B. CHABOT, *op. cit.*, p. 617.

[58] C. DESIMONI, *I conti dell'Ambasciata...*, p. 555.

ritoires mongols d'Anatolie. Corrado Ghisolfi fut envoyé auprès de lui afin d'obtenir un sauf-conduit pour la mission; peut-être son oncle n'était-il pas très sûr de sa position à la cour du nouveau souverain. Après de nombreuses allées et venues, le document fut octroyé, et Sir Geoffrey arriva avec ses compagnons à la cour de Gaikhatu, au-delà d'Erzerum, d'où ils se rendirent à Tabriz et plus loin encore. Ayant accompli sa tâche, la mission quitta Tabriz le 22 septembre 1292 pour Trébizonde, où elle s'embarqua pour Constantinople et Otrante. De là, par voie de terre, elle arriva à Gênes le 11 janvier 1293.

Buscarello dut poursuivre ses opérations commerciales pendant les années qui suivirent. Il reparaît comme diplomate pendant le règne de Ghazan (1295-1304), qui avait embrassé l'Islam et permit d'abord à ses sujets musulmans de persécuter les chrétiens. Ayant ensuite changé de politique, Ghazan essaya même à deux reprises (1299 et 1303) de conquérir la Syrie sur les Mamlouks d'Égypte. A la fin de 1300 ou peu après, Buscarello aurait porté à Ghazan un message du pape Boniface VIII, rédigé dans les termes habituels («suggestions, bonnes paroles et lettre», dit Ghazan). Dans la seconde moitié de 1301, l'Ilkhan envoya sa réponse par Buscarello, accompagné du Mongol Kökedei et d'un certain Tuman, dont nous parlerons ultérieurement. Il est question de cette ambassade dans une lettre de Ghazan au pape, écrite le 12 avril 1302 et apportée par trois nobles mongols. Le nom de Buscarello y paraît sous la forme Bisqarun [59]. Nous ne savons pas si le Génois se rendit cette fois aussi auprès du pape et du roi de France. Nous retrouvons ses traces seulement à Londres, car le 12 mars 1302 (c'est-à-dire 1303, car l'an commençait à Pâques) Édouard I[er] répondit de la même manière évasive aux lettres de Ghazan et du patriarche Mar Yahbalaha III que Buscarello lui avait remises [60]. Sous la même année 1303, les *Chroniques de Saint-Denis* notent l'arrivée de plusieurs ambassadeurs mongols à la cour de France [61]; on ne peut savoir s'il s'agit de Buscarello, ou des trois nobles mongols envoyés en 1302. Quelles que propositions qu'ils aient été chargés de faire au roi, leur mission était devenue sans objet après la défaite totale et finale de l'armée ilkhanienne à Shahqab près de Damas en avril 1303, qui mit fin aux tentatives mongoles de s'emparer de la Syrie.

[59] E. MOSTAERT et F.W. CLAEVES, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes*, dans *HJAS*, 15 (1952), p. 471.

[60] J.B. CHABOT, *op. cit.*, p. 637-638; IDEM, *Histoire du patriarche Mar Yabalaha III et du moine Rabban Sauma*, dans *Rev. Or. Lat.*, 2 (1894), p. 262, n.

[61] J.B. CHABOT, *Notes sur les relations...*, p. 638.

Ce fut la dernière mission de Buscarello. Peut-être était-il déjà mort en 1303 ou 1304, car la mission mongole de 1305 fut confiée à d'autres. Il était certainement mort en 1317, car un document génois donne à cette date le nom d'Argone, fils de feu Buscarello [62]. Les liens entre les Ghisolfi et la dynastie ilkhanienne étaient si étroits que Buscarello avait donné à son fils le nom du roi qu'il avait servi avec tant de fidélité. Mais on ne voit pas qu'Argone ou un autre Ghisolfi aient eu des relations avec l'Iran. Le figure de Buscarello se dresse seule dans le grand tableau que constituent les relations entre l'Occident chrétien et l'Iran mongol.

Au reste, Buscarello n'était pas un isolé. Marco Polo (ch. XXVI) nous dit qu'en son temps nombre de marchands latins, surtout des Génois, se rendaient à Tabriz pour y acheter les denrées venant de Baghdad, de l'Inde, de Mossul, de Hormuz, etc. Nous possédons d'ailleurs de nombreux documents sur le commerce génois à Tabriz entre 1289 et 1293 [63]. En 1304 la colonie génoise y était bien organisée, avec un consul nommé Raffo Pallavicini. Dans cette colonie se recrutaient la plupart des interprètes et ambassadeurs du Khan [64].

Cependant, les citoyens de Gênes n'étaient pas les seuls à jouer un rôle de premier plan dans la diplomatie de Ilkhans. Leur rivaux pisans aussi, bien qu'en pleine décadence après la défaite de la Meloria (1284), entretenaient des rapports d'affaires avec l'Iran. La lettre de Nicolas IV: *Laetamur in Domino*, du 13 juillet 1289, est adressée à Iolo de Pise et à Giovanni de Bonastro, deux personnalités influentes à la cour d'Arghun; le pape leur envoie les remerciements les plus vifs et sa bénédiction apostolique. Ils sont mentionnés aussi dans la lettre de Nicolas IV: *Accedit gratum*, du 18 août 1291 [65]; le nom y est écrit Ozolo [66]. Ce Pisan est presque certainement le même que Sir Čol, un «prince» franc auquel, d'après de chroniqueur arménien Orbelian, on confia le futur Ilkhan Öljeitü lors de son baptême (c. 1288). Plus tard il fut envoyé par Ghazan à Chypre. La chronique dite d'Amadi et celle de Florio Bustron, en racontant l'expédition navale dirigée contre Rosette par les Chyprois en 1299-1300, mentionnent la part qu'y prit le «signor Chiol», ambassadeur de Ghazan [67].

[62] C. DESIMONI, *I conti dell'ambasciata...*, p. 555.

[63] G.I. BRATIANU, *Recherches sur le commerce génois...*, p. 189, 320-323.

[64] G.I. BRATIANU, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[65] E. LANGLOIS, *Registres de Nicolas IV*, Paris, 1886, n. 2243-2244.

[66] E. LANGLOIS, *op. cit.*, n. 6820-6823.

[67] P. PELLIOT, *«Isol» le Pisan*, dans *JA*, 1915, I, p. 495-497. La mission de Ghazan (mais pas Iolo) est mentionnée aussi dans deux documents aragonais; H. FUNKE, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, Berlin, 1922, p. 90, n° 41.

Nous le retrouvons à la même époque avec le nom de Zolo de Anastasio dans une charte génoise du 25 mai 1301, comme envoyé (*misaticus*) de Ghazan résidant à Famagouste [68]. Autant que je sache, son nom n'a pas encore été retrouvé dans les documents et les chroniques pisanes [69].

Les Florentins furent aussi actifs. La première expédition de Ghazan en Syrie, qui aboutit à la prise de Damas le 30 décembre 1299, suscita un grand enthousiasme et des espoirs téméraires au milieu de la vague de sentiment religieux provoqué par la proclamation du premier jubilé par le pape Boniface VIII. Les nouvelles de la victoire furent portées à Rome et aux princes d'Occident par une ambassade mongole dont on trouve mention dans les documents aragonais. Jaspert, vicomte de Castellnou, informait Jacques II d'Aragon avoir appris que Hugues de Cardona, archidiacre de Barcelone, avait rencontré à Montpellier les envoyé du roi des Tartares et du roi d'Arménie lors de leur passage [70]. Une chronique inconnue citée par Manni, un polygraphe du XVIII[e] siècle nous dit quels étaient ces envoyés: «En 1300 au temps de la grande indulgence, pendant que le pape Boniface VIII était à Saint-Jean du Latran, plusieurs rois et princes de tout le monde lui envoyèrent douze ambassadeurs solennels, tous Florentins, entre lesquels... le septième fut messire Guisciardo de' Bastari de Florence, ambassadeur du Grand Tartare, avec cent compagnons tous vêtus à la tartare» [71]. Un texte semblable se retrouve dans l'*Apologia* de Cristoforo Landino (1424-1492), qui sert de préface à son commentaire sur la *Divina Commedia* de Dante; mais l'ambassade y est censée avoir été envoyée pour féliciter Boniface de son élection au pontificat [72]. Le chroniqueur

[68] Ch. KOHLER, *Documents inédits concernant l'Orient latin et les Croisades*, dans *Revue de L'Orient Latin*, 7 (1899), p. 34-37.

[69] [Voir maintenant J. RICHARD, *Isol le Pisan: un aventurier franc gouverneur d'une province mongole?*, dans *CAJ* 14 (1970), p. 186-194].

[70] H. FUNKE, *Acta Aragonensia*, I-II, Berlin, 1908, p. 746-747, n° 464. Une autre mention de ces ambassadeurs, *op. cit.*, p. 60, n° 86.

[71] *Nota qualiter Bonifatius VIII dixit quod Civitas Florentina est melior civitas de mundo, et quod Florentini sunt quintum elementum. Anno Domini MCCC de tempore magnae indulgentiae dum esset Papa Bonifatius VIII in Sancto Johanne Laterano, missi sunt ad eum de universo mundo a diversis Regibus et Principibus XII ambaxiatores solêpnes, omnes Florentini, quorum... VII Dominus Guisciardus de Bastaribus de Florentia ambaxiator Magni Tartari cum centum sociis omnibus Tartarice indutis.* D.M. MANNI, *Osservazioni istoriche circa i sigilli antichi dei secoli bassi*, XXX, Florence, 1786, p. 94-95.

[72] *Ma cosa mirabile fu a chi sanza invidia iudica, che nella creatione di Bonifacio octavo e nel tempo che per congratulatione della nuova assumptione sempre huomini elequenti si scelgono, dodeci oratori fiorentini da dodeci principi mandati honorificentissimamente e con quella pompa che in simili tempi se costuma. Fu adonque legato dello 'mpe-*

Giovanni Villani (c. 1280-1348), qui fut présent au jubilé, en parle un peu différemment: «Je ne veux pas que toi, mon lecteur, tu t'en fasses merveille parce que nous écrivons que Cassano (Ghazan) fut avec presque 200.000 Tartares à cheval; car il en fut vraiment ainsi. Et nous sûmes ceci d'un Florentin voisin de la maison des Bastari, nourri depuis qu'il était un garçonnet à sa cour et envoyé ici par lui avec d'autres Tartares comme ambassadeur, qui fut présent à ces choses et nous les dit»[73]. La famille Bastari n'était pas de celles alors le plus en vue parmi les grands marchands de Florence; elle laissa peu de traces dans les chroniques [74]. Quant à Guisciardo ou Guicciardo, il est probablement à identifier avec Viscardo, que Zolo de Anastasio (*alias* Iolo le Pisan), représentant de Ghazan, avait chargé d'une mission au pape quelque temps avant mai 1301. Au retour de cette ambassade, Viscardo passa par Naples, où, en nom de Zolo et de Ghazan, il obtint du roi Charles II la liberté de Strena di Bonfante de Pise; celui-ci avait été fait prisonnier sur la galère de Corrado Doria, amiral de Sicilie, évidemment à la bataille du cap d'Orlando en juillet 1300 [75].

Sienne joua également un rôle. Le Khan Öljeitü (1304-1316) envoya en 1305 une ambassade en Europe pour annoncer aux princes chrétiens son accession au trône, sa confirmation par le Grand Khan et plusieurs missions d'amitié envoyées à lui par les autres souverains mongols; comme toujours, les envoyés étaient chargés de proposer un projet de guerre à l'Egypte et de conquête de Jérusalem. La lettre originale mongole adressée à Philippe le Bel en date du 13 mai 1305 exite encore dans les Archives nationales de France. Les noms des ambassadeurs sont donnés comme Mamalaġ et Tuman [76]. Au verso de la lettre se trouve un traduction italienne, où ces noms ont la forme de Mamalac (évidemment un Mongol) et Tommaso, Ilduci del Sultano [77]. Les *ilduči* (porteglaive) étaient des sol-

radore... Mandò anchora el Gran Tartaro Guicciardo Bastari con cento Tartari. Mandò el re di Puglia... Édition de 1497, p. [8-9].

[73] *Et non voglio che tu lettore ti meravigli, perchè scriviamo che Cassano fosse quasi con 200.000 di Tartari a cavallo, che'l vero fu così, & ciò sapemo da uno Fiorentino e vicino di casa i Bastari, nudrito infino al picciolino garzone in sua corte, & di qua per lui al Papa & alli Re de' Christiani mandato per ambasciadore con altri de' Tartari, che ciò testimoniò e a noi disse.* G. VILLANI, *Storie*, VIII, 35, dans L. MURATORI, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XIII, col. 366 D.

[74] Je remercie le professeur A. Frugoni, qui a bien voule me communiquer le peu d'information qu'on a sur la famille Bastari.

[75] Ch. KOHLER, *Documents inédits...*, p. 37.

[76] E. HAENISCH, *Zu den Briefen der mongolischen Ilkhane...*, p. 229-231.

[77] A. RÉMUSAT, *Mémoires sur les relations politiques des princes chrétiens... avec*

dats de la garde mongole. Il est certain que ce Tommaso/Tuman est le même Tuman qui avait accompagné Buscarello Ghisolfi en 1301. Mais il est tout aussi évident qu'il est à identifier avec Tommaso Ugi de Sena (Sienne), Alduci del Soldano, qui paraît comme témoin dans un document du 13 septembre 1305, par lequel Khwaja Abdullah, fonctionnaire mongol, renonce à l'égard du citoyen de Venise Pietro Rodolfo à toute satisfaction pour les torts faits par ledit Pietro et promet de ne pas en faire tomber la responsabilité sur d'autres Vénitiens [78]. Tommaso avait donc un grade dans la garde royale, tout comme Buscarello avant lui, et des titres militaires, en apparence modestes, déguisaient les fonctions de grande confiance données aux deux Italiens.

Il semble que Tommaso Ugi quitta l'Iran en l'automne de 1305, prit passage sur des navires vénitiens et arriva à Venise à une date inconnue. En mars 1306, il était à la cour papale. On ne sait rien de ce qu'il fit pendant les mois suivants. Nous retrouvons ses traces seulement le 26 juin 1307, quand Jean Burgundi de Majorque, agent du roi d'Aragon, rencontra les envoyés mongols à Poitiers, où se trouvait alors Philippe le Bel. De là ils passèrent en Angleterre, et le nouveau roi Édouard II, qui venait de succéder à son père, leur remit une lettre de réponse pour Öljeitü (16 octobre), avec les habituelles protestations protocolaires d'amitié. On les retrouve ensuite à Poitiers, où le pape Clément V leur donna sa réponse en date du 1er mars 1308; le pontife confirme que «ton messager Thomas est venu à nous et a été accueilli et écouté avec bienveillance par nous» et accepte ave empressement la proposition d'une action commune contre l'Égypte. Pour cette fois ce ne furent pas seulement des mots. Le pape organisa une flotte de croisés, qui appareilla d'Aigues-Mortes en septembre 1309; toutefois elle ne se dirigea pas contre l'Égypte, mais vers l'Égée, où elle conquit Rhodes, qui fut confiée aux chevaliers de l'Hôpital [79]. Quant à Tommaso Ugi, son nom ne se retrouve dans aucun autre document et on ignore quel fut son sort.

Les dernières informations venant de l'Iran concernent surtout les marchands vénitiens. Nous avons déjà parlé du sauf-conduit octroyé à Pietro Rodolfo, en 1305. De la même année, année du Serpent (et non pas en

les empereurs mongols, dans *Mémoires de l'Institut royal de France*, Ac. Inscr. et B. Lettr., VII (1824), p. 179.

[78] [PREDELLI], *I Libri commerciali della Repubblica di Venezia, Regesti*, I, Venise, 1876, p. 54, n° 252; W. HEYD, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, II, Leipzig, 1886, p. 123.

[79] G. SORANZO, *Il Papato, l'Europa cristiana e i Tartari*, Milan, 1930, p. 350-356.

1306 comme l'écrit par erreur la traduction), est un autre document vénitien, par lequel le sultan Çuci (évidemment Öljeitü) défend d'opprimer quelque Vénitien que ce soit, par représailles pour dettes non payées ou crimes commis par d'autres personnes [80]. Ainsi commence une période au cours de laquelle le peu de documents qui nous restent paraît révéler une détérioration du niveau moral de la colonie vénitienne de Tabriz, dont les membres sont parfois fort turbulents. Il est vrai que la situation faite aux marchands latins après l'acceptation définitive de l'Islam par les derniers Ilkhans était devenue beaucoup moins sûre.

Il fallut s'efforcer de consolider d'abord les positions chrétiennes. Par une bulle du 1er mai 1318, le pape Jean XXII créa l'archevêché de Sultaniyeh, avec juridiction sur tout l'Iran mongol. Le premier occupant du nouveau siège fu le Dominicain Franco de Pérouse, qui avait sous lui six évêques suffrageants, tous Dominicains [81].

De son côté, la république de Venise qui dès 1306 et 1307 avait entamé des pourparlers, envoya plus tard Michele Dolfin pour conclure avec l'Ilkhan Abou Said un traité formel, qui assurait des privilèges considérables et des garanties au commerce vénitien. Le document, daté du 22 décembre 1320, est fort intéressant pour les termes administratifs mongols qu'il contient. L'ambassadeur réclama aussi la restitution des biens d'un citoyen de Venise, Francesco da Canal, mort à Arsenga (Erzindjan), qui avaient été saisis par Badr ed-din Lulu [82].

Après la conclusion de ce traité, la république maintint à Tabriz un consul avec le titre de Marçor, qui gouvernait la colonie avec l'aide de quatre conseillers et selon des règlements administratifs octroyés par le gouvernement de Venise. Un des premiers, sinon le premier, consul fut Marco da Molin. Le 6 juin 1324, il écrivait au Doge à propos des violences et des échauffourées honteuses qui avaient eu lieu entre les Vénitiens de Tabriz, le principal coupable étant Francesco Querini [83]. En 1328, la république envoya Marco Corner remettre de l'ordre dans la colonie, payer les dettes de ses membres et s'occuper à nouveau des biens de feu Francesco da Canal; mais la situation était si envenimée à Tabriz que le

[80] *Libri commemoriali...*, I, p. 66, n° 289; C. DESIMONI, Compte rendu de Heyd..., p. 299; W. HEYD, *op. cit.*, p. 122-124.

[81] G. SORANZO, *op. cit.*, p. 518-520.

[82] Le traité fut publié par L. DE MAS LATRIE, *Privilège commercial accordé en 1320 à la République de Venise par un roi de Perse* dans *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 31 (1870), p. 95-102. Cf. G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, III, Quaracchi, 1919, p. 209; W. HEYD, *op. cit.*, p. 124-127.

[83] *Libri commemoriali...*, I, p. 256-257, n° 400; W. HEYD, *op. cit.*, p. 127-128.

malheureux Corner y fut emprisonné [84]. Peut-être ces événements eurent-ils un rapport avec la fait qu'en 1332 un certain Haji Sulaiman Taibi de Tabriz fut indemnisé par le gouvernement de Venise des dommages qu'il avait subi, au total 4.000 besants. L'indemnité devait être perçue au moyen d'une taxe de 4 besants sur chacune des charges de mulet appartenant aux marchands vénitiens qui allaient à Tabrix [85]. Après ces événements, il ne faut pas s'étonner que les Vénitiens aient été peu populaires à Tabriz; en 1334, on chicanait avec eux, quoiqu'ils aient joui de la protection de la mère d'Abou Said [86].

Cependant, au cours de ces années inquiètes et dangereuses, la colonie italienne de Tabriz devait être encore nombreuse et montrait qu'en dehors du commerce, elle était capable de s'intéresser à d'autres questions, même à des questions théologiques. Il existe dans les Archives vaticanes un procès d'information secrète fait par le Dominicain Guillaume de Cigiis (Chigi?), évêque de Tabriz, contre des Franciscains du couvent de cette ville; ils étaient accusés d'appartenir au groupe des Spirituels ou Fraticelli qui venaient d'être condamnés par Jean XXII en 1317 et 1321. Entre le 6 et le 18 juillet 1333, l'évêque recueillet les témoignages de plusieurs résidents italiens sur des opinions exprimées en chaire par les accusés. Les noms de onze marchands sont donnés, dont cinq Génois, deux Vénitiens, un Pisan, un marchand originaire de Plaisance, un autre originaire d'Asti et un dernier originaire d'une localité mal identifiée; presque toute l'Italie commerçante de l'époque y était représentée [87].

La fin était cependant proche. Il semble que les marchands italiens quittèrent Tabriz après la mort d'Abou Said en 1336. Pourtant, même pendant l'anarchie totale qui s'ensuivit, en 1339 un certain Marco Morosini envoya ses agents à Sultaniyeh et à Ormuz [88].

Tabriz était tombée entre les mains du Djoubanien Hasan (1337-

[84] *Libri commemoriali...*, II, Venise, 1878, p. 26, n° 155; G. GIOMO, *Le rubriche dei libri misti del Senato perduti*, dans *Archivio Veneto*, 18 (1876), p. 332-338; W. HEYD, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[85] *Libri commemoriali...*, II, p. 43, n. 254-255.

[86] W. HEYD, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[87] G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, III, p. 436-438. Les noms sont: Francesco Fontana de Plaisance; Filippo Giustinian de Venise; Bartolino ou Bartolommeo Aliata de Pise; Antonio Campanari de Gênes; Leonello Malone de Gênes; Andreolo Bruno de Gênes; Obertino Garone de Grana de Asti. Sont mentionnés en passant: Milano Malone de Gênes; Niccolò Giustinian de Venise; Antonio Pignataro de Gênes; Bonifacio de Pulliano (Pogliano près de Milan? Pugliano près de Naples?).

[88] R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, *Sulle orme di Marco Polo*, p. 122, n. 28.

1343), dont les marchands occidentaux eurent beaucoup à souffrir. Gênes en arriva à proclamer le boycott du marché de Tabriz par deux décrets pris par les Otto Savi alla Navigazione, en date du 7 juin 1340 et du 12 avril 1342 [89]. Cette décision portait un tel préjudice aux intérêts économiques de l'État djoubanien, que le nouveau prince el-Malik el-Ashraf (1343-1355) envoya en 1344 un ambassadeur proposer la paix, promettant de dédommager les Génois et de leur rendre les biens dont ils avaient été dépouillés. Les Génois s'y laissèrent prendre: ceux d'entre eux qui se rendirent à Tabriz furent dépouillés de tout, et plusieurs furent même emprisonnés. Le dommage total s'éleva à 200.000 livres de grossi [90]. Entre temps, l'ambassade d'el-Ashraf avait mis sur le qui-vive leurs rivaux vénitiens, qui cependant furent plus prudents. En 1344, Marco Foscarini, qui venait d'être nommé *bailo* vénitien à Constantinople, fut chargé de prendre des contacts préliminaires, sans conclure quoi que ce fût, avec les ambassadeurs «arrivés de Tabriz dans la Romanie pour y traiter avec les Génois à propos de compensation pour dommages subis» [91]. Il semble en fait que rien ne fut conclu.

Par la suite, les sultans djelaïrides de Baghdad, à qui Tabriz et Sultaniyeh passèrent en 1357, firent de nouvelles avances pour renouer les relations commerciales. En 1369, le sultan Uwais invita les Vénitiens à voyager dans ses domaines, et accrédita un envoyé à Venise. Dans la même année, les marchands vénitiens de Trébizonde répondaient à Uwais que depuis deux ans ils attendaient en vain, et le priaient de donner passage libre à la grande caravane qui s'était formée. En 1373, Uwais écrivit à nouveau à la seigneurie de Venise, en protestant son désir de rendre les routes caravanières libres et sûres, informant qu'il avait fait arrêter et châtier un seigneur qui s'était livré au pillage des marchands et invitant une fois de plus les Vénitiens à venir au bazar de Tabriz [92]. Il semble que la république, ne trouvant pas suffisantes les garanties qu'on lui offrait, ne donna pas suite à ces avances.

Mais le commerce non officiel devait continuer quelque temps enco-

[89] R. S. LOPEZ, *Nuove luci...*, p. 393. Nous avons déjà eu l'occasion de mentionner l'affaire de Tommasino Gentile et de sa contravention au boycott.

[90] G. STELLA, *Annales Ianuenses* dans L. MURATORI, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XVII, col. 1081; A. GIUSTINIANI, *Annali della repubblica di Genova*, Gênes, 1854, II, p. 75.

[91] *Libri commemoriali...*, II, p. 137, n° 121.

[92] *Libri commemoriali...*, III, Venise, 1883, p. 81, n° 495; p. 86, n°; p. 111, n° 719; G. M. THOMAS, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, II, Venise, 1899, p. 158-159, n. 92 et 93; W. HEYD, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

re, car le perte d'une balle de soieries en 1399 entre Sultaniyeh et Trébizonde donna lieu à Venise, l'année suivante, à une sentence du juge «de Petizion» sur l'éventualité qu'elle fut retrouvée; ce fait semble indiquer une sûreté relative du trafic dans les États de Tamerlan [93]. Quarante ans après, Niccolò de' Conti voyageait à travers une grande partie de l'Asie. En effet, après les Polo, les marchands vénitiens n'oublièrent jamais les routes de l'Iran, tant qu'elles ne perdirent pas toute importance pratique après le voyage de Vasco da Gama.

Les principales raisons du ralentissement, puis de la disparition graduelle du commerce italien avec les pays qui avaient fait partie de l'empire mongol sont bien connues. Ce furent sourtout la disparition de l'empire et la complète fermeture de la Chine des Ming au commerce étranger; il faut y ajouter la grande peste de 1348, qui ravagea l'Italie et ouvrit la voie à la grande crise économique de la seconde moitié du XIV[e] siècle. Les relations commerciales entre l'Italie et l'Orient avaient durè près de quatre-vingts ans.

[93] R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, *Sulle orme di Marco Polo*, p. 121.

NOTE SU KĀPIŚI E ZABUL

La storia dei territori afghani nei due secoli precedenti la conquista saffaride dell'870 è estremamente oscura. Ritengo tuttavia che una revisione critica del materiale finora accessibile possa portare ad alcuni risultati nuovi.

I. *Khingila*

Recentemente è stata due volte pubblicata [1] un'iscrizione sanscrita che si trova ai piedi d'una statua di Mahā-Vināyaka (cioè Gaṇeśa) nel tempio hindu (Dargah Pir Ratan Nath) a Kabul; la statua a sua volta, secondo una voce non confermata e non molto plausibile, proverrebbe da Gardez, circa 110 km a sud di Kabul. L'iscrizione è datata nel 13° giorno della metà chiara del mese di Jyeṣṭa dell'ottavo anno (evidentemente di regno) sotto il re (*paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja*) Śāha Khiṃgalautyāta Śāhi. I caratteri paleografici fanno risalire l'iscrizione al VI o tutt'al più al VII secolo.

Khiṃgalautyāta (accettando la lettura del Sircar) va diviso in Khiṃgala-Otyāta. Otyāta Śāhi dovrebbe essere il nome personale del re; ma nulla saprei dire al riguardo, pur avanzando sotto ogni riserva l'ipotesi che Otyāta possa essere una forma locale derivata da Udayāditya.

Differente è il caso di Khiṅgala [2]. Questo nome è stato giustamente messo a raffronto con Deva Śāhi Khiṅgila che compare su una moneta [3],

[1] G. TUCCI, *Preliminary report on an archaeological survey in Swat*, in *East and West* 9 (1958), p. 328; D.C. SIRCAR, *Three early medieval inscriptions*, in *Epigraphia Indica* 35 (1953), pp. 44-47.

[2] Le fotografie non sembrano dare appoggio alla lettura Khimgāla proposta dal Sircar.

[3] A. CUNNINGHAM, *Later Indo-Scythian coins*, in *Num. Chron.* 1893, p. 278 e tav. VII (XI), n. 11. Una moneta di rame con la leggenda abbreviata Khiṅgi è descritta da V.A. SMITH, *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, I, Oxford 1906, p. 267 e tav.

e con Khiṅgila, che figura come secondo nome di Narendrāditya, re del Kashmir in epoca indeterminata [4].

Questi raffronti si possono estendere più oltre. V'è anzitutto un passo che si trova in termini quasi identici in vari testi cinesi del X e XI secolo e che riproduce l'informazione fornita dall'ambasciata inviata nel 658 in Cina dal re di Chi-pin 罽賓 ossia (a quell'epoca) di Kāpiśi. Esso dice: «Il capostipite [della famiglia] reale si chiamava Hsing-nieh 謝; e fino al [re presente] Ho-hsieh-chih 曷捺支 il potere s'era trasmesso per dodici generazioni» [6]. La pronunzia antica di Hsing-nieh [6] è *Xieng-ngiät*, che evidentemente trascrive Khiṅgal [7].

Un secolo e mezzo più tardi, e precisamente nel 162 A.H. (778-9), il califfo al-Mahdī mandò ambascerie ad intimare la sottomissione a vari sovrani dell'Asia Centrale e dei confini indiani. Fra di loro figura il Kābul Šāh, chiamato هنجل [8]; forma che va completata in خنجل, Ḫiṅǧal o Ḫiṅǧil [9], trascrizione araba di Khiṅgala o Khiṅgila. A quell'epoca la capi-

XXVII, n. 1. Questi conii, come quello strettamente analogo di Laṃkana, sono di tipo eftalita. Non c'è alcun motivo per attribuirli al Kashmir, come pensavano Cunningham e Sir Aurel Stein; la menzione di Khiṅkhila e di Laṃkhana nella *Rājataraṅgiṇī* è dovuta piuttosto al ricordo di un breve dominio di questi sovrani stranieri nel Kashmir. Aśoka e Kaniṣka presentano dei casi perfettamente paralleli. Ricordiamo anche che Wu-k'ung vide nel Kashmir due monasteri, fondati da Yeh-li Ch'ih-chin (El-tegin), figlio del re dei Turchi, e dalla K'o-tun (Qatun), moglie del re dei Turchi; S. LÉVI ed E. CHAVANNES, *L'itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong*, in *J.As.* 1895, 2, pp. 354-355. Piuttosto che ai lontani e non buddhisti sovrani dei Turchi Occidentali, sembra più ovvio pensare ai dominatori turchi dei territori afghani, di cui si parlerà più oltre.

[4] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 347; cf. M.A. STEIN, *Kalhana's Rajataraṅgiṇī*, 1900, I, pp. IXV e IXXX; anche J. MARQUART, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1938, pp. 103-104.

[5] Si tratta della breve descrizione geografica e storica del Chi-pin inserita quasi senza varianti nel *Chiu T'ang-shu* (compiuto nel 945), ch. 198, f. 13*b* (ed. Po-na-pên); nel *T'ang-hui-yao* (compiuto nel 961), ch. 99 (ed. Pechino 1957, p. 1776); nel *T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi* (compiuto c. 980), ch. 182 (Taipei 1963), e nello *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* (compiuto nel 1013), ch. 966, ff. 10*b*-11*a* (ed. Pechino 1960, pp. 11362*b*-11363*a*). È riprodotta con qualche infelice modifica anche nel *T'ang-shu* (compiuto nel 1060), ch. 221*a*, f. 13*b* (= E. CHAVANNES, *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, pp. 130-132), dove l'informazione è attribuita all'ambasciata del 642. Naturalmente quest'ultima data non ha alcuna autorità: si tratta di un ennesimo caso di quelle troncature che rendono imprecisa la cronologia del *T'ang-shu*.

[6] Il *T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi* dà la variante Hsieh-ning (寧)-nieh, che sembra dovuta ad un errore.

[7] Sul valore di trascrizione di *ng-* del cinese antico vedi P. PELLIOT, *Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie Centrale*, in *T'oung Pao* 26 (1929), p. 222 n.

[8] *Ta'rīḫ al-Ya'qūbī*, ed. Houtsma, Leiden 1883, II, p. 479.

[9] Questa lettura fu già proposta da J. MARQUART, *Eranšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, Berlino 1901, pp. 248 e 291.

tale dei Khiṅgila era già passata a Kabul, e l'antica gloriosa città di Kāpiśi era sparita dalla storia.

Per concludere, mi sembra evidente che Khiṅgila (o forme analoghe) non è un nome di re, ma è quello dell'eponimo, e quindi il titolo dinastico, dei sovrani Śāhi di Kāpiśi e poi di Kabul, dal VII al IX secolo.

Un accostamento invece che non mi sembra accettabile è quello tra il titolo Khiṅgila ed il nome d'una città che Iṣṭaḫrī, copiato da Ibn Ḥauqal, al-Maqdisī ed autori posteriori [10] pone sulla strada tra Bost e Ghazna, a quattro tappe da Tegīn-ābād, che probabilmente è Kandahar [11] ed a quattro tappe da Ḥābsār, «che è la prima località del territorio di Ghazna». Il nome compare nei manoscritti come جنكل آباد Ǧ.nk.l-ābād (Idrīsī: جيكل آباد Ǧ.nk.l-ābād). Il Marquart aveva voluto emendarlo in خنكل آباد Ḫinkil-ābād, ossia Khingilabad [12]. Non sembra una teoria sostenibile; siamo nel territorio di ar-Ruḫaǧ, l'Arachosia degli antichi, odierna provincia di Kandahar, troppo lontani quindi da Kabul e più ancora da Kāpiśi.

II. *Kāpiśi, Zabul e i Turchi nell'VIII secolo.*

I rapporti di Kāpiśi col Gandhāra sono chiari. Fin dall'epoca di Hsüan-tsang (prima metà del VII secolo) i due paesi erano uniti sotto lo stesso sovrano, il quale usava passare l'estate a Kāpiśi e l'inverno nel Gandhāra; ciò era ancora il caso quando Hui-ch'ao passò in quella regione (c. 727). Questo spiega come le storie dei T'ang non dedichino al Gandhāra un paragrafo separato.

Molto più complessi ed interessanti sono i rapporti tra Kāpiśi e Zabul (odierno Hazarajat e regione di Ghazna); essi variarono in funzione delle invasioni che la regione subì e che a malapena intravvediamo dalle fonti oscure e frammentarie.

All'epoca dei due passaggi di Hsüan-tsang (c. 630 e 644) il re di Kāpiśi e Gandhāra era il più potente sovrano degli odierni territori afghani; tuttavia lo Ts'ao-chü-cha 瀧矩吒 (Jāguḍa, forma dotta di Zabul)

[10] al-Iṣṭaḫrī (BGA, I), p. 250, 6; Ibn-Ḥauqal, ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938-9, p. 422; al-Maqdisī (BGA, III), p. 350, 1; A. JAUBERT, *Géographie d'Édrisi*, Parigi 1836, pp. 449, 459.

[11] Per l'identificazione vedi J. MARQUART, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Eranshahr*, Roma 1931, p. 84; V. MINORSKY, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, Londra 1937, p. 345. Ibn Ḥauqal ha la forma Bakr-ābād.

[12] J. MARQUART e J.J. DE GROOT, *Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Žun vom 6.-9. Jahrhundert*, in *Festschrift E. Sachau*, Berlin 1915, pp. 276-277.

con la sua capitale Ho-hsi-na 鶴悉那 (Ghazna) non gli era suddito e costituiva un regno indipendente [13].

Poco più tardi, dei mutamenti dovettero aver luogo nello Zabul, e nel periodo Hsien-ch'ing (656-660) il governo cinese ne tenne conto mutando il nome del paese in Ho-ta-lo-chih 訶達羅支 nome che verrà discusso in seguito. Più tardi (684-704) la corte cinese adottò il nome Hsieh-yü 謝 (ant. *zia-·iuĕt*), trascrizione della forma volgare Zawul [14]; tuttavia Ho-ta-lo-chih non uscì dall'uso ufficiale, almeno per qualche tempo.

囫 Ho-ta-lo-chih è termine evidentemente connesso con una dinastia, o almeno con capi, di nazione turca infatti nel 720 la Cina conferì a Shih-ch'ü-êrh 誓屈爾, *hsieh-li-fa* 頡利發 di Ho-ta-lo-chih, il titolo regio [di Zabul] [15]; e *hsieh-li-fa* è un titolo nettamente ed esclusivamente turco [16].

Come lo Zabul sia passato sotto il dominio di questi capi turchi, ci rimane completamente oscuro. Siamo ridotti alle scarne notizie che ci danno i testi cinesi, di non facile interpretazione.

Una di tali notizie, estremamente laconica, ci informa che nel perio-

[13] Th. WATTERS, *On Yüan Chwang's Travels in India*, Londra 1904-5, I, pp. 122-3; II, pp. 264-5. Su Ts'ao-chü-ch'a e questioni connesse vedasi in ultima istanza G. TUCCI, *Oriental Notes, II: An image of a Devī discovered in Swat and some connected problems*, in *East and West* 14 (1963), pp. 164-165, e la bibliografia ivi elencata. V'è da aggiungere che Ts'ao-chü-ch'a (antico *dz'âu-kiu:-t'a*) non corrisponde esattamente al sanscr. *jāguḍa* (zafferano), come rilevato a suo tempo da P. PELLIOT in *T'oung Pao* 26 *(1929), p. 186*; probabilmente ambedue risalgono ad una forma locale (iranica ?).

[14] Capitolo su Hsieh-yü nel *T'ang-shu*, ch. 221-B, f. 7 *a* (= E. CHAVANNES, *Documents* ecc., p. 160). È curioso come questo capitolo non trovi riscontro in nessuno degli altri testi (tutti anteriori) che contengono il capitolo Chi-pin; perfino lo *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* ha soltanto qualche documento isolato. Non si vede alcuna regione plausibile per questa omissione.

[15] *T'ang-shu, loc. cit.* (= E. CHAVANNES, *Documents* ecc. p. 161).

[16] Si vuole ammettere, con maggiore o minore grado di dubbio, che *hsieh-li-fa* (ant. giet-lji-piwat) trascriva *iltäbir* delle iscrizioni dell'Orkhon; vedi le discussioni di P. PELLIOT, *Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie Centrale*, pp. 226-229; J.R. HAMILTON, *Les Ouighours à l'époque des cinq dynasties*, Parigi 1955, p. 97; ID., *Toquz-Oγuz et On Uyγur*, in *J.As.* 1962, p. 54. Ma la corrispondenza fonetica non è esatta. D'altra parte Pelliot elenca alcuni casi in cui a titoli ben noti come *tudun* si trova aggiunta la sillaba finale *fa* (=*bär, bar*). Perciò io penserei piuttosto al titolo *il-bär*, che ricorre una sola volta in un testo turco buddhista pubblicato da T. HANEDA, *À propos d'un fragment de prière manichéenne rétrouvée à Tourfan*, in *Mem. Tōyō Bunko* 6 (1932), p. 14, ristampato in *Recueil des oeuvres posthumes de T. Haneda*, Kyoto 1957-58, II, p. 101 del testo francese. In seguito l'equivalenza *hsieh-li-fa* = *eltäbär* venne definitivamente provata da A. BOMBACI. *On the ancient Turcic title eltäbär*, in *Proceedings of the IXth meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference*, Napoli 1970, 1-66.

do tra il 710 ed il 719 il sovrano di Zabul si era sottomesso a quello di Kāpiśi [17].

Il pellegrino cinese Hui-ch'ao, che viaggiò in quelle regioni intorno al 727, ha invece qualcosa da raccontare sugli avvenimenti che portarono alla conquista turca di Kāpiśi. Secondo lui, il Gandhāra «era dapprima sotto l'influenza politica dei re di Kāpiśi (Chi-pin); perciò A-yeh 阿耶, re dei Turchi [18] con i guerrieri di tutta la tribù si era sottomesso a loro. Ma quando più tardi la forza turca crebbe, egli uccise il re di Kāpiśi e si rese padrone del paese; così in quelle regioni i Turchi sono tiranni e sovrani [19]». A-yeh (ant. *·a-ia* potrebbe essere il personaggio che compare in al-Berūnī col nome di Barha-tegīn, fondatore della dinastia turca degli Śāhi di Kabul [20]. La data della conquista non può esser determinata, ma non sembrerebbe di molto anteriore al 727. Comunque, in quell'anno Kāpiśi apparteneva il re (turco) del Gandhāra, che alternava la sua residenza nei due paesi [21] come al tempo di Hsüan-tsang. Quanto alla sottomissione del principe di Zabul a Kāpiśi, a cui sopra si è accennato, è difficile decidere con sicurezza se essa sia anteriore o posteriore alla conquista turca di quest'ultimo paese; la cronologia tuttavia sembrerebbe più naturale nel secondo caso.

Noteremo di passaggio che nel 718 lo *yabγu* del Tokharestan esercitava, o pretendeva di esercitare, un'alta sovranità sia su Kāpiśi (e quindi sul Gandhāra) che su Zabul [22]. Ma ciò non ha importanza pratica nel nostro contesto.

[17] 後逐臣闕賓 *T'ang-shu, loc. cit.* La traduzione di E. CHAVANNES, *Documents* ecc., p. 161 «Puis il s'asservit le Ki-pin» è erronea. Diversi altri passi dello stesso capitolo (ch. 221-B, ff. 1*a*, 3*a*, 8*a*, 9*a*, 9*b*) mostrano l'uso verbale del carattere *ch'ên* 臣 nel significato da noi accolto. Ringrazio il prof. L.S. Yang della Harvard University per avermi indicati tali passi e confermata la mia traduzione.

[18] 突厥王阿耶, che W. FUCHS, *Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nord-west-Indien und Zentral-Asien*, in *SPAW* 30 (1938), p. 445, traduce come «il padre del re dei Turchi». Ma A-yeh molto più probabilmente è nome proprio, e così fu inteso anche da D. SINOR, *À propos de la biographie ouigoure de Hiuan-tsang*, in *J.As* 1939, p. 570.

[19] HUI-CH'AO, *Wang wu T'ien-chu-kuo-chuan*, ed. T. Haneda, *Recueil des oeuvres posthumes*, I, p. 619. L'ultima frase è spostata e tradotta differentemente dal Fuchs. Naturalmente questo «re dei Turchi» è il capo d'una tribù venuta a stanziarsi nella regione e non ha nulla a che fare con lo stato dei Turchi Occidentali, a quell'epoca ormai dissolto.

[20] E. SACHAU, *Alberuni's India*, Londra 1910, II, p. 10.

[21] HUI-CH'AO, ed. Haneda, p. 621 (= W. FUCHS, *op. cit.*, p. 447). La stessa situazione si aveva intorno al 751; S. LÉVI e E. CHAVANNES, *L'itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong*, p. 349.

[22] *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, ch. 999, f. 14 *b* (ed. Pechino, p. 11721 *b*; E. CHAVANNES, *Documents* ecc., pp. 200-202).

Nel 719 il re di Kāpiśi mandava tributo alla Cina [23], e l'anno dopo, (720) il governo imperiale gli conferì il titolo di *tegīn* di Ko-lo-ta-chih 葛邏達支 [24]. Un altro testo conferma questa concessione e quella, sopra accennata, al sovrano di Zabul: nell'8° anno K'ai-yüan (720) l'imperatore conferì a Shih-ch'ü-êrh, *hsieh-li-fa* di Ko-ta-lo-chih 葛達羅支, il titolo di re Hsieh-yü (Zabul), e al *tegīn* di Ko-ta-lo-chih il titolo di re di Chi-pin (Kāpiśi) [25].

Da allora il titolo maggiore di *tegīn* rimase ai sovrani di Kāpiśi che lo unirono però a quello più antico di Śāhi; troviamo infatti che nel 739 il re Wu-san 烏散 del Chi-pin portava i titoli di *ch'ih-chin shai* 特勒灑 (ant. *d'ek-g'ien-ṣai*), cioè Tegīn Śāhi [26]. Il titolo inferiore di *hsieh-li-fa* sarebbe dovuto rimanere al principe di Zabul. Tuttavia nel 724 il «*tegīn* di Zabul» mandava un messaggio all'imperatore [27]; perciò egli si era arrogato il titolo maggiore. Anche in questo caso lo sfondo dell'usurpazione viene delineato da Hui-ch'ao. Intorno al 727 il principe turco di Zabul era nipote del re di Kāpiśi, il che presuppone una certa posizione subordinata, almeno in teoria; in realtà «il principe si era stabilito con la propria tribù ed i propri guerrieri nel paese e non dipendeva da nessun altro paese, e neppure dallo zio» [28]. Ciò spiega come il principe di Zabul assumesse ben presto il titolo superiore di *tegīn*.

Passiamo ora a discutere il nome connesso sia con principi di Kāpiśi che con quelli di Zabul, il che rende a priori verosimile che si tratti d'un

[23] *Chiu T'ang-shu*, ch. 198, f. 13*b*; *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, ch. 997, f. 3 *a* (ed. Pechino, p. 11699a); *T'ang-shu*, ch. 221-A, f. 13*b* (=E. CHAVANNES, *Documents*, ecc., p. 132).

[24] La data del 720 è contenuta nel *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü-chi*, ch. 182 e nel *T'ang-hui-yao*, ch. 99; è omessa invece nei tre testi citati nella nota precedente, il che dà la falsa impressione che l'investitura avesse luogo nello stesso anno 719 del tributo. Inoltre tutti e cinque i testi invertono, come si è visto, i termini della nomina. In realtà il *tegīn* venne nominato re di Chi-pin, e non viceversa, come provato dal testo citato nella nota seguente.

[25] *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, ch. 964, f. 15*a* (ed. Pechino, p. 11344*a*; = E. CHAVANNES, *Notes additionnelles sur les T'ou-kiue occidentaux*, in *T'oung Pao* 5 [1904], p. 45).

[26] *Chiu T'ang-shu, loc. cit.*; *T'ang-hui-yao, loc. cit.*; *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, ch. 964, f. 19*b* (ed. Pechino, p. 11346*a*; = E. CHAVANNES, *Documents*, ecc., p. 132). Nel 753 Wu-k'ung vide nel Gandhāra un monastero da lui fondato. Questo sovrano quasi certamente porta lo stesso titolo Śāhi Tegīn che compare su una serie di monete di tipo eftalita. Vedi H.F.J. JUNKERS, *Die hephthalitischen Münzinschriften*, in *SPAW* 1930, pp. 652-654; e R. GHIRSHMAN, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, Cairo 1948, pp. 49-50.

[27] *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, ch. 979, f. 7 *b* (ed. Pechino, p. 11501*a*; = E. CHAVANNES, *Documents* ecc., pp. 205-206); breve menzione nello *Tzŭ-chih-t'ung-chien*, ch. 212 (ed. Pechino 1956-7, p. 6762). È difficile dire a quale lingua appartenga il nome dell'ambasciatore Lo-ho-pa 邏火技 (*lâ-χuâ-b'wat*).

[28] HUI-CH'AO, ed. Haneda, pp. 621-622 (= W. FUCHS, *op. cit.*, p. 448).

nome etnico piuttosto che geografico. Le forme conservate dai testi cinesi si possono ridurre a due:

1) Ho-ta-lo-chih (*Xâ-d'ât-lâ-tśie*) nel capitolo su Zabul e Bamiyan del *T'ang-shu* e nell'elenco dei distretti istituiti nel 661 dal governo cinese nella regione a nord e a sud dell'Amu-darya (*Chiu T'ang-shu* ch. 40, f. 40*a* e *T'ang-shu*, ch. 43-B, f. 9*a*).

2) Ko-lo-ta-chih (*kât-la-d'ât-tśie*) nei capitoli su Kāpiśi del *Chiu T'ang-shu*, del *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü-chi* e del *T'ang-shu*, e nello *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* ch. 966 e 997. Le forme Ko-ta-lo-chih dello *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei*, ch. 964, e Ko-lo-chih del *T'ang-hui-yao* sembrano semplici varianti erronee senza autorità.

Lo Chavannes volle ridurre questi nomi, attraverso un ipotetico *Ta-lo-ho-chih*, ad «*Arokhadj*» (recte: ar-Ruḫağ) degli arabi, ossia l'antica Arachosia [29]. Questa equivalenza è stata tacitamente accolta da tutti gli studiosi [30] sebbene la somiglianza fonetica sia molto vaga e sebbene geograficamente l'Arachosia non coincida con Zabul.

Io credo invece che ambedue le forme con le loro varianti ci riportino a degli originali teorici del tipo *X*adalač(i) o Kaladač(i). E siccome i capi di questo popolo portano titoli turchi, e siccome Hui-ch'ao ci attesta il dominio di tribù turche su Zabul e Kāpiśi [31], mi sembra che si imponga l'identificazione con la tribù turca chiamata nei testi arabi Ḫalağ, col suo derivato Ḫalağī, troppo spesso confusa con i Ḫalluḫ o Qarluq. I Ḫalağ erano emigrati «in tempi antichi» nello Zabulistan; da essi derivò la dinastia Ḫalağī o Ḫilğī, che regnò a Delhi (1290-1320); e forse la tribù afghana dei Ghilzai sono i loro discendenti moderni [32]. Convengo tuttavia che la presenza della sillaba *d'ât* al secolo o terzo posto è malamente spiegabile. Si potrebbe tuttavia pensare al nome خطلخ (per خطالج ?) menzionato subito dopo i Ḫarluḫ nella prima *risāla* della cosidetta relazione di viaggio (in realtà

[29] E. CHAVANNES, *Documents*, ecc., p. 160*n*.

[30] Nessuno ha fatto caso alla proposta (in verità inaccettabile) di identificare Ho-ta-lo-chih con la Gedrosia, avanzata da T. FUJITA, *Shaka to Sai to Shaketsu to Tsūgun*, in *Shirin* 2 (1917), ristampato in *Tōzai kōshōshi no kenkyū, Nankaihen*, Tokyo 1943, pp. 114-118.

[31] Sia per Kāpiśi che per Zabul Hui-ch'ao afferma che il re e la casta militare erano Turchi, mentre la massa della popolazione erano Hu (iranici); ed. Haneda, pp. 619-621 (= W. FUCHS, *op. cit.*, pp. 447-448).

[32] V. BARTHOLD, art. Khaladj in *Enc. Islam*[1], II, p. 928; id., *12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlino 1935, p. 100; V. MINORSKY, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, pp. 347-384; e soprattutto V. MINORSKY, *The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj*, in *BSOAS* 10 (1940-42), pp. 426-434.

quasi tutta inventata) di Abū Dulaf Mis'ar ibn-Muhalhil [33]; ma il testo è di troppo scarsa autorità per fondare su di esso una qualsiasi conclusione [34].

I Ḥalağ, dominatori di Kāpiśi, dovettero adottare le tradizioni locali; infatti il passo sopra citato di al-Ya'qūbī mostra che alla fine dell'VIII secolo i musulmani continuavano a dare l'antico titolo Khiṅgila ai Kābul Šāh, successori dei *tegīn* Ḥalağī di Kāpiśi [35] esattamente come essi continuavano a chiamare col titolo precedente di *zanbīl*, noto fin dal 665-6, il principe turco di Zabul.

Tutto ciò ci aiuta a comprendere meglio i dati di al-Berūnī, secondo il quale la dinastia degli Śāhi di Kabul fu rovesciata da un Kallar, fondatore della dinastia degli Śāhi brahmanici [36]. Kallar è stato da tempo identicato con Lalliya Śāhi, regnante ad Uḍabhaṇḍa ai tempi di Śaṅkaravarman II del Kashmir (883-902) [37]. In altre parole, gli Śāhi turchi di al-Berūnī (che egli assurdamente fa di origine tibetana ed a cui altrettanto assurdamente vuole riconnettere Kaniṣka) sono la dinastia che venne fondata dai Ḥalağ nello Zabul intorno alla metà del VII secolo, si estese al Gandhāra e poi a Kāpiśi-Kabul nella seconda decade dell'VIII secolo e venne rovesciata da un ministro hindu alla fine del IX secolo. Dovettero essere gli ultimi Ḥalağ (il Laga-Turmān di al-Berūnī) a perdere definitivamente Kabul ad opera di Ya'qūb ibn-Layṯ (870); ed il sorgere della nuova dinastia degli Hindu Śāhi fu contemporaneo o quasi all'arretramento della capitale ad Uḍabhaṇḍa, ossia Und sulla riva destra dell'Indo.

[33] Citata in YĀQŪT, *Kitâb mu'ğam al-buldān (Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld), III, p. 449. Non ho avuto accesso alla traduzione della prima *risāla* pubblicata da A.v. ROHR-SAUER, *Des Abū Dulafs Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestan, China und Indien*, (Bonner Orientalistiche Studien 26), Stoccarda 1939.

[34] Sulla credibilità della relazione di Abū Dulaf vedi in ultima analisi V. Minorsky, in *Enc. Isl.*^{2}, s. v.

[35] Che il regno di Kabul fosse identico all'antico regno di Kāpiśi, è affermato esplicitamente da al-Berūnī, testo arabo (ed. E. Sachau, Londra 1887), p. 130, in cui كايبش Kāyabiš va corretto in كابيش Kābīš.

[36] E. SACHAU, *Alberuni's India*, II, p. 13.

[37] M.A. STEIN, *Kalhana's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II, p. 336.

MITHILĀ AND NEPAL

The reign of Harisiṁha, the last Karṇāṭa ruler of Mithilā, has attracted for a long time the attention of scholars, and chiefly Prof. R.K. Choudhary was quite active in this field. To his unflagging zeal we owe the discovery of some new material and repeated critical appraisals of all the available evidence. I myself contributed some data a few years ago [1]; but at that time it was for me a mere sideline. Prof. Choudhary's latest articles [2] have prompted me to take up that line of research again.

On the whole, we agree on the reconstruction of the Karṇāṭa geneology after Nānyadeva. But we differ rather widely on the chronological set-up, partly because Prof. Choudhary has built his system on a misunderstanding of the data I had made available in 1958.

In Prof. Choudhary's opinion [3]. Rāmasiṁha of Mithilā reigned between 1227-1283; I had suggested an approximate date of c. 1205-1245 [4], giving my reasons, which I am not going repeat here. Both of Prof. Choudhary's dates are due to misunderstandings. For the date of 1227 he quotes the authority of the Tibetan traveller C'os-rje-dpal, according to whom Rāmasiṁha of Tirhut would have ascended the throne seven years before C'os-rje-dpal's passage through Tirhut. I am unable to find this statement in the text of C'os-rje-dpal as published and translated by the late G. Roerich [5]; the biography says nothing of the sort and the date of 1227 rests on no authority.

[1] *Mediaeval History of Nepal*, Rome 1958 [revised edition, Rome 1984].

[2] *Harisimhadeva of Mithilā*, in *ABORI* 42 (1961), pp. 123-140 (issued in 1963 only); *The later Karnatas of Mithilā and Nepal*, in *JBRS* 46 (1960, pp. 16-26 (issued in 1964 only).

[3] *Harisimhadeva of Mithilā*, p. 127.

[4] *Mediaeval History of Nepal*, p. 193 [revised edition, p. 209].

[5] G. ROERICH, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, Patna 1959. Regrettably, the text is full of misprints and the translation is none too reliable; see J. W. DE JONG, in *Indo-Iranian-Journal*, 6 (1962), pp. 167-173.

The date of 1283, according to Prof. Choudhary, is that of the accession of Harisiṁha as given in the Kaisher *vaṁśāvalī* [6]. This assertion is based on the final portion of the fragmentary manuscript of the Kaisher *vaṁśāvalī*, as published in *Mediaeval History of Nepal*, p. 217. The actual text is as follows: *tatsunu [Ha]rasiṁhadeva nṛpatiḥ Kārṇṇāṭacūḍāmaṇiḥ* ‖ *bāṇābdhiyu[gmaśa]śi 1205* (sic) *Samvat Śākavarṣe pauṣasya sukla navamī ra[visunuvare.....]*; here the manuscript is broken off. This is simply the usual chronogram about Harisiṁha's entry in the hills after leaving Tirhut, a chronogram current in Mithilā and preserved in many sources. *Bāṇābdhiygmaśaśi* corresponds of course to 1245 Śaka, and the number 1205 is just a mistaken equivalence given by the author of the *vaṁśāvalī*, or more likely inserted by some ignorant scribe [7]. So there is no date for Rāmasiṁha in the Kaisher *vaṁśāvalī*, much less in the Tucci *vaṁśāvalī* or anywhere else in the Nepalese sources. I think that the available evidence supports my dates better than those suggested by Prof. Choudhary.

Vīrasiṁha, whom a colophon mentions as reigning in Tirhut in c. 1260 A.D. [8], is believed by Prof. Choudhary to be ruling in some other part of Tirhut and possibly to belong to the line of Malladeva. I am not competent to discuss the latter suggestion, but I definitely cannot accept the first one. According to the colophon, Vīrasiṁha reigned at Śālmalī-Pāṭaka. This is clearly identical whith Pāṭaka which was the capital of the second Karṇāṭa king Gaṅgadeva or Gāṅgeyadeva (c. 1145-1175) according to the colophon [9]; with Pa-ta which was the capital of Rāmasiṁha (c. 1205-1245) according to C'os-rje-dpal [10]; with..... dha-Pāṭaka of the inscription of king Narasiṁhadeva of 1453 [11]; and perhaps even with Patanapuri which was the capital of Harisimha (c. 1279-1324). This Pāṭaka may or may not be identical with Simraongarh; that is a point which must be left for Mithilā scholars to decide. What is relevant here is the fact that Vīrasimha did not reign in some outlying portion of Tirhut, but in the same capital as all the great kings of the Karṇāṭa dynasty.

[6] Incidentally, in the following lines Prof. Choudhary attributes that date to the Tucci Sanskrit *vaṃśāvalī*, which, howerver gives no date at all.

[7] This was already pointed out in *Mediaeval History of Nepal*, p. 8, a passage which must have escaped Prof. Choudhary

[8] *Mediaeval History of Nepal* [revised ed.], p. 211.

[9] Literature listed in *Mediaeval History of Nepal* [revised ed.], pp. 208-209.

[10] G. ROERICH, *Bigraphy of Dharmasvāmin*, pp. 58-59, 100-101.

[11] K. P. JAYASWAL, *Kandahā inscription of king Narasimhadeva*, *JBORS*, 20 (1934), pp. 15-19; for the correct date (S. 1375) see UPENDRA THAKUR, *History of Mithilā*, Darbhanga 1956, pp. 326-327.

Without giving the matter more attention than it deserves, I shall remark in passing that Prof. Choudhary misunderstood me on two points of minor importance. Firstly, Ripumalla and Saṅgrāmamalla have nothing to do with the Mallas of Nepal [12]; they were rulers of the Khasiyā state in Western Nepal, which included also the greater part of Western Tibet [13]. Secondly, I never gave out as a fact [14] that Jagatsiṃha was a son of Harisiṃha. That was a guess from my part, which fits very well the known facts, but must await confirmation. It is working hypothesis and nothing else, and it is certainly unsafe to construct genealogies on it.

The most important point on which I completely dissent from the opinions of Professor Choudhary and R.C. Majumdar is the role played by Harisiṁha in Nepal. My learned colleagues still give full credit to the Pratāpa Malla inscription of the 17th century and to the Wright *Vaṁśāvalī* of the early 19th century, which make Harisiṁha the ancestor of the later Malla kings. In their opinion Nānyadeva established his suzerainty over Nepal, and Harisiṁha renewed it and ruled there after his retreat from Tirhut; and the kings of the colophons, therefore, were vassal rulers under Karṇāṭa suzerainty.

May I be allowed to recall a fundamental principle of historical criticism, whith is taken for granted all over the world: earlier sources deserve better credence than later sources. To put it more precisely: if the earlier sources unanimously agree in establishing a fact, their evidence is to be preferred to whatever later sources have to say. This basic principle has been violated in this istance.

The contemporary sources for Nepalese history of the 14th century are the fairly numerous colophons, several inscriptions, the Gopāla (or Bendall) *vaṁśāvalī*, and the Kaisher *vaṁśāvalī*; both these chronicles belong to the end of that same 14th century. Their unanimous evidence shows that a lineage of kings ruled in Nepal, whom we call Malla because of their name endings. Of these kings we have dates and partly also the genealogy. They bore the full royal style *Mahārājādhirājā parameśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka*, which excludes a foreign suzerainty. The Pratāpa Malla inscription, which is later by three centuries, and the still more modern Wright *vaṁśāvalī* have no weight against the evidence of two ancient chronicles and of several scores of colophons and inscriptions. I pointed out long ago the reason why the later sources fabricated a royal

[12] As is implied in *Harisimhadeva of Mithilā*, p. 132.

[13] G. Tucci, *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*, Rome 1956, pp. 43-130.

[14] As taken for granted in *Harisimhadeva of Mithilā*, p. 134, and , p. 19.

genealogy, which is without authority and palpably false; the Mallas of Kathmandu in the 17th century claimed to be descended through Jayasthitimalla from Harisiṁha, and accordingly adjusted their genealogy (and incidentally the whole history of Nepal).

It we base ourselves on the contemporary sources, as we are bound to do in correct historical method, the picture is as follows. Harisiṁha and minister Caṇḍeśvara invaded Nepal in 1289 or 1291 and again in 1311; the latter came once more in 1314 and raided the valley as far as the shrine of Paśupati, without conquering it permanently. When Harisiṁha was expelled by the Muslims from Tirhut, he fled towards Nepal; this happened in 1323 according to the Mithilā chronogram (which date cannot be correct) or at the beginning of 1325 according to the Muslim sources. There is no probability, and not a shred of contemporary evidence, in favour of a conquest of the valley by him after his flight from Tirhut,

When we are told that «the mysterious connection of the Karṇāṭas and the Mallas remains to be explored further till we get some definite evidence to reject the Karṇaṭa authority in Nepal altogether» [15], I am afraid this is tackling the matter at the wrong end. When the contemporary colophons and inscriptions consistenly ignore the existence of such an authority, the onus of the proof lies with the supporters of that contention.

Harisiṁha's end was quite in keeping with the picture of a helpless fugitive, which we believe him to have been. It is described in a few lines by the Gopāla (or Bendall) *vaṁśāvalī*. In 1958 I misunderstood that passage, and I am sorry if any scholar was misled thereby; to my excuse I can only say that the old Newari of that venerable chronicle is still very difficult to penetrate, even to modern Newars. What follows is a faithful transcription of the relevant passage in the original manuscript in the Bir Library at Kathmandu (f. 46a—b) [16]:

Sa 446 māga śudi 3 tirahutiḥ haraśiṁhu rājāsana mithlāsanatā satra gahīṭo ḍhīlīsa turakayāke vaṅrāyata mānolapaṃ thamu agumanayāṅa vasyaṃ śimarāvana gahra bhaṅga yāṅa tirahutiyā rājā mahātha ādina samasta vaḍaṃṅa vyasana vaṅgaṭoṃ gvalachino lindumbila vavaḥ gvalachino rājagāma dvalakhā dhāre vaṃgva ‖ ṭiṃpāṭasa rājā haraśiṁhaṭo śikva thvasa kāyanā mahāthanā ubhaya baṃdhi yaṅā kulāna jvoṃṅ vi phaṃgva rājagāmayā majhī bhāro dhāyāna samasta dhana kāsana ‖

[15] *Later Karnātas*, p. 22.

[16] The edition by Yogi Naraharinath in *Himavat Samskriti*, 1 (2016 V.S.), p. 19a, is not wholly correct.

[Tentative translation: «On 446 Māgha *śukla* 3 (7th January 1326) Rāja Harasiṃha of Tirhut, collecting his subjects (?) and taking the lead himself, started from Mithilā [being defeated] by the Turks of Delhi. Śimarāvan (Simraongarh) was destroyed. The Tirhut Rājā, the Mahātha etc., all of them escaped. After some time they came back. After some time they went to Rājagrāma [and] Dholkha [17]. Rājā Harasiṃha died at Ṭimpāṭa. Both his son and the Mahātha were treacherously arrested and carried off as prisoners, [although] they had asked for refuge; and Majhi Bhāro of Rājagrāma seized all their wealth»].

This was the sad end of Harisiṃha. He was no conqueror, no ruler retreating to an outlying portion of his kingdom, but a landless refugee dying in the hills [18], while his family and retainers were seized and plundered by a petty local nobleman. The authority for these events is unimpeachable and the picture it gives fits with all the known facts: the defeat and flight of Harisiṁha and the unimpeded rule of Mallas in full independence. After this, the legend of Harisiṁha's and his descendants' rule in Nepal must disappear from sober history. Only when *Nepalese* colophons or inscriptions of the 14th century give evidence to the contrary, will it be possible to re-open the question.

If my working hypothesis about Jagatsiṃha of Tirhut being the son of Harisiṃha be true, then it means that he retrieved the utterly fallen fortunes of this house by a brilliant marriage, and through that marriage only. Harisiṃha bequeathed to his descendants neither power nor riches nor influence, but merely a high social standing and nothing else.

As to the Chinese evidence, it is rather curious how Prof. Choudhary [19] can still accept the old idea of S. Levi that the descendants of Harisiṃha were recognized as kings of Nepal by the Chinese. Levi did not know the Itham Bahal inscription of 1382 A.D., which shows clearly enough that Madana Rāma and his son Śaktisiṃha (Ma-ta-na Lo-mo and Sha-ti-hsin-ko of the Chinese) descended from Aneka Rāma and thus belonged to a noble Nepalese family [20].

Lastly, I would like to clear the field of two other alleged references to Karṇāṭa rule in Nepal. Prof. Choudhary states that «the Patan inscription of 1413 A.D. informs us that the sons of Jayasthitimalla were

[17] To the south-east of the Nepal valley.

[18] The tale of his death at Umāgrāma in the Darbhanga district (*Later Karnātas*, pp. 18-19) seems to be a more local legend.

[19] *Later Karnātas*, p. 19

[20] *Mediaeval History of Nepal* [revised ed.], p. 151.

partners with the Karṇāṭas at Bhatgaon» [21]. Something is wrong in this reference. The only inscription of 1413 is the one in compound of Paśupati Nāth [22]. It refers only to the sons and grandsons of Jayashitimalla and gives not the slightest hint about the Karṇāṭas.

Another so-called descendant of Harisiṃha in Nepal has to be eliminated. Prof. Choudhary has pointed out that «in a four-act *Rāmāyaṇa* by Dharmagupta we get some description about a king named Yuthasiṃhadeva..... From his title, he seems to have belonged to the race of Harisiṃha and from his worshipping of Sikharanagram he seems to have dominions in Nepal» [23]. This has nothing to do with the dynasty of Harisiṃha. Śikharanagara or Śikharapurī is the Sanskrit name of Pharphing in the Nepal valley; and Yuthasiṃha is almost certainly identical with Jaya Yodhasiṃha Deva, who along with his brothers appears in a Śikharapurī (Pharphing) inscription of 1407 A.D. as a vassal of Jayadharmamalla of Nepal [24]. It was apparently a family of local barons.

[21] *Later Karnātas*, p. 20.

[22] First published in *Ind. Ant.* 1880, pp. 183-184; cf. *Mediaeval History of Nepal*, p. 162.

[23] *Later Karnātas*, pp. 22-23.

[24] *Mediaeval History of Nepal*, p. 150.

NOTES ON TIBETAN HISTORY OF THE 18TH CENTURY

I offer here a series of disjointed notes, which arose from the accumulation of new material in the course of my readings. The subjects are mostly related to those which I treated many years ago in my book *China and Ṭibet in the early 18th century*, Monographies du *T'oung Pao*, vol. I, Leiden 1950; its connected narrative may serve as a background to the present studies.

The following abbreviations are used

A5DL Autobiography the Dalai-Lama (*Za hor gyi ban de ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ rgya mts'o'i 'di snaṅ 'k'rul pa'i rol rtsad rtogs brjod kyi ts'ul du bkod pa du ku la'i gos bzaṅ*); vols. Ca, C'a, Ja of the *gsuṅ-'bum*; Tōhoku 5588. The inner numeration of the three volumes (followed here) is Ka, K'a, Ga.

A6DL Autobiography of the Sixth Dalai-Lama (*T'ams cad mk'yen pa drug pa blo bzaṅ rin c'en ts'aṅs dbyaṅs rgya mts'o'i t'un maṅ p'yi rnam par t'ar pa dukūla'i 'p'ro 't'ud rab gsal gser gyi sñe mo*); Tōhoku 5823.

A2PC Autobiography of the Second Paṇ-c'en Rin-po-c'e (*Śākya'i dge slon blo bzaṅ ye śes kyi spyod ts'ul gsal bar byed pa ṅor dkar can gyi p'reṅ ba*); vol. Ka of the *gsuṅ-'bum*.

CT L. PETECH, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 2nd ed., Leiden 1972.

FERRARI A. FERRARI, *mK'yen-brtse's guide to the holy places of Central Tibet*, Rome 1958.

FPYL *Huang-ch'ao Fan-pu yao-lüeh* 皇朝藩部要略, 1884 edition.

Galdan *Oyirod-un Galdan Bošuγtun qaγan-u teüke*, edited and translated by W. HEISSIG, «Ein mongolisches Textfragment über den Ölötenfürsten Galdan», in *Sinologische Arbeiten* 2 (1944), pp. 92-160.

HAENISCH Documents from the Manchu version of the *Chun-k'o-êrh fang-lüeh*, translated by E. Haenisch, «Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der gegenwärtigen Dynastie, I: Die Eroberung von Tibet», in *T'oung Pao*, XII (1911), pp. 197-235, 375-424.

J.As. *Journal Asiatique*.

K.Ann. Annals of Kokonor, by Sum-pa mK'an-po (*mTs'o sṅon gyi lo rgyus sogs bkod pa'i ts'aṅs glu gsar sñan žes bya ba*); published by Lokesh Chandra as an appendix to *Vaiḍūrya ser po*, II, New Delhi 1960, pp. 425-458.

KRAFT E. KRAFT, *Zum Dsungarenkrieg im 18. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1953.

L7DL Life of the Seventh Dalai-Lama, by the lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (*rGyal ba'i dbaṅ po t'ams cad mk'yen gzigs rdo rje 'c'aṅ blo bzaṅ bskal bzaṅ rgya mts'o'i žal sṅa nas kyi rnam par t'ar pa mdo tsam brjod pa dpag bsam rin po c'e'i sñe ma*); vol. Ka of the *gsuṅ-'bum*; Tōhoku 5824.

L8DL Life of the Eighth Dalai-Lama, by the De-mo Qutuqtu (*rGyal ba'i dbaṅ po t'ams cad mk'yen gzigs c'en po rje btsun blo bzaṅ bstan pa'i dbaṅ p'yug 'jam dpal rgya mts'o dpal bzaṅ po'i žal sṅa nas kyi rnam par t'ar pa mdo tsam brjod pa 'dzam gliṅ t'a gru yaṅs pa'i rgyan*); vol. Ka of the *gsuṅ-'bum*.

LM *Loṅ ba'i dmigs bu*, a manual of the official seals of the Tibetan government (*gŽuṅ žabs rnams la ñe bar mk'o ba bla dpon rim byon gyi lo rgyus t'am deb loṅ ba'i dmigs bu žes bya ba*); published by G. Tharchin, in *Yig-bskur rnam gshag*, Kalimpong 1956, pp. 173-216.

MBTY Life of Mi-dbaṅ P'o-lha-nas, by mDo-mk'ar Ts'e-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal (*dPal mi'i dbaṅ po'i rtogs brjod pa 'jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam*).

MITN L. PETECH, *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal* (7 vols.), Rome 1952-1956.

PELLIOT P. PELLIOT, *Notes critiques d'histoire kalmouke* Paris 1960.

PSJZ2 and *PSJZ3* *dPag bsam ljon bzaṅ*, by Sum-pa mK'an-po; part II, edited by S. Ch. Das, Calcutta 1908; part III, edited by Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1959.

Re'u-mig Chapter *Re'u-mig* of *PSJZ3*, pp. 7-79. I prefer not to quote the translation of S. Ch. Das, Life of Sum-pa Khan-po, in *JASB* 1889, pp. 37-84.

TWC *Ch'in-ting Hsi-yü t'ung-wên-chih* , 3 vols., Tokyo 1963.

WYLIE T.V. WYLIE, *The geography of Tibet according to the* 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad, Rome 1962.

ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

§ 1. THE SO-CALLED ABDICATION OF THE SIXTH DALAI-LAMA

Let us summarize the Tibetan situation at the beginning of the 18th century. Since 1679 the regent (*sde-srid*) Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o (1653-1705) headed the government. In order to secure and prolong his absolute power, he concealed the death of the Fifth Dalai-Lama (1682). Only in 1697 he officially communicated it to the K'ang-hsi emperor, informing him at the same time that he had long ago found and brought up the new incarnation, who was then enthroned in the presence of imperial representatives as the Sixth Dalai-Lama Ts'aṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o [1]. But the new Dalai-Lama was a profligate youth (and a gifted poet besides), whose ways of life soon aroused protests from many quarters.

Most of the Western writers mention at this point a sort of abdication of the Dalai-Lama from his spiritual position. This statement goes back to one single authority, viz. Giorgi, a late and second-hand writer, who

[1] *CT*, p. 9.

never went to Tibet but merely repeated (not without mistakes) what the last Capuchin missionaries to Lhasa had told him [2]; and those missionaries themselves, chiefly Cassiano da Macerata, were not eye-witnesses, nor even contemporaries.

Giorgi's narrative is as follows:

Itaque solemni ritu inauguratus, omnique disciplinarum genere egregie instructus, Supremi Lhamae dignitatem ac munus obibat, quum ecce anno circiter aetatis XX a duobus Tartarorum Jungaricorum et Sinarum regibus epistolas accipit, quibus intelligit signa renati Lhamae in controversiam verti, nec haberi se pro vero ac legitimo principe, in quem iterum natus transmigravit decessor.

Qua re vehementer commotus regum audaciam comprimere et quasi pudefacere statuit. Coram Magnum Lhamam Shigathzé publice profitetur nuncium se remittere religionis proposito; unoque regio diademate atque imperio contentum, nihili pendere quicquid praeterea splendidi Lhamaica sibi dignitas et excellentia offerent.

Tum omni se voluptatum et libidinum gurgiti impudicissimus iuvenis publice privatimque immergere coepit; ejusque scelerum fama tam longe lateque brevi pervasit, ut impellentibus regibus Jongar et Kokonor et ipso cum primis imperatore Sinarum, Lhamae et Ciokhiongii [*c'os-skyoṅ*, oracles] fere universi in concilium convenerint, sententiamque dixerint: aut animam aut certe spiritum Ciangciub [*byaṅ-c'ub, bodhi*] e corpore huius supremi Lhamae discessisse, altera proculdubio superstite, quae peccaret. Sed e gradu deicere non sunt ausi.

Monebatur a suis modum tam effraeni vivendi licentiae imponere. Monitis cessit ad horam. Nam auctis deinceps sine pudore flagitiis ita succendit indignationem et iram Regis Tartari, ut eum aut morti tradere, aut rapere et ad se ultro transferre decreverit. Itaque variis usus machinamentis sic negotium instruxit, ut idem ipse Lhama occasionem sibi praebuerit adeundi Lhassam eumque in aedibus Potala conveniendi. Ibi capitur Lhama... [3].

No date is given anywhere. The first paragraph [4] is incredible as it stands; a letter from the K'ang-hsi emperor of such grave import as the practical denial of the legitimacy of the Dalai-Lama, would certainly be included, or at least mentioned in the *Shih-lu*; but neither the *Shih-lu* nor the Tibetan and Mongol sources contain the slightest hint about it. I think we can safely assume that no such letters were ever sent.

The second paragraph has a basis of fact, since the only Tibetan source available for these years relates something of that sort. The regent, who could no longer ignore the scandal, in the 4th month (May) of 1702 wrote to the Paṇ-c'en a long letter, couched in diplomatic expressions of respect for the young Dalai-Lama. He stated that the behaviour of the young man and specially his spoken words were beyond the understanding

[2] On Giorgi's work see *MITN*, I, pp xcix-cii.

[3] A. GIORGI, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, Rome 1761, pp. 250-251.

[4] The division into paragraphs is mine.

of the people; above all, the Dalai-Lama had delayed under various pretexts an act of the utmost importance: his final initiation and consecration (*t'ugs-rdzogs*). To the remonstrances of the *sde-srid* he had replied that he felt himself unfit to hold the place of his predecessors. Therefore, Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o asked for the intervention of the revered Paṇ-c'en [5]. It was arranged that the Dalai-Lama should visit the Paṇ-c'en; and the latter, although in indifferent health, traveled for some stages from bKra-śis-lhun-po in order to meet his pupil and to escort him to the great monastery. The Dalai-Lama took his residence in the *gzims-k'aṅ* rGyal-mts'an-mt'on-po in nearby gŽis-ka-rtse.

The two met repeatedly, and the Paṇ-c'en tried earnestly to persuade the young man to do what was his plain duty «toward the religion and the living beings» [6]. He was supported by a group of influential churchmen and nobles, sent by the regent as advisers; this group included the De-mo and Sems-dpa' incarnates, the sTag-rtse *žabs-druṅ* [7], prince Lajang (the brother of Vangjal, the then ruling Qośot chief) and the head teachers of Se-ra, 'Bras-spuṅs and dGa'-ldan [8]. But the Dalai-Lama was adamant. In the end the Paṇ-c'en and his council admonished him to undergo the initiation as soon as possible, and informed the regent of their failure [9].

Thus far the account of the Paṇ-c'en. What he chooses to pass over in silence in the fact, attested by Tibetan and Mongol texts under that same date of 1702, that the Dalai-Lama not only refused to be initiated, but renounced his monastic vows in the hands of the Paṇ-c'en, returning thus to the lay state, but maintaining his temporal prerogatives, such as they were [10]. Giorgi's second paragraph, therefore, is confirmed in all its points by independent evidence.

[5] *A2PC*, f. 209a-b

[6] *A2PC*, ff. 210b-211a.

[7] Lha-rgyal-rab-brtan of sTag-rtse (Taktse-dzong on the right bank of the sKyi-c'u to the east of Lhasa) is first mentioned with the Mongol title of *taiji* in 1678; *A5DL*, Ga, f. 92a. His father, the *žabs-druṅ* rDo-rje-rnam-rgyal, was still alive in 1683, but in 1697 he was dead and his son was already styled sTag-rtse-nas; *A2PC*, ff. 82a and 176b. He was a prominent nobleman under Lajang Khan, as shown by sundry mentions in *A2PC*. But he played traitor to Lajang's family in 1717 and became the head of the Tibetan puppet government under the Dsungar invaders. He was sentenced to death and executed by the Chinese in December 1720. See *CT*, Index.

[8] *A2PC*, f. 211a.

[9] *A2PC*, f. 211a-b. The stay of the Dalai-Lama in gŽis-ka-rtse lasted for seventeen days; before leaving he exchanged precious gifts with the Paṇ-c'en.

[10] «He gave back his vows to the Paṇ-c'en and did not keep them any more; he adopted the way of life of a temporal ruler» (*Ts'aṅs dbyaṅs rgya mts'os bstan pa'i mṅa'*

The situation dit not change in the following years. Once more, when in the sixth month (July) of 1704 the Dalai-Lama intended to travel to Zab-p'u (?), the Paṇ-c'en decided to invite him to bKra-śis-lhun-po in the hope to prevail upon him to resume the vows of the *prātimokṣa (so-t'ar-gyi-sdom-pa)*. He wrote to him accordingly and even made some preparations. But the Dalai-Lama travelled directly from the ferry on the Ňaṅ-c'u to beyond the fortress of gŽis-ka-rtse without meeting his former teacher; and the Paṇ-c'en had to be content with sending a good horse with all accoutrements to him at rGyal-rtse [11].

Giorgi's third paragraph, too, may have a slender basis of fact. No «council» sponsored by the Dsungar, Qošot and Manchu rulers was convened and no declaration of loss of the *bodhi*, i.e. of the character as an incarnation, was issued by the chief Lamas; there is no trace of this in the texts. But the oracles (*c'os-skyoṅ*) [12] actually did deliver a declaration on the subject: in 1706, before taking action against the Dalai-Lama, Lajang addressed enquiries (*žu-luṅ*) to the *c'os-skyoṅ*, and on the basis of their replies was satisfied that Ts'aṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o was not the rebirth of the fifth Dalai-Lama [13]. We may, therefore, conclude that Giorgi's account, although impossible as it stands, may go back to a hazy recollection of the Paṇ-c'en's advising body (1704) and of the declaration of the oracles (1706).

The fourth paragraph relates the deposition and exile of the Dalai-Lama by Lajang Khan. It is strange however, that Giorgi wholly ignores the tragic end of the regent which preceeded that event.

Summining up, the only historically proved facts are the refusal of the Sixth Dalai-Lama to take the final initiation and his renunciation of the monastic vows in the hands of the Paṇ-c'en. All the rest seems to be embellishments by the oral tradition of the Capuchins as preserved by Giorgi.

The causes and consequences of the fact are difficult to appraise. In any case, let me stress the point that the whole business was transacted between the *sde-srid*, the Paṇ-c'en and the high lamas and nobles sent from Lhasa; the Qošot ruler, who was the pupil, patron and protector of both Dalai-Lama and Paṇ-c'en, had no part in it, at least none can be deduced from the avaible sources. In the same way, we ignore whether the

bdag rin po c'e Blo bzaṅ ye śes la 'dul sdom p'ul nas ma bžes, mi dbaṅ gi ts'ul bzuṅ); K. Ann., p. 438. Also *Re'u-mig*, p. 75; *Galdan*, p. 125.

[11] *A2PC*, ff. 216b-217a.

[12] At that time the foremost oracles were the gNas-c'uṅ and the La-mo *c'os-skyoṅ*.

[13] *A2PC*, f. 231b.

formal retirement of the *sde-srid* in the following year was a sort of aftermath to the event.

§ 2. Lajang Khan's rise

The paramountcy of the Qošot Mongols over Tibet had been established by Gušri Khan in 1642. Upon his death on the 14th January, 1655 [14], he left ten sons [15], who after some time, perhaps in accordance with the will of their dead father, carried out a partition, which apparently followed the provisions of Gengis Khan's *jasaq* on this subject [16]. The pastures in the ancestral domains of Köke-nōr were distributed among nine of the sons, whose formal head, as *primus inter pares*, was the youngest Daši (bKra-śis) Bātur in his quality as *otčigin* or guardian of the hearth [17]. But in practice the sixth son Dalai Bātur, who on the 3rd December, 1658, was given the style of Dalai Qungtaiji [18], was the actual head of this line, acting in close contact with the first-born and with the Dalai-Lama, as it appears from his frequent visits to Lhasa and from the Chinese documents [19]. The new territories, i.e. the foreign conquests farthest away from home, were entrusted to the eldest brother Dayan. This meant that he inherited the Qošot rights in Tibet, consisting of the military protection of the Dalai-Lama and of the country, the appointment of the civil administrator or regent (*sde-srid* or *sde-pa*), the property of the 'Dam pastures to the south of the Tengri-nōr as dwellings for Dayan's *ulus*, and the ownership of the dGa'-ldan K'aṅ-gsar in Lhasa [20]. The nor-

[14] On 7/XII(Hor)/Wood-Horse; *A5DL*, Ka, f. 233a. His bones were enshrined in the dGa'-ldan K'aṅ-gsar on 26 XI/Wood-Sheep (23nd December, 1655); *A5DL*, Ka, ff. 244b, 247a-b.

[15] On their names see Pelliot, Table II.

[16] On the institutions that lay at the basis of this settlement see B.I. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, Paris 1948, pp. 60 and 67.

[17] *Hor C'os-'byuṅ*, transl. G. Huth, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, Strassburg 1896, p. 64.

[18] On 10/XI/Earth-Dog; *A5DL*, Ka, f. 267a.

[19] He died in 1690 and his funeral was conducted by the first lCaṅ-skya Qutuqtu; *Subud erike*, ff. 65a-66a, summarized by K. Sagaster, *Leben und historische Bedeutung des I. lCaṅ skya Khutukhtu* (polygraphied thesis), Bonn 1960, pp. 2 and 128-129. Funeral rites were performed at bKra-śis-lhun-po during the New Year festival of 1691; *A2PC*, f. 118a. The Dalai-Lama performed them only in 1696; *A6DL*, f. 142a. But he could hardly do so before his public recognition, which happened in that same year.

[20] The *Ragguaglio* of Francesco Orazio della Penna, in *MITN*, III, p. 60.

mal Tibetan title of the Mongol «Defender of the Faith» seems to have been *rgyal-po k'ri-pa* [21].

On the 8th February, 1658, Dayan was formally enthroned in Lhasa by the Fifth Dalai-Lama, who granted him the title and seal of bsTan-'dzin rDo-rje rGyal-po [22]; and under its Mongol equivalent Očir Khan [23] he was henceforward known among his countrymen. We may add that the title bsTan-'dzin («Upholder of the [Buddhist] Teaching») was borne by all his successors. Under this easy-going chieftain, control over Tibetan affairs passed almost entirely in the hands of the Fifth Dalai-Lama and the regents appointed in succession by him, the rights of the Qošot chief dwindling to a mere formal confirmation.

Očir Khan died on the 23nd April, 1668 [24], and was succeeded by his eldest son Güncük (dKon-mc'og) or bSod-nams-dbaṅ-rgyal, who was enthroned by the Dalai-Lama with the style of bsTan-'dzin Dalai Khan on the 12th April, 1671 [25]. He was a quite shadowy figure and played no role at all in the tortuous politics of the Tibetan regent, who aimed at supporting secretely the Dsungars without openly breaking with the Manchu emperor.

Dalai Khan had from his wife Daši (bKra-śis) [26] two sons; the elder was called Vangjal (bsTan-'dzin dBaṅ-rgyal) and the younger Lajang (Lha-bzaṅ) [27]. Lajang, born about 1658 [28], was by far the stronger character of the two, and started playing a political role already during the lifetime of his father. At first he seems to have resided partly in Lhasa and partly in Köke-nōr [29]. In 1697 Dalai Khan sent messengers to Ninghsia, to congratulate the K'ang-hsi emperor upon his victory over the Dsungar ruler Galdan. On this occasion Lajang went to Köke-nōr, «to

[21] So *passim* in *A2PC*.

[22] On 6/I(Hor)/Earth-Dog; *A5DL*, Ka, f. 258b.

[23] Tib. *rdo-rje* = Mong. *očir* = Sanskr. *vajra*.

[24] On 12/III(Hor)/Earth-Monkey; *A5DL*, K'a, f. 47b.

[25] On 3/III(Hor)/Iron-Pig; *A5DL*, K'a, f. 109a.

[26] She is mentioned in *A2PC*, f. 164a.

[27] This is the correct order of birth, found in *PSJZ2*, p. 165, in the *Hor C'os-'byuṅ*, transl. G. Huth, p. 64 and in the Mongol document edited and translated by W. Heissig, «Ein mongolischer zeitgenössischer Bericht über den Ölöteneinfall in Tibet und die Plünderung von Lhasa 1717», in *ZDMG* 1954, p. 404. Pelliot's table is mistaken in inverting the order. Lajang's full name was Lha-bzaṅ Klu-dbaṅ; *A5DL*, K'a, f. 140a.

[28] In 1713 he was about 55 years old; Domenico da Fano's *Breve Relazione* in *MITN*, III, p. 7.

[29] On 12/VI/Iron-Sheep (3rd August 1691) he sent from mTs'o-k'a (Köke-nōr) messengers to the Paṇ-c'en Rin-po-c'e; *A2PC*, f. 120b.

build a Dalai-Lama temple» [30]. His journey caused a fluster among his relatives there. The Köke nōr princes had gathered at Caγan Toloγai [31] on 29/1 (20th February) [32], and there the foremost churchman of the territory, the Caγan Nomun Qān, brought to them the greetings of the emperor and his invitation to present themselves to audience. He summoned also Gümbü, the son of Gušri Khan's third son Dalantai. The latter, being also busy «in building a Dalai-Lama's temple», sent in his stead to Caγan Toloγai his elder son Erdeni Erke Toqtonai. On his way he heard that Lajang was going to make a surprise attack on him, took fear und turned back. Gümbü then sent his second son Pünsük, and Lajang met him courteously and said: «Your father is secretly sending envoys to the imperial residence. Will he not double-cross Köke-nōr? I am raising troops and shall contend with your father». Pünsük rode back and related these words. Gümbü took up arms and waited [33].

Thus it was a case of petty jealousy among the members of the widespread Qošot clan. The uncertainty rose to the point that the princes wavered and almost decided not to go to court. The decision was reversed in the nick of time due to the energetic intervention of the respected lCaṅskya Qutuqtu [34]. Lajang too contributed to the easing of the situation sending word to Gümbü: «You try to court favour, you alone, with the emperor, and this is not just. I shall accompany the Köke-nōr *taiji* to the imperial residence. Therefore draw back your troops». The last word lay with Daśi Bātur as the only surviving son of Gušri Khan and the head of the clan. Although at first he would have preferred to send two kinsmen as his representatives, he then took personally the chair and in the end the assembly of Caγan toloγai, in which Lajang also participated, decided to pay their homage to the emperor in the fourth month in Ning-hsia [35]. K'ang-hsi, however preferred to summon them to Peking for the ninth or tenth month [36]. Accordingly, several Qošot chiefs, led by Daši Bātur, made the journey to the capital, where at the beginning of 1698 they were received in audience by the emperor [37]. The representative of the Qošot of

[30] *FPYL*, ch. 17, f. 12a.

[31] Modern Ch'a-han ch'êng, South-East of the Köke-nōr.

[32] The date is found in *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 182, f. 2b.

[33] *FPYL*, ch, 10, ff. 11b-12a.

[34] On the whole affair see the interesting account of the *Subud erike*, ff. 84a-86a, summarized by K. SAGASTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 and 140-145.

[35] *FPYL*, ch. 10 f. 12a. See also *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 182, f. 27a-b.

[36] Order of *i-ssŭ*/III interc., (15th May), 1697; *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 182, f. 31a-b.

[37] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 186, ff. 7b-8a. K. SAGASTER, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

Tibet on this occasion was not Lajang, but a senior member of the family, viz. Dalai Khan's younger brother Püngsük [38]. He was granted the title of *beise* [39], and remained in favour with the emperor, being promoted to *beile* in 1703 [40]; he died in 1706 [41]. Incidentally, this audience of 1698, followed by another in December 1703 [42], meant the establishment of Manchu suzerainty over the Köke-nōr Qošot.

As to Lajang, in 1698 he went back from Ba-ro C'u-gag [43] to Central Tibet and settled in the residence of the Mongol rulers there, dGa'-ldan K'aṅ-gsar[43].

After a couple of uneventful years, Dalai- Khan died on 23rd January, 1701 [44]. Vangjal suceeded him; but he is hardly mentioned in the *A6DL*, which ends abruptly with the 9th month of 1701; the *A2PC* too has not a single word about him. Thus we know practically nothing of his short reign. He met with a tragic end, being poisoned by his brother [45]; this event happened shortly before 16/VI (29th July), 1703, because on that date the Paṇ-c'en seat a *mgron-gñer* to offer his gratulations and presents to the new ruler [46]. Vangjal's sons and descendants are known solely from the genealogical tables; they never played a political role [47].

After his succession to the chiefship, Lajang Khan began to display an activity and interest in Tibetan affairs, which portended a revival of the

[38] This Pên-su-k'e is described as Dalai Khan's brother in a gloss of the *FPYL*. This prevents a confusion with the above-mentioned Püngsük, the younger son of Gümbü.

[39] *Hsin-ssŭ*/I (15th February), 1698; *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 187, f. 2a; *FPYL*, ch. 10, f. 20b.

[40] *Chi-wei*/XI (25th December), 1703; *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 214, f. 10a.

[41] The emperor sent an official to represent him at Püngsük's funeral on *jên-tzu*/II (6th April), 1706; *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 224. f. 16a.

[42] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 214, ff. 5b, 8b-9b, 10a, 10b. I.e. the river-barrage (*c'u-'gag*) of Ba-ro. We may suppose a scribal error for 'Bo-ra, in which case we may localize it in the neighbourhood of 'Bo-ra dGon-pa on the rDog-c'u, c. 102°40' long. E, 34°50' lat. N. Cf. J. F. ROCK, *The Amnye Ma-chhen range and adjacent regions*, Rome 1956, pp. 26-27 and Map 3.

[43] *K.Ann.*, p. 438; *A6DL*, ff. 312a, 314b. In the 10th month he visited the Paṇ-c'en at bKra-śis-lhun-po; *A2PC*, f. 192b.

[44] On 14/XII(Hor)/Iron-Dragon; *A6DL*, f. 439a. It is rather strange that no funeral services were held by the Paṇ-c'en; the *A2PC* does not mention the event at all. The date 1697 in the *Shêng-wu-chi*, ch. 5, f. 6a, is definitely incorrect.

[45] *PSJZ2*, p. 165.

[46] *A2PC*, f. 214a. The date of 1703, without a month, is given also by the *Re'u-mig*, p. 75, *K.Ann.*, p. 438, and *LM*, p. 208.

[47] The widow and two daughters of Vangjal were brought to Ili in 1718; W. HEISSIG, in *ZDMG* 1954, pp. 404-405.

almost obsolete Qošot paramountcy. He was considerably helped by the rather complicated situation that had arisen in Lhasa after the «abdication» of the Sixth Dalai-Lama. Lajang's accession was accompanied by a change in the Tibetan government; Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o retired and was formally succeeded as *sde-srid* by his eldest son Ṅag-dbaṅ-rin-c'en [48]. We do not know whether this step was connected with the tragic end of Vangjal and was due to pressure from the Qošot side. In any case, it was a mere formal gesture, because in practice actual power continued with the ex-regent as before [49]. So Tibet had a Dalai-Lama who was no longer a churchman, a regent without power, and an ex-regent who was still the head of the government; and this anomalous situation could not but play into the hands of the Qošot ruler.

An antagonism between Lajang and Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o arose since the very beginning. In that same year 1703 they were already at loggerheads, and it was in this period that we have to place the attempt of the ex-regent to poison Lajang and his chief minister [50]. According to a Mongol text, they were saved by the blessing and the holy water of the head of the sGo-mańs college in 'Bras-spuńs, 'Jam-dbyańs-bžad-pa (1648-1721) [51]. In 1716 Desideri found the Qošot ruler and his minister «Targum Treêscij» still suffering from the aftermaths of this poisoning [52].

The quarrel flared out in the open during the *smon-lam* festival after New Year's day of 1705. In a great gathering of the clergy Sańs-rgyas-

[48] *Re'u-mig*, p. 75; *LM*, p. 178. On the 16/VI/1703, the Paṇ-c'en sent his gratulations for their accession to Lajang and Ṅag-dbaṅ-rin-c'en, together; *A2PC*, f. 214a; see above. The *K.Ann.*, p. 438, register the event in 1702.

[49] According to *LM*, pp. 196, 206, Ṅag-dbaṅ-rin-c'en was merely associated with his father.

[50] The emperor alludes to the fact in his edict dated *ting-hai*/XI (6th January, 1707); *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 227, pp. 24a-25a. The Paṇ-c'en too mentions it in passing under the date of the 6th month (July) of 1704, when he sent two envoys to attempt a mediation between the ex-regent and the Qošot ruler; he was moved by the rumors among the clergy and nobility concerning the behaviour of the Dalai-Lama and the poisoning of the king (*rgyal por gyur dug gi gleṅ*); *A2PC*, f. 220a.

[51] *FPYL*, ch. 17. 12b; *Galdan*, pp. 125-126. On 'Jam-dbyańs-bžad-pa see J.F. ROCK, *The Amnye Ma-chhen range and adjacent regions*, pp. 39-41; LOKESH CHANDRA, «The life and works of 'Jam-dbyańs-bśad-pa», in *CAJ*, 7 (1962), pp. 264-279; ID, *Materials for a history of Tibetan literature*, I, New Delhi 1963, pp. 45-49. He acted as the head of the sGo-mańs college from 1700 to 1708; in 1710 he founded the famous monastery of Bla-braṅ in Amdo, which is still headed by his incarnations.

[52] I. DESIDERI, *Relazione del Tibet*, in *MITN*, V, pp. 189-190, and VI, p. 39.

rgya-mts'o proposed to seize and kill the Khan. But 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bžad-pa opposed the plot, and nothing came of it [53]. Thereupon the monks, and above all the La-mo *c'os-skyoṅ* [54], advised Lajang to leave for Köke-nōr. This was probably more an order than a piece of advice; apparently they saw in this a means for avoiding an armed clash, and at the same time getting rid of their Mongol protector.

Lajang Khan seemed to comply and started for the north. But when he arrived at the banks of the Ṅag-c'u, he halted, gathered his tribesmen and in the 6th month of 1705 marched on Lhasa. The monks of the three great monasteries ('Bras-spuṅs, Se-ra, dGa'-ldan) tried to mediate, and the Paṇ-c'en too sent a letter entreating the Khan not to cause damage to living beings. But Lajang, although not opposing a flat denial, announced his decision to advance in any case as far as Glaṅ-t'aṅ [55]. The ex-regent, on the other side, rejected any compromise and concentrated the troops of Central Tibet, K'ams and mṄa'-ris near Lhasa. This of course left Lajang free to continue his advance. He reached his private domain of 'Dam, south of the Tengri-nōr, and hence the 'P'an-yul valley, where Glaṅ-t'aṅ is situated. Then the Qošot army crossed the mountains that lie to the north of Lhasa, marching in three columns. The left column, led by the Khan himself, passed through the rGad-mo défilé (*'p'raṅ*) [56]; the centre, led by Tügüs (T'u-gwus) Jaisang, through the rGo pass [57]; the right column, under the Khan's wife Jerinraši (Ts'e-riṅ-bkra-śis), through the sTod-luṅ valley [58]. The regent offered battle, but was defeated with the loss of 400 men; the decisive fighting seems to have taken place on the

[53] *Galdan*, p. 126.

[54] La-mo, wrongly transliterated by Heissig as Lha-mo, is to the North-East of dGa'-ldan; Ferrari, p. 109 n. 111. Its *c'os-skyoṅ* (oracle) is supposed to be inspired by Ts'aṅs-pa dkar-po, a form of Brahmā; R. DE NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ, *Oracles and demons of Tibet*, Den Haag 1956, p. 145. It may be identical with the Pel-Lamo oracle of the missionaries (*MITN*, II, p. 261); but, in any case, R.A. STEIN in *J.As.* 1956, pp. 342-343, has shown that the goddess dPal-ldan Lha-mo is not concerned here. The La-mo oracle was particularly connected (at least in this period) with the Paṇ-c'en. Not only he gave the general indications for the search of the second incarnation of the Paṇ-c'en (*A2PC*, ff. 8b-9a), but it was the only oracle whom the latter regularly consulted during the whole of his life, as shown by numerous entries in the *A2PC*.

[55] On Glaṅ-t'aṅ (Langdong of the maps) see FERRARI, p. 84, n. 31.

[56] The same as the dGa'-mo *p'raṅ* on the sKyid-c'u, to the east of Lhasa, which played a similar role in the civil war of 1727-1728; *CT*, p. 123.

[57] The Penbogo-la ('P'an-po sGo-la) of the maps, to the north of Lhasa; FERRARI, p. 39 and n. 36.

[58] The Tolung valley of the maps, to the West of Lhasa; FERRARI, p. 73; WYLIE, p. 77.

rGo pass, where Tügüs Jaisang fought and killed the Tibetan commander rDo-rje-rab-brtan [59].

At this point the clergy intervened once more; the Paṇ-c'en even started for the theatre of war, but he had barely reached a couple of stages from bKra-śis-lhun-po, when he heard that the matter had been settled. The position of Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o was hopeless and he had to agree to the new proposals, which amounted to a capitulation: he laid down his powers upon an assurance of safety and was sent to live at Goṅ-dkar-rdzoṅ [60], while Lajang took over the government of the country [61].

The new ruler remained for the moment encamped at Jarbusib(?); but his wife J̌erinraši, who seemed to harbour a personal hatred against the fallen regent, had him arrested at Goṅ-dkar-rdzoṅ and brought to the sTod-luṅ valley. The monks of 'Bras-spuṅs tried to intercede for him; but before their spokesman arrived, the princess caused Sańs-rgyas-mts'o to be put to death on the slopes of the hill where the sKyor-mo-luṅ monastery [62] is built [63]. The actual killer was one Bar-c'o-k'a (Barčuq) Qošōči and the date of the event was probably the 19/VII, i.e. the 6th September, 1705 [64]. Common opinion attributed the deed to the suggestions of wicked ministers, and later considered the tragic end of Lajang in 1717 as a fitting retribution for the break of his pledge and the murder [65].

[59] This account of the events that led to the war, and of the Qošot march on Lhasa is based mainly on *K. Ann.*, p. 438; also on *A2PC*, f. 223a, and on the *Bolur toli*, where the passage concerning the events of 1705 was edited and translated by W. HEISSIG, «Ergänzungen zu einem mongolischen Textfragment über Galdan», in *Sinologische Arbeiten* 3 (1945), pp. 173-175.

[60] Kongka Dzong of the maps; FERRARI, pp. 134-135; WYLIE, p. 166. It was the customary place of banishment.

[61] *Bolur toli*, Op. cit., p. 175.

[62] On sKyor-mo-luṅ, now almost deserted, see FERRARI, p. 167, n. 690; WYLIE, p. 149, n. 320.

[63] The authorities for Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o's end are chiefly *K.Ann.*, p. 438; *Bolur toli*, Op. cit., pp. 175-176; *A2PC*, ff. 223b, 224b; and *MBTJ*, f. 55a. The *Re'u-mig*, p. 75, and *FPYL*, ch. 17, f. 12b, mentions the fact in a few words. *LM*, p. 79, places the murder at sTod-luṅ sNaṅ-rtse (locality unknown). Desideri, in *MITN*, IV, pp. 39-40, gives a more romantic tale; the ex-regent was persuaded to surrender by a falsified order (*bka'-śog*) on which the seal of the Dalai-Lama was affixed while the latter was dead drunk. This account, although much embellished, may be substantially true, because the *bka'-śog* is mentioned also in *A2PC*, f. 223b.

[64] Date given in the biography (vol. K'a of the collection) of the 48th K'ri Rin-po-c'e Don-grub-rgya-mts'o (1665-1727; on the see of sGa'-ldan 1702-1709), f. 5b. *LM*, pp. 178, 206, 208, has the date 29/VII (16th September); but this works is late (early 20th century) and carries less weight.

[65] *MBTJ*, f. 55a; *K.Ann.*, pp. 438-439.

After this, Lajang was recognized as *rgyal-po k'ri-pa*, apparently with the title of bsTan-'dzin Jiṅ-gir rGyal-po [66]. This courtesy title of Jingis Khan was normally used by foreigners; the Italian missionaries in Tibet and Unkovskji, the Russian envoy to Dsungaria, knew no other name.

The beginning of his reign was characterized by some acts of harshness and oppression. During the advance to Lhasa he had put to death the head of the Se-ra sMad college, and 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bžad-pa restrained him with difficulty from destroying that establishment, which had dared to show hostility to him [67]. Many acts of cruelty, such as flogging and imprisonment, took place in gTsaṅ [68].

This severity may be a sign of the unstable position in which Lajang found himself at first. His success against the regent had been complete. But his victory placed him in direct opposition to the Dalai-Lama, whose position was nearly inassailable. However personally unworthy, for the clergy and the populace he was the embodiment of sPyan-ras-gzigs and thus the spiritual head of the country. To tackle this delicate proposition, the Qošot Khan first of all conciliated the Paṇ-c'en, whom his wife visited in the 9th month of 1705, bringing him costly presents [69]. He also made some friendly advances toward the great monasteries; thus he donated to Se-ra the Groṅ-smad estate (*gžis-ka*), which had belonged to Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o and from whom the late regent had sometimes got his name [70].

But these conciliatory gestures were not enough. Lajang's military power was very limited, and thus he needed external support. This he sought and found in the K'ang-hsi emperor, to whom he reported the elimination of the *sde-srid*. The emperor, glad of the disappearance of an inveterate of the Dsungars, heartily approved of his action and sent to Tibet the Manchu lieutenant-colonel Hsi-chu 席柱 to bestow on Lajang the title of I-fa-kung-shun-han 翊法恭順汗 and to support him in any action that would be deemed advisable against the Dalai-Lama.

[66] Actually this title occurs only once in the Tibetan texts, under the date of the 9th month of 1705; *A2PC*, f. 227b. Let us also remark that the *A2PC* drops henceforward the style of *rgyal-sras* and the name Lha-bzaṅ and employs only the title of king (*rgyal-po*) or of bsTan-'dzin C'os-kyi-rgyal-po.

[67] *Bolur toli*, *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

[68] *MBTJ*, f. 55a-b.

[69] *A2PC*, ff. 227b-228b.

[70] *Dad pa'i 'dab rgyas* (Life of Bla-ma Ṅag-dbaṅ-byams-pa, 1682-1762, by the Third Paṇ-c'en; in vol. Ga of the latter's complete works), f. 21a.

Lajang was thus sure that the ideas of the emperor concurred with his own and that he could count on the latter's friendship and moral support. He then proceeded to the next step, the elimination of the Sixth Dalai-Lama. The tale has been narrated in *CT*, pp. 10-13, to which very little could be added today. I shall only remark that on this occasion (June 1706) Lajang got rid also of Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o's eldest son Ṅag-dbaṅ-rin-c'en, who had continued till then as the titular *sde-srid*, devoid of any power or political importance; he was deposed and sent to China along with his brothers in the train of the exiled Dalai-Lama. But, more lucky than the latter, he actually reached Peking and was then settled at Dolon-nōr in Chahar [71]. In 1717 he was received at sKu-'bum by the Li-t'ang pretender [72]; and that is the last information we have about him.

In 1707 Lajang enthroned as puppet Dalai-Lama an obscure monk. who till then had borne the title of Mon-pa Pad-dkar-'dzin-pa; he now became the rGyal-ba Rin-po-c'e Ṅag-dbaṅ-ye-śes-rgya-mts'o. Very little is known about him. He was rumoured to be the natural son of Lajang [73]. He was born in 1686 at Ts'a-roṅ in K'ams [74], and in 1699 he had been admitted as a novice to 'Bras-spuṅs [75]; later he became a monk in the lCags-po-ri medical college, opposite the Potala. After his unhappy ten years on the see of the Potala, he was deposed by the Dsungars and relegated in the lCags-po-ri (1717). On their arrival, the Manchu took him out of that college and sent him to Peking; upon his arrival, the imperial government exiled him to gŚe-hor (Jehol) [76]. He must have died there; but whether the bsTan-pa'i-gsal-byed Dam-pa mK'an-po Qutuqtu Ṅag-dbaṅ-ye-śes-rgya-mts'o, whose death ceremonies were performed by the Dalai-Lama on New Year's day of 1726 [77], was identical with him, is a point on which serious doubts are allowed [78]. In any case, the puppet Dalai-Lama was reincarnated in K'ams, but the boy died of smallpox, and apparently the matter rested there.

[71] *K.Ann.*, p. 439.

[72] *L7DL*, f. 41a. This text gives no names, but speaks only of the two elder sons of the *sde-srid* Sańs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o. In 1718 the two younger sons also paid their respects; *L7DL*, f. 47b.

[73] *LM*, p. 179; Domenico da Fano, in *MITN*, III, p. 6.

[74] See the authorities quoted in *CT*, p. 13 n. 6, to which we can now add *K.Ann.*, p. 437.

[75] *Re'u-mig* p. 74.

[76] *A2PC*, f. 302b; *K.Ann.*, p. 440. Cf. *CT*, p. 64.

[77] *L7DL*, f. 115a.

[78] In *CT*. p. 91, I took this identification as granted. But actually there is nothing in its favour except the identity of the name; the titles are different.

§ 3. The end of the Qošot of Tibet

This subject was treated in *CT*, pp. 25-41; but some new facts have come to light that are worth pointing out.

Lajang Khan's relations with the Dsungar ruler Cewang Arabtan (Ts'e-dbaṅ-rab-brtan; 1697-1727) were at first cordial. The latter had married Lajang's sister, and his son and successor Galdan Cering (dGa'-ldan-ts'e-riṅ) was born from this marriage [79]. The ties of kinship were further strengthened by the marriage of Lajang's eldest son Galdan Danjin (dGa'-ldan-bstan-'dzin) with Boitalaq, a daughter of the Dsungar ruler (1714); the wedding took place in Ili and the married couple remained there. It is well known how the name of Galdan Danjin was used by the Dsungars as a cover for their invasion of Tibet [80]. The unfortunate prince remained in Ili during the war; he was treated as a guest and resided in the neighbourhood of the Dsungar royal camp. At one time he was placed under surveillance, but not otherwise molested. But in 1721, after the disaster of the Dsungar army in Tibet, he was emprisoned and Boitalaq was given to Cewangjambu, a chief of the Qoit [81]. He was charged with hostile magic and was done to death by pressing him between two red-hod cauldrons [82].

Under the pretext of bringing Galdan Danjin to visit his father, the Dsungars invaded Tibet. They numbered 6000 and were led by Cering Donduk (Ts'e-riṅ-don-grub) the elder, a cousin of Cewang Arabtan; under him served four generals, the *jajsang* Dugar [83], Tobci [84], Compel [85], and

[79] *PSJZ3*, p. 158.

[80] *CT*, p. 26.

[81] Kraft, pp, 54, 72, 83-84. This unimpeachable evidence (statements of Dsungar officers taken prisoner by the Manchu) disposes of the contention by the Ch'ien-lung emperor and by Desideri that the Dsungars put the prince to death in 1717, as soon as his usefulness as a decoy was at an end.

[82] *TWC*, ch. 24, f. 2a-b. Unkovskij, pp. 190-191, 257-258. Pelliot, p. 10, where this event is wrongly supposed to have taken place before the invasion of Tibet.

[83] Dugar Sanduk in the Manchu text of Haenisch and in *FPYL*, ch. 17, f. 14b; gDugs-dkar 'Je-saṅs of *A2PC*, ff. 278b and 284b, of *PSJZ3*, p. 304, and of *K.Ann.*, p. 439. He died of illness, probably still in Tibet; Kraft, p. 83.

[84] T'ob-c'i in *A2PC* and *K.Ann.*, loc. cit.; Cobči in *FPYL*, loc. cit. In July 1718 he accompanied Cering Donduk on his visit to bKra-śis-lhun-po, and in May 1720 he was again there; *A2PC*, ff. 285a and 294b. He was killed on the retreat from Tibet with 500 men; Kraft, loc. cit.

[85] C'os-'p'el in *MBTJ*, f. 122a, *A2PC*, ff. 278b and 284a, *K.Ann.*, *loc. cit.*; Coyimbal of the Mongol text translated by W. Heissig in *ZDMG* 1954, p. 407. In February and in June 1719 he was in bKra-śis-lhun-po; *A2PC*, ff. 287a and 290a. In the same year he was reported as crossing the Qara-usu and marching toward Köke-nōr; Haenisch, p. 387.

Sanji [86]. At the same time a smaller division (only 300 men) was sent to the sKu-'bum monastery to get hold of the Li-t'ang boy, whom the Kökenōr princes maintained to be the rightful incarnation of the Sixth Dalai-Lama; the Dsungars intended to enthrone him in Lhasa. But the raid, undertaken with insufficient forces, failed miserably [87].

The Dsungar army defeated Lajang Khan in 'Dam, pressed him back on Lhasa and stormed the city on November 21st, 1717 [88], being aided from the inside by one of the ministers (*γabulun, bka'-blon*) of the Khan, a Qošot called Šakdurjab (P'yag-rdor-skyabs), and by the Tibetan *taiji* rNam-rgyal [89].

As is well known, Lajang Khan was killed during the flight from the Potala, fighting manly to the bitter end. A short account of the destinies of the Qošot royal family will not be amiss at this point.

Lajang had two sons from his wife Jerinraši, who died in 1708 [90]. The elder was the unlucky Galdan Danjin, born about 1691 [91]. The younger was called Surja or Sorja [92]; he was born about 1698 [93]. He was treacherously seized by sDe-pa sTag-rtse-pa and handed over to the Dsungars; they sent him to Ili, where he arrived in July 1718 [94], His wife, who had fled from Lhasa by another route, succeeded in reaching the Manchu outposts in the Tsaidam region, where she gave to the imperial officers an account of the events in Lhasa [95]. Surja remained in Ili [96] and died there

But the rumour was probably false. In the following year he was given the task of stopping Galbi on his march from Yünnan; HAENISCH, p. 404. Possibly in connection with this assignment, in March 1720 he visited again bKra-śis-lhun-po; *A2PC*, f. 294b. But we hear nothing further of the matter, and apparently he retreated without risking a combat. He arrived back in Ili three months after Cering Donduk, i.e. in May 1721; KRAFT, *loc. cit.*

[86] Sańs-rgyas of *A2PC*, f. 284a, and *K.Ann.*, *loc. cit.* The Chinese heard that he had returned to Dsungaria in the 3rd month (April-May) of 1719; Haenisch, p. 392.

[87] Mongol document translated by W. HEISSIG in *ZDMG* 1954, p. 408; DESIDERI, in *MITN*, VI, pp. 49-50.

[88] *CT*, pp. 30-37.

[89] *Bolur toli*, quoted by W. HEISSIG in *ZDMG* 1954, p. 397; HAENISCH, p. 225; *FPYL*, ch. 17, f. 16a.

[90] *MBTJ*, f. 88a. Cf. DOMENICO DA FANO, in *MITN*, III, p. 8.

[91] He was 22 years old in 1713; DOMENICO DA FANO, in *MITN*, III, p. 8.

[92] This is the normal Mongol name; W. HEISSIG, in *ZDMG* 1951, p. 440. The *MBTJ* spells it Surya, which is a pedantic Sanskritized form.

[93] He was 15 in 1713; DOMENICO DA FANO, *loc. cit.*

[94] KRAFT, p. 43.

[95] HAENISCH, 22-226 (= *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 278, ff. 19b-20b).

[96] In 1731 the Dsungars proposed to restore him as the ruler of Tibet; but the attempt was not even made. *CT*, pp. 149-150.

at an unknown date, but certainly before 1743, when funeral rites were held at Lhasa [97]. In 1754 his son Nayaca (d. 1756) was liberated by the Chinese and appointed a *beise*, and shortly afterwards a *fu-kuo kung* [98].

Lajang had from Jerinraši also three daughters, who where still girls in 1713 [99]. They were brought to Ili, and one of them was to be married to Cewang Arabtan's second son Lobjang Šono. But the eldest son Galdan Cering, the future ruler of the Dsungars, helped her to elope and took her as his wife [100].

After the death of Jerinraši, Lajang remained a widower till at least 1713 [101]. In that year or shortly after he married the daughter of K'u-k'ul Erke Taiji, a Toryud descended from Ayuši Khan, who had settled among the Dsungars and thence had come to Tibet [102]. From his new wife he begot a son, Sebten (Ts'e-brtan), who was but a child in 1717; he was seized in the Potala along with his mother and was brought to Ili. He too was liberated by the Chinese in 1755 and settled in Chahar. In 1783 he inherited the title of *fu-kuo kung* from the line of Surja, which had become extinct. He died in his turn in 1784 [103]. The descendants of the last Qošot Khan of Tibet may even now be living in Chahar.

The Qošot tribesmen in Tibet were always few in number, and their power was broken forever in 1717 [104]. None of their kin played a part in Tibetan history after that year. We know very little about their nobility in the times of Dalai and of Lajang Khan, and even less after the end of their rule. We have some names of officials, but they are names only. The state ministers were four in number (as always the *bka'-blon* in Tibet), all of them Qošot; apparently they bore the common Mongol title of *jaisang* [105].

[97] *L7DL*, 303b.

[98] *FPYL*, *piao* 4, f. 3a; cf. ch. 17, f. 26b.

[99] DOMENICO DA FANO, *loc. cit.*

[100] KRAFT, p. 85. Cf. *PSJZ3*, p. 161, an obscure passage which was probably corrupted and misplaced by the copyist.

[101] He was still unmarried in 1713, as expressly stated by DOMENICO DA FANO, in *MITN*, III, p. 8.

[102] *MBTJ*, f. 98b. P'o-lha-nas acted as go-between on that occasion.

[103] *TWC*, ch. 24, ff. 2b-3a; *FPYL*, *piao* 4, f. 3b. Cf. *FPYL*, ch. 17, f. 26b, and *LM*, p. 198.

[104] At the end of 1718 the Dsungar commanders in Tibet received from their ruler the order to arrest and deport to Dsungaria all the former officials of Lajang Khan; no difference was made between Qošot and Tibetans. However, the Pan-c'en succeeded, by dint of serious representations, in obtaining the rescission of the order. *A2PC*, ff. 287a-b and 289-290a.

[105] DOMENICO DA FANO, in *MITN*, III, p. 16. The *MBTJ* employs the rather vague Tibetan term *bka'i-mdun-na-'don*.

One of them was Bu-c'uṅ Ts'e-dbaṅ-rdo-rje, who was a minister of the Qošot rulers already in 1681 [106] and is repeatedly mentioned in the times of Lajang [107]. He remained in Central Tibet after the catastrophe of his clan, and later (perhaps in 1718) he was eliminated by the Dsungars [108]. Another is known by the simple title of Pakṣi [109]. After Lajang Khan's death he took service with the Dsungars, at least in the beginning, and was sent by them to arrest the sMin-grol-gliṅ incarnate [110]. A third prominent official was Tügüs (T'u-gwus or T'u-gu-su) *jaisang*, who had led the led the van of the Qošot army in 1705. He is mentioned by the Paṇ-c'en under the dates of 1707 and 1713 [111], but was already dead in 1717, when his son dPa'-rtul-can Durai Taiji was appointed by Lajang as a sort of inspector of the dBus and Koṅ-po troops during the fighting in 'Dam [112]. We may also mention a Tibetan, the abbot of Byams-pa-gliṅ, who acted as a kind of diplomatic agent in Köke-nōr on behalf of the Qošot rulers of Tibet since at least 1696 [113].

Desideri, on the other hand, has many things to tell us about two Qosŏt noblemen, who are alleged to have played a great role both before and after the death of Lajang. One of them he calls Targum-treêscij, which may perhaps transcribe approximately the Mongol title *terigün taji* (first-class *taji*), the spelling being influenced by the Tibetan *bkra-śis* [114]. He was the chief minister of Lajang already at the time of the strife with Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o, and he was the object, along with the Khan, of the latter's attempted poisoning [115]. After the death of Lajang he fled with Surja, and with him he was seized by sDe-pa sTag-rtse and handed over to the Dsungars [116]. But on their way to Ili the party was attacked by Dondup-zzering (on whom see later), and Targum-treêscij escaped and

[106] *MBTJ*, f. 19a.

[107] *MBTJ*, ff. 80b, 90a and 117a. He may be the same as the Bu-c'uṅ Naṅ-ts'an mentioned in *A2PC*, f. 241a.

[108] *MBTJ*, f.156b.

[109] *MBTJ*, ff. 95b, 117a, 122b. *K.Ann.*, p. 439, seems to take him for a Tibetan.

[110] *MBTJ*, f. 133a-b.

[111] *A2PC* ff. 241b. and 261a.

[112] *MBTJ*, f. 127a.

[113] *MBTJ*, f. 90a; *FPYL*, ch. 10, ff. 6b, 12b. Mentioned in 1707 by *A2PC* , f. 242b.

[114] *MITN*, VII, p. 242. Cf. the name T'er-kun Ju-naṅ T'a'i-ji in *L8DL*, f. 113a.

[115] DESIDERI, *MITN*, V., pp. 189-190; VI, p. 39.

[116] The Mongol document translated by W. HEISSIG in *ZDMG* 1954, p. 405, mentions as companions of Surja only a man and a woman [of the suite] of Dewa Jaisang. Although Desideri's account cannot be reconciled with this statement, there is the possibility of a connection between this otherwise unknown Dewa Jaisang and Targum-treêscij.

took refuge in Western Tibet, where he organized the local resistance against the Dsungars. He caused a Dsungar unit marching to Ili to be treacherously butchered on their way [117].

This account is very consistent in itself, but cannot be reconciled with the Tibetan, Mongol and Chinese authorities, who know of no Qošot minister of this name. Targum-treêscij cannot be identical with Bu-c'uṅ (who remained in Central Tibet and was killed there by the Dsungars) nor with Pakṣi (who took service with the invaders). Above all, he cannot be identified whit K'aṅ-c'en-nas, as it is usually done, because the latter was a Tibetan and not a Qošot, because he would have been mentioned by the Tibetan texts if he had been the chief minister for at least thirteen years, and because we know from Tibetan sources that he was the governor of mṄa'-ris (Western Tibet) before, during and after the war, and thus never fell in the hands of the Dsungars. Desideri has up to now enjoyed complete credit, and rightly so. But in this particular instance I think he concocted a story, starting from an actual basis of fact, such as the poisoning of 1704 and the anti-Dsungar activities of K'aṅ-c'en-nas in 1720. His «Targum-treêscij» does not belong to actual history; and indeed he is never mentioned in the letters and accounts of the Capuchins, who were in Lhasa at the same time as Desideri.

The same can be said of the other main character of the tragedy. The Qošot Ton-drup-zze-ring was in 1716 (according to Desideri) the commander in chief of the Qošot forces [118]. After the fall of Lhasa he was spared by the invaders because he was a Dsungar by birth; but he remained loyal to the family of his dead sovereign. He attacked the Dsungar detachment which was escorting that family to Ili, succeeded in freeing Targum-treêscij, but was killed in an attempt to liberate the queen and the two princes. His Dsungar origin might tempt us to identify him with one Don-grub-ts'e-riṅ, a Qosŏt from Dsungaria mentioned in Chinese texts [119]. But the fact remains that he is unknown to all our Asian authorities, and above all to the *MBTJ*, which mentions several Qosŏt commanders in the war, but never a Don-grub-ts'e-riṅ; there certainly was no commander-in-chief of this name on that occasion. And this second instance too throws serious on the accuracy of Desideri's account of the events of 1717.

[117] DESIDERI, in *MITN*, VI, pp. 64-66.
[118] DESIDERI, in *MITN*, V, p. 184.
[119] *TWC*, ch. 10, f. 24b.

§ 4. The Köke-nōr Qošot and the Seventh Dalai-Lama

Although recognized by the K'ang-hsi emperor, Lajang's puppet Dalai-Lama was not accepted by the Tibetan clergy, who were simply compelled by superior force to tolerate him. Although unworthy, Ts'aṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o had been the rightful Dalai-Lama, and in one of his poems he had darkly hinted that he would be reborn in Eastern Tibet. And when an unfrocked monk had a son born to him at Li-t'aṅ in K'ams (3rd September 1708) and the local people saw in him the marks of the reborn Dalai-Lama, the rumor spread like wildfire to Central Tibet. Lajang at first chose to ignore the affair; he could afford to do so, because his military hold on the country was absolute [120].

Perhaps the matter would have rested there and the boy and his father would have sunk into oblivion, had not the rumor spread also to Köke-nōr. The descendants of Gušri Khan living there had always been rather jealous of their cousins in Tibet; and, possibly prompted also by the Lamas, they saw here a possibility to lower Lajang's exalted position, in spite of Manchu protection. As usual in Lamaist countries, a political intent was clothed in religious garb. In 1712 two of the foremost Köke-nōr princes declared openly that the Li-t'aṅ boy was the reincarnation of the Sixth Dalai-Lama. Their names are given in the Tibetan texts as Čingwang Bātur Taiji and Junwang Galdan Erdeni Jinong [121].

Their identification is easy. Čingwang Bātor Taiji, called Bathor Tacy by the missionaries [122], is Gušri Khan's youngest son Daši Bātur. He was born in 1632 [123], and after the partition (c. 1660), he had succeeded his father as paramount chief (Khan) of the Köke-nōr Qošot [124]; but he played a rather effaced role. In 1697-98 he took the decisive step of accepting the imperial summons and visiting Peking, where he was appointed a *ch'ing-wang* [125]. In 1703 he again had an audience with the emperor at Hsi-an fu [126], thus confirming the final entry of the Qošot in the

[120] *CT*, pp. 16-17.

[121] *L7DL*, f. 17a-b.

[122] A. Giorgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, pp. 332 and 333.

[123] He was 82 when he died; B. Szcześniak, «The description and map of Kansu by Giovanni Battista Maoletti da Serravalle», in *MS* 18 (1959), p. 302.

[124] In *L7DL*, f. 22a, he is given the title of *rgyal-po k'ri-pa*, the same as that enjoyed by the Qošot sovereigns of Tibet.

[125] On *hsin-ssŭ*/I = 15th February, 1698; *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 187, f. 2a. Also *FPYL*, ch. 10, f. 20b; *A6DL*, f. 365a; *K.Ann.*, p. 438.

[126] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 214, f. 5b; *FPYL*, ch. 10, f. 26b.

Manchu political system. On the other side, he had always entertained cordial relations with the Paṇ-c'en, whom he personally visited at bKra-śis-lhun-po in 1674, 1680 and 1690 [127]. In the intervals and after the last visit his envoys very often appeared at the court of the Paṇ-c'en. With the Sixth Dalai-Lama he was much more cautious, and only one mission sent by him is registered in the text, under the date of 1698 [128]; this was in the same year as his visit to Peking, and perhaps it was intended as a sort of counterpoise. Daši Bātur died late in 1714, the emperor sending officials to condole on November 3rd of that year [129].

Junwang Galdan Erdeni Jinong, called Amdomba (A-mdo-ba) by the missionaries [130], is identical [131] with Daičing Qošōči Cayan Danjin (Tsa-gan-bstan-'dzin), the third son of Bošoytu Jinong (d. 1698), who in his turn was a grandson of Gušri Khan. It is a clear that our Tibetan text attributes to the son the titles granted by the Fifth Dalai-Lama to his father on the 30th June, 1678; the full style was Galdan Daičing Bošoytu Erdeni Jinong [132]. Cayan Danjin personally visited the Dalai-Lama in 1700 [133]. He was much honoured by the emperors, becoming in succession a *beile* (1701), a *chün-wang* (1718), a *ch'ing-wang* (1723) and being granted a *jasaq* (1725); he died in 1735 [134]. This imposing series of honours is evidence not so much of his merits than of the prudence with which the Manchu had to handle him. He was always one of the foremost chieftains of his nation; but besides that, his brother Gender had married Büm, a daughter of the great Dsungar ruler Galdan (1676-1697) [135], and this family connnection led obviously to the possibly of Dsungar intrigues. His

[127] *A2PC*, ff. 33a, 43a, 71b, 116b.

[128] *A6DL*, ff. 375a, 384a.

[129] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu* ch. 260, f. 9b.

[130] GIORGI, loc. cit.

[131] The identity is expressly attested in *K.Ann.*, p. 440, and *Hor C'os-byuṅ*, transl. G. Huth. p. 64.

[132] On 12/V(Hor)/Earth-Horse; *A5DL*, Ga, f. 82. The same title occurs in *A6DL*, f. 456b. The particular devotion of Bošoytu Jinong to the Fifth Dalai-Lama is attested in *L7DL*, f. 17b.

[133] *A6DL*, f. 431, where he is called Da'i-ciṅ K'o-śor-c'e.

[134] His biography is in *Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-chêng*, 首 ch. 94. Cf. *TWC*, ch. 17, f. 5a-b; *FPYL*, ch. 10, ff. 23a, 24a, 38b; ch. 11, ff. 2a, 37a; *piao 3*, f. 3b; Pelliot, tab. II, n. 210.

[135] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 174, f. 1b; *FPYL*, ch. 10, f. 35a. After Galdan's flight and death the emperor requested the Köke-nōr princes to hand over the lady. They demurred at first and consented only when the regent of Tibet gave his permission. But in the end the emperor did not press the matter and Büm was not given over; *Galdan*, p. 124.

descendants, the Huang-ho Nan 黃河南 *ch'in-wang*, ruled over the district around the Bla-brań monastery which was their religious and political centre, down to the advent of Communism in China; but in the 19th century they lost their Mongol language and mode of life and became thoroughly Tibetan [136].

The two Qošot princes showed their interest in the wonderful child of Li-t'ań [137]. At this point Lajang had to do something about the matter, and despatched some of his officers there. They declared the child to be a fraud [138].

But the Qošot princes continued to support him, and Lajang eventually sent a couple of other officers to Li-t'ań. Their intentions were only too apparent, and before their arrival the father thought it necessary to remove his son out of danger; on 17th February 1714, they left for sDe-dge (Derge), under the protection of Mongol soldiers [139]. At this point Galdan Erdeni J̌inong convened a meeting of the Qošot chiefs, in which he proposed to make war against Lajang [140]. The princes, however, were loth to go to such an extreme; they only offered hospitality to the boy and his father, and wrote to Peking to obtain the approval of the emperor [141]. This entailed a complicate exchange of messages and messengers between Peking, the Köke-nōr, Lhasa and bKra-śis-lhun-po, on which we need not expatiate here [142]. Against the expostulations of Caγan Danjin and his followers, the emperor decided on 8th May, 1715, that the boy and his father, who in the meantime had reached the Köke-nōr, should be interned for the time being in the Hung-shan 紅山 monastery [143].

The imperial order was badly received by Caγan Danjin and his faction, who applied to the emperor for its rescission [144]. On the other side,

[136] J.F. ROCK, *The Amnye Ma-chhen range and adjacent regions*, Rome 1956, pp. 47-50; also the Chinese text translated there confuse Caγan Danjin with his father.

[137] About that time Caγan Danjin sent a *jaisang* as a permanent resident in Li-t'ang. In 1718 this man was, rightly or wrongly, suspected by the Manchus to have secret intercourse with the Dsungars; HAENISCH, pp. 227-228.

[138] *L7DL*, f. 18a-b.

[139] *L7DL*, f. 20a.

[140] GIORGI, *Op. cit.*, p. 333.

[141] *L7DL*, f. 22a.

[142] See *CT*, p. 18.

[143] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 263, ff. 4b-5b; cf. *L7DL*, f. 24b. The Hung-shan monastery is a small and obscure establishment, 60*li* to the south of Ch'ü-t'an in the Monguor country. It was destroyed by Tibetan nomads in 1519, but was rebuilt later. L.M.J. SCHRAM, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan border*, II, Philadelphia 1957, pp. 21-23.

[144] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu* ch. 265, f. 13a-b.

there was also a party among the princes who advocated submission under the imperial will. It was headed by Sebtenjal (Ts'e-brtan-rgyal), who was not a Qošot at all, but the chief of that branch of the Dsungars who, led by his father Jotba Bātur, had migrated to the Köke-nōr and settled there. He was appointed a *beile* in 1703, a *chün-wang*, in 1724, and received a *jasaq* in 1725 [145]. He died probably in 1730 [146]. In 1692 he had visited the Paṇ-c'en at bKra-śis-lhun-po [147]. In 1707 or 1708 he repeated the pilgrimage; on this occasion he made the acquaintance of a promising Tibetan young man, P'o-lha-nas, the future minister and «king» of Tibet. He brought him to Lhasa and introduced him to Lajang [148], thus starting him on a brilliant career. Other princes belonging to this party were Arabtan Ombu [149], Dayan [150], and Lajang's second son Surja [151].

The ferment mounted so high, that the fear arose that Cayan Danjin would embark upon a military adventure. Lajang, therefore, deemed it advisable to take some preacautions, and sent his eldest son Galdan Danjin with a small force to the Nag-c'u (Qara-usu) region. He was also informed that the men of Hor-k'a-gži in the same district had joined the hostile forces. P'o-lha-nas and Lha-rtse sKyid-sbug-pa, apparently a member of his wife's family [152], were despatched to deal with this new threat. They reached the Qara-usu and went on by forced marches as far as the banks of the Śag-c'u (?) river. There P'o-lha-nas took by complete surprise the Hor-k'a-gži chief Uičing Taji [153], who surrendered without

[145] His biography in *Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-chêng*, 首 ch. 95. Cf. also *TWC*, ch. 17, f. 15a-b; *FPYL*, ch. 10, f. 26b; id., *piao* 3, f. 4a-b; PELLIOT, tab. I, n. 276.

[146] *FPYL*, *piao* 3, f. 4b, places his death in 1731, but the news of his decease was received by the Paṇ-c'en on the 3rd day of the 4th month of 1730; *A2PC*, f. 385a.

[147] *A2PC*, ff. 127 and 129a.

[148] *MBTJ*, ff. 80a-81a.

[149] Arabtan Ombu (Rab-brtan-dpon-po) was a cousin of Lajang, being the son of Očir Khan's fourth son Püngsük. Little is known about him. In 1723, having joined the rebellion of Lobjang Danjin, he fell in the hands of the imperialists and was put to death; *FPYL*, ch. 11, ff. 8b-9a. PELLIOT, tab. II, n. 183.

[150] Dayan was a son of Secen Mergen Taiji (d. after 1696), and thus a grandson of Gušri Khan's sixth son Dalai Bātur. He had been slandered by Daši Bātur and had been exiled to Peking; now in 1716 he was pardoned and sent back to Köke-nōr; *FPYL*, ch. 10, f. 33b. He was appointed a *beile* in 1716 and died in 1718; *FPYL*, ch. 10, f. 34b; id., *piao* 3, f. 5b. Cf. *TWC*, ch. 17, f. 6a-b; PELLIOT, tab. II, n. 213.

[151] *FPYL*, ch. 10 ff. 31b-32a.

[152] About 1707 P'o-lha-nas had married dPal-bzaṅ-skyid, a girl belonging to the sKyid-sbug family; *MBTJ*, ff. 71b-76a.

[153] This might be the same as the Uičing Taiji who was the elder brother of Nag-

striking a blow. On his return to Lhasa, P'o-lha-nas was thanked and richly rewarded by Lajang [154].

But no war broke out, neither between Lajang and his Köke-nōr relatives nor between the two Köke-nōr factions. The emperor, apprehending a conflict, took serious military measures, mobilizing 1000 Manchu bannermen of Hsi-an fu and 3000 other troops (14th January, 1716) [155]. This threat, coupled with a peace mission sent by the Paṇ-c'en [156], caused Caγan Danjin to see reason. He yielded, and as a compensation the Li-t'aṅ incarnate was allowed to settle in the great monastery of sKu-'bum (T'a-êrh of the Chinese), the birth place of Tsoṅ-k'a-pa; the order was received on 18th April, 1716, and carried out in August. At the same time the two wings of the Köke-nōr Qošot were reorganized, the left one being placed under the command of Caγan Danjin, Lobjang Danjin (Daši Bātur's son and successor) and Dayan [157], and the right under Erdeni Erke Toqtonai [158] and Arabtan Ombu; thus a balance was struck between, the two opposite factions, and the assistant secretary Padma was sent to put into effect these arrangements [159]. The imperial troops were recalled [160].

dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mts'an, the Caγan Nomun Qān of sTon'-'k'or; K. SAGASTER, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[154] *MBTJ*, ff. 90a-92a.

[155] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 266, ff. 17a-18a.

[156] *A2PC*, ff. 274b-275a.

[157] To be more precise: Caγan Danjin ruled the clans to the East, and Lobjang Danjin those to the West of the Huang-ho; *FPYL*, ch. 11 f. 3a. This distribution is reflected in the Jesuit map of the Köke-nōr region, based on the survey carried out between 1714 and 1717. In W. FUCHS, *Der Jesuitenatlas der K'anghsi-Zeit*, Peking 1943, sheet 9, the camp of Caγan Danjin is marked about 100°50′ lat. N. (modern coordinates), to the North of the Huang-ho and to the East of Arurardja, in the region now called Go-śub-t'aṅ. The camp of Lojang Danjin is marked about 100°20′ long. E, 35°50′ lat. N. to the North of the bend of the Huang-ho. Dayan was camped about 98°50′ long. E, 37° lat. N, in the neighbourhood of Dulan-kitt to the West of the Köke-nōr. We may note here that Lobjang Danjin's clan was dispersed after his rebellion; but the areas inhabited about 1715 by Caγan Danjin and Dayan still represent two enclaves of Qošot population in a region which in the meantime has become almost entirely Tibetan; A. HERRMANN, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, Cambridge Mass. 1935, sh. 67.

[158] Erdeni Erke Toqtonai was, as already shown, a son of Gümbü and a grandson of Gušri Khan's third son Dalantai. He inherited the rank of *beile* in 1705, was promoted to *chün-wang* in 1723, was granted a *jasaq* in 1725 and died in 1749. *TWC*, ch. 17, f. 2a-b; *FPYL*, ch. 11, f. 2a; id., *piao* 3, f. 5a-b.

[159] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 268, ff. 4b-5b; *FPYL*, ch. 10, f. 33a; cf. *K.Ann.*, p. 439.

[160] *Shêng-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 268, f. 5b.

This uneasy situation [161] did not last for long. It was radically changed by the Dsungar invasion of Tibet and the catastrophe of Lajang Khan. The emperor, relieved of any regard felt to be due to a faithful ally, saw his advantage in recognizing as the rightful Dalai-Lama the Li-t'aṅ boy, who was securely in his hands. The more so, as the Dsungars very imprudently had deposed Lajang's puppet without having first secured the person of the Li-t'aṅ incarnate. Thus at the same stroke the K'ang-hsi emperor obtained the enthusiastic support of Cayan Danjin and his faction, who saw their aims fulfilled with the emperor's recognition of the new Dalai-Lama; they also had to avenge the destruction of their kinsmen in Tibet, even if there had been no love lost between them. For once, the Köke-nōr Qošot were unanimous in their support of the Manchu emperor and his politics.

An advance imperial division under Erentei and Sereng, rashly committed to an advance too far from their bases, was wiped out by the Dsungars (1718). This compelled the K'ang-hsi emperor to organize a large-scale expedition. The southern army, commanded by Galbi, which started from Szechwan and eventually was the first to reach Lhasa (so to say from the back door), was composed of Manchu and Chinese only. The main northern army commanded by Yansin, who was to escort the new Dalai-Lama and on whom fell the brunt of the fighting, was not only stronger, but was accompanied by the commander-in-chief prince Yün-t'i, the 14th son of the emperor. Its bulk consisted of the contingents of the Köke-nōr and other Mongol princes, with a stiffening of Manchu bannermen. Thus the expedition became a national enterprise of the Köke-nōr Qošot and, because of its religious implications, of the Mongols at large [162].

Cayan Danjin reaped the benefits of his submission. He was invited to Peking, where he was highly honoured and promoted to *chün-wang* (1718) [163].

We need not be surprised that after the occupation of Lhasa the first provisional government of Tibet set up by the imperialists was largely composed of Mongol princes, some of whom remained in the country as commanders of the occupation troops even after a purely Tibetan government was installed in 1721.

[161] As late as October 1717, when the news of the advance of the Dsungar army reached Peking, the emperor was at first afraid that Lajang would join the invaders to attack Cayan Danjin, and he took his measures accordingly; HAENISCH, p. 213.

[162] The list of the Mongol princes participating is found in *K.Ann.*, pp. 440-441.

[163] *FPYL*, ch. 10, f. 38b.

According to a Tibetan text, this military government of 1720 consisted of two Qalqa princes (Ts'e-dbaṅ-nor-bu and Don-grub), two Köke-nōr Qošot princes (bsTan-'dzin and E-spos Ba'i-li) and two Tibetan noblemen (Na-p'od-pa and Lum-pa-nas) [164]. We are giving below the personalia of the four Mongol princes, who played a not inconsiderable role in a delicate moment of Tibetan history.

Cewang Norbu, an adopted son of Todo Erdeni of the Qalqa after the latter's direct offspring had become extinct, was enfeoffed in 1712 as a *chên-kuo kung* in the Sain Noyan division. At the beginning of the war he was stationed at Gas, and later he was sent to Hsi-ning with Hsi-an troops. He led 600 Köke-nōr Mongols to Lhasa, where he remained till he was recalled to Peking in 1723. But before he could arrive there, he was ordered to march against the rebel Lobjang Danjin. In 1724 at last he came to the capital and was promoted *beise* as a reward for his faithful services. He died in 1732 [165].

Dondup Dorji (Don-grub-rdo-rje), son of Galdan Dorji of the Qalqa, inherited in 1692 from his father the title of *chün-wang*. Upon the death of his grandfather Cayun Dorji (1699) he was in the following year promoted to *ch'in-wang*, and Khan of the Tušētu division. In 1702 he lost this dignity and was reduced to his original rank. He took part in the Tibetan campaign and was recalled from Lhasa in 1721, after which he was reinstated as *ch'in-wang* and Khan (1723). He died in 1743 [166]. The third rJe-btsun Dam-pa or Maidari Qutuqtu (1725-1771) was his son [167].

Lobjang Danjin (Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-'dzin) was the son of Daši Bātur. He was born in 1692 [168], and in 1714 inherited his father's title of *chün-wang*. He showed himself a loyal supporter of the Manchu when the Dsungars invaded Tibet and took part in the campaign, leaving Lhasa at an unspecified date, but most probably in 1721. In 1723 he rebelled, but was soon defeated and barely escaped with his life, taking refuge in Dsungaria (1724). When the Dsungars kingdom collapsed, he was taken prisoner (1755), brought to Peking, offered as a victim to the temple of the Yung-chêng emperor, but pardoned and allowed to settle in Inner Mon-

[164] *LM*, p. 180.

[165] *FPYL*, ch. 4, ff. 19a, 20a, 21b; id., ch. 10, ff. 37a, 43a; id., *piao* 2, f. 33a; HAENISCH, pp. 218, 222-224, 395, 422, 423.

[166] *FPYL*, *piao* 2, ff. 1a-b, 2b-3a; *LM*, p. 180.

[167] *K.Ann.*, p. 441.

[168] He was 22 when his father died in 1714; B. SZCZEŚNIAK, *loc. cit.*

golia [169]. In 1762 he was still alive, because in that year the princes of Köke-nōr petitioned the emperor to give him back his old pastures in that region; the request was granted, the borders beign carefully defined [170]. His two sons Bayan and Cayan Ebügen became officers (*shih-wei* 侍衛) in the imperial bodyguard [171].

Aboo, called E-p'u (or E-bus) Beile Bātur Jo-nan in Tibetan texts, was the third son of Bātur Erke Jinong Qoroli (d. 1709), a grandson of Gušri Khan, who after a long diplomatic struggle between Sans-rgyas-rgya-mts'o and the K'ang-hsi emperor had left Köke-nōr and settled in Alashan (1686) [172]. He was given in 1704 the rank of imperial brother-in-law, *hošo efu*, with rights of inheritance. In 1709 he suceeded his father as *beile*. He held a command on the Dsungar frontier and in 1720 came back to Köke-nōr, from where he was ordered to Tibet with 600 men. He was recalled in 1723 and fought in the last stages of the campaign against Lobjang Danjin. As he was a personal enemy of general Nien Kêng-yao 年羹堯 [173], the latter's disgrace contributed to his fortune. In 1724 he came to court and was promoted to *chün-wang*, but in 1729 was degraded to *beile*, banished from Köke-nōr and confined in Alashan. He was given back the rank of *chün-wang* in 1732 and died in 1739 [174].

This short-lived dominance of the Mongol princes in Tibet was much weakened by the creation of the Tibetan council of government in 1721 and by the withdrawal of the imperial garrison, due to the retrenchment policy of the new Yung-chêng emperor. Then came Lobjang Danjin's rebellion (1723-1724), which marked a most important turn in the history of Köke-nōr [175]. One of the causes of the revolt was Lobjang Danjin's frus-

[169] *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, ch. 489, ff. 19a, 28a-b; cf. ch. 491, ff. 4b-5a, 11b-12a; *FPYL*, ch. 12, ff. 17b-18a; PELLIOT, p. 20. For his action during the Dsungar invasion of Tibet see HAENISCH, pp. 214-216. It is difficult to obtain correct information about Lobjang Danjin because, as a rebel, he has neither a biography nor a proper entry in the relevant Chinese texts. There is only a short and vague biographical sketch in the *Chung-kuo jên-ming ta-t'zŭ-tien*, p. 1746a.

[170] *FPYL*, ch. 13, f. 24a; this document is not included in the *Shih-lu*.

[171] *TWC*, ch. 17, ff. 1b-2a.

[172] *TWC*, ch.17, f. 16a-b. Cf. *L7DL*, f. 65a; *K.Ann.*, pp. 430 and 441; PELLIOT, Tab. 11, n. 112.

[173] On whom see A.W. HUMMEL (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*, Washington 1943-44, pp. 587-590.

[174] *FPYL*, ch. 10, ff. 27a, 28a, 40a, 43a; ch. 11, ff. 14b, 15a, 21b-23a; id., *piao* 3, f. 1a-b; HAENISCH, pp. 396 and 398.

[175] L.M.J. SCHRAM, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 35-36; id., III, Philadelphia 1961, pp. 58-60; et passim.

trated ambition to be placed in some form at the head of the Tibetan government [176]. His rash and badly prepared rebellion meant the final break with his former associate Caγan Danjin, who remained loyal. But from a wider angle, we may observe that the Qošot never recovered from the aftermath of the devastation and massacres perpetrated by the imperial troops of Nien Kêng-yao. Their autonomy was severely restricted when direct imperial administration was established in Köke-nōr in 1725 with the creation of the prefecture (*fu*) of Hsi-ning. Not only they gradually lost the greater part of their pastures, which were occupied by Tibetan nomads, being thus deprived of their economic foundation; but they were never fully trusted again by the imperial government, and their political and military importance diminished rapidly. It vanished completely when in 1754-57 the Dsungar kingdom and nation were destroyed, and Köke-nōr ceased forever to be an important military frontier. The Qošot princes sank into insignificance. After the revolt of Lobjang Danjin they ceased to play a role in Tibetan history as well, and the only mention of them in Tibetan texts is when they came in pilgrimage or sent presents to the Dalai-Lama or the Paṇ-c'en Rin-po-c'e.

§ 5. The Tibetan rising against the Dsungars

The rule of Cering Dondub's occupation army and of their Tibetan puppet sTag-rtse-pa Lha-rgyal-rab-brtan was unadulterated tyranny and oppression. Its main feature was a violent persecution of the Red sects, which was inspired or prompted by Blo-bzaṅ-p'un-ts'ogs, the abbot of the sGo-maṅs college in 'Bras-spuṅs [177]. To the many instances already known [178], we may add the sack of the main centre of the rÑiṅ-ma-pa sect, the rDo-rje-brag monastery; its incarnate abbot, who was also the chief lama (Bla-c'en) of that sect, was killed [179]. But the attack against gŽis-ka-rtse mentioned by Desideri [180] is ignored by all the Tibetan sources and may be another instance of Desideri's several inaccuracies about this period.

[176] *FPYL*, ch. 11, f. 3b.

[177] *K.Ann.*, p. 440.

[178] *CT*, p. 44.

[179] *K.Ann.*, p. 441. Also the Mongol document translated by W. Heissig in *ZDMG* 1954, p. 405.

[180] Desideri, in *MITN*, VI, p. 22.

A re-appraisal of the avaible evidence about the Tibetan risings against the Dsungars also tends to throw grave doubts on Desideri's accuracy and to reduce the role of P'o-lha-nas to a level even lower than what I believed in the past [181].

The career of P'o-lha-nas during those hectic years is interesting, but betrays neither boldness nor consistency of behaviour nor even strength of character. Although he was imprisoned and flogged by the Dsungars, he soon rallied to sTag-rtse-pa's puppet government. After all, so did many other Tibetan officers of Lajang, foremost among whom his old friend bKra-śis-rtse-pa, who became one of the leading figures in the new regime [182].

P'o-lha-nas remained on good terms with sTag-rtse-pa and even started to accompany him in his visit to bKra-śis-lhun-po (January-February 1719) [183]. But at gŽis-ka-rtse he pleaded ill health and applied for an appointment as official (*sne-mo las-'dzin*) in the gÑa'-naṅ district on the Nepalese border; the request was granted. After having made his preparations for the journey, he started in the company of the Bon-groṅ-pa brothers, the youngest of whom was his old friend [Bon-rigs] Ṅag-dbaṅ-bde-c'en, who had helped him during his imprisonment; later he seems to have been a magistrate in Lhasa [184]. P'o-lha-nas went first to bKra-śis-lhun-po, where he payed his respects to the Paṇ-c'en. Then he passed through his old fief of Rin-c'en-rtse, now held by bKra-śis-rtse-pa, and reached the end of his journey at Śel-dkar (Shekar dzong of the maps) [185], which was to be his official residence. Here he was greeted by the local magistrates, one of whom was a son of bKra-śis-rtse-pa. He took up his duties in gÑa'-naṅ, while his uncle dGra-'dul, to whom he was fondly at-

[181] For this period see *CT*, pp. 46-54.

[182] bKra-śis-rtse-pa was an official of the Paṇ-c'en; as such, he appears for the first time in 1693; *A2PC*, f. 135b. In 1706 he commanded the troops of the Ñaṅ district in gTsaṅ; *MBTJ*, f. 57b. At the time of the storming of Lhasa (November 1717) he played a highly suspect game; *CT*, pp. 37-39. He rallied the Dsungars at once and was sent by sTag-rtse-pa to occupy the castle of Rin-c'en-rtse, which had been confiscated to P'o-lha-nas; *MBTJ*, f. 142a. On that occasion or soon after he was appointed a minister (*bka'-blon*) in the puppet government, and with this title he appears frequently in the memoirs of the Paṇ-c'en, for the first time at the end of 1718; *A2PC*, f. 287a. This appointment was to cost him dear. At the end of 1720 he was sentenced to death by the Manchu and beheaded together with sTag-rtse-pa, in spite of the attempts of the Paṇ-c'en to save his life; *CT*, pp. 63-64.

[183] *A2PC*, ff. 286b-288a.

[184] *CT*, pp. 39, 98, 126, 132.

[185] WYLIE, pp. 66, 133.

tached and to whose advice he always listened, went to Nepal, probably on pilgrimage to the Buddhist shrines there [186].

Up to this point P'o-lha-nas had behaved more or less like a faithful official of the Lhasa government and of the Dsungars generals. Now, in this out-of-the-way place, where he was practically outside the reach of the scanty Dsungar occupation army, his outlook changed. The welcome of the country people had been so cordial and he had found such a ready support, that he now began thinking of an armed rising against the Dsungars. These ideas came to a rapid maturation, when P'o-lha-nas heard of the actions of K'an-c'en-nas in nearby mÑa'-ris. He sent him a letter by a trusted officer, informing him of the situation in gÑa'-nan and proposing a concerted open revolt [187]. Whether Chinese intrigue had a hand in this is difficult to say; but the fact remains that imperial envoys arrived at bKra-śis-lhun-po in the 2nd month of 1719, and two messengers of the Li-t'an incarnate left sKu-'bum for the same destination in the 3rd month [188]. Another fact that perhaps contributed to shaping P'o-lha-nas' decision, was the death of his uncle dGra-'dul, which happened at mÑa'-ris rDzoń-dkar about that time [189]. A restraining element of prudence may have disappeared with him.

The rest of the tale has been told in *CT*, pp. 52-54. The chronology of these events is very vague, but I still remain under the impression that the actual revolt started only in the spring of 1720, possibly aided by the withdrawal of the Dsungar forces in Southern Tibet in order to concentrate against the imperial army advancing from the north; it achieved little or nothing beyond seizing a country bare of occupation troops, and did not influence the main course of the events, which was decided solely by the Manchu-Mongol-Chinese armies of Galbi and of Yansin.

[186] *MBTJ*, ff. 159a-163b.

[187] *MBTJ*, ff. 166b-167a.

[188] *CT*, pp. 51 and 58. The two fact are to be kept apart, because of evident chronological reasons.

[189] *MBTJ*, ff. 167a-168b.

LA «DESCRIPTION DES PAYS D'OCCIDENT» DE CHE TAO-NGAN

Che Tao-ngan 釋道安 (1312-385) est un des plus éminents personnages des premiers siècles du bouddhisme chinois, comme traducteur et comme organisateur de la communauté monastique [1]. On sait depuis longtemps qu'il fut aussi l'auteur d'une courte «Description des Pays d'Occident», le *Si-yu-tche* 西域志, en un *kiuan* [2]. Elle est maintenant perdue, à l'exception de quelques passages reproduits surtout dans le *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*. Mais leur nombre devient beaucoup plus considérable si l'on accepte l'identité du *Che Tao-ngan Si-yu-tche* 釋道安西域志 avec le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* 釋氏西域記, dont le *Chouei-king-tchou* 水經注 de Li Tao-yuan 酈道元 († 527) a conservé plusieurs fragments.

L'identification fut proposée pour la première fois en 1905 par Yang Cheou-king 楊守敬 (1839-1915) [3]. Elle a été acceptée généralement, même par Tcheng Tö-k'ouen 鄭德坤 dans sa préface à l'index du *Chouei-king-tchou* [4], et il parait qu'elle ne rencontre plus d'opposition en

[1] Sa vie dans le *Kao-seng-tchouan* a été traduite par A.E. LINK, «Biography of Shih Tao-an», *T'oung Pao*, XLVI (1958), 1-42. Une bonne étude de caractère général est celle de H. Ui 宇井伯壽, *Shaku Dōan no kenkyū* 釋道安の研究, Tokyo, 1956. On peut aussi trouver les donneés essentielles dans E. ZÜRCHER, *The Buddhist conquest of China*, Leiden, 1959, 184-204.

[2] Elle est mentionnée dans les listes des ouvrages de Che Tao-ngan dans le *Tch'ou-san-tsang ki-tsi* 出三藏記集, T. 2145, 40*a*, et le *Li-tai san-pao ki* 歷代三寶紀, T. 2034, 76*b*; aussi dans la bibliographie sur les Pays d'Occident dans le *T'ong-tien*, 191, 1029*a*. Voir aussi E. CHAVANNES, «Le voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra», *BEFEO*, III (1903), 430; H.UI, *op. cit.*, 55, 59. On peut penser qu'elle est identique à un ouvrage de Che Tao-ngan, le *Sseu-hai-po-tch'ouan chouei-yuan ki* 四海百川水源記 en un *kiuan*, cité par le *Souei-chou*, 33, 22*b*, et le *T'ang-chou*, 58, 18*b* (édition Po-na-pen), car les fragments du *Si-yu-tche* cités par le *Chouei-king-tchou* contiennent aussi une qualité considérable de matériaux hydrographiques.

[3] Voir maintenant son grand ouvrage posthume *Chouei-king-tchou chou*, Pékin, 1955, 1, 10*a-b*.

[4] CHÊNG TÊ-K'UN, *Index to the Water Classic*, Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series, XII, Pékin, 1934, XX, n. 45.

Chine et au Japon. La seule preuve formelle serait une comparaison des fragments; mais la chance a voulu qu'aucun texte de l'un ne traite du même sujet géographique qu'un texte de l'autre. Il y a seulement quelques coïncidences partielles; mais il s'agit de trop peu de mots pour qu'on puisse en tirer des conclusions.

La seule objection sérieuse à l'identification a été élevée par Pelliot. Il observa que le nom de Koutcha est écrit Kiu-yi 拘夷 dans le *Che Tao-ngan Si-yu-tche*, et K'iu-ts'eu 屈茨 dans le *Che-che Si-yu-ki*, ce qui paraît exclure l'identité des deux textes. Cependant Pelliot lui-même montra que cette difficulté n'est pas insurmontable. On sait que le *T'ai-p'ing yu-lan* emprunte la plupart de ses citations pour la période plus ancienne non pas à des ouvrages originaux, mais à des encyclopédies perdues du VI^e^ siècle [5]. Il se peut que des confusions se soient produites pendant la transmission, le *T'ai-p'ing yu-lan* attribuant à Che Tao-ngan un texte qui en réalité est pris du *Yi-yuan* 異苑, de la seconde moitié du V^e^ siècle. Cela eliminerait la discordance [6].

Dans l'ensemble, je ne crois pas que les arguments contraires soient assez forts pour ruiner la présomption d'identité. Naturellement, des découvertes futures pourront nous amener à changer d'opinion. Mais à présent il me semble permis de considérer les deux «Descriptions des Pays d'Occident» comme un seul ouvrage.

Je n'ai pas besoin de justifier une collection de ces fragments. Ils sont plus anciens que Fa-hien et prennent leur place parmi les tout premiers témoignages chinois sur l'Inde bouddhique. D'autre part, n'oublions pas que Che Tao-ngan n'alla pas aux Indes lui-même. C'est une compilation de seconde main, dont le renommée n'était pas des meilleures. Tou Yeou 杜佑 rapporte que c'est une tradition suspecte et un tissu d'histoires fabuleuses, indigne d'être utilisé dans le texte même de

[5] P. PELLIOT, «Quelques textes chinois concernant l'Indochine hindouisée», *Études asiatiques EFEO*, Paris, 1925, II, 244-245, a déduit cette dépendance de la comparaison avec des fragments retrouvés à Touen-houang et attribués par leur éditeur Lo Tchen-yu au *Sieou-wen-tien yu-lan* 修文殿御覽 de 572. La plupart d'entre eux se retrouve, avec beaucoup d'altérations, dans le chapitre 916 du *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*. On sait que W. HUNG, «The so-called *Hsiu-wen-tien-yü-lan*», *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, XII (1932), 2499-2558, a proposé d'attribuer ces fragments plutôt au *Houa-lin-p'ien-lio* 華林遍略 de 516-523; quoi qu'il en soit, la dérivation d'une encyclopédie du VI^e^ siècle demeure un fait acquis. Je profite de cette occasion pour remercier M. Demiéville de m'avoir envoyé le microfilm de l'édition de Lo Tchen-yu et d'avoir attiré mon attention sur l'article de W. Hung.

[6] P. PELLIOT, «Tokharien et koutchéen», *JA*, 1934, I, 76-77 *n*. Dans ses *Notes on Marco Polo*, II, Paris, 1963, 697, Pelliot accepte l'identification sans autre remarque.

son livre; c'est pourquoi il en cite des passages seulement dans le commentaire [7].

Che Tao-ngan se fonde surtout sur les informations et les légendes apportées en Chine par les traducteurs indiens et sérindiens pendant les premiers siècles de notre ère. Il en résulte que son système de transcription des noms étrangers remonte à des intermédiaires d'Asie Centrale, comme il était de règle chez les traducteurs chinois plus anciens [8].

Les fragments se suivront ci-dessous dans un ordre à peu près géographique, suivant la route normale allant de la Chine au Gandhāra et aux lieux saints du bouddhisme dans la plaine gangétique par l'Asie Centrale, un peu sur le modèle de Fa-hien [9].

Il nous reste aussi quelques fragments de deux ouvrages qui révèlent des points de contact avec Che Tao-ngan: le *Si-yu tchou-kouo-tche* 西域諸國志 et le *Fo-t'ou-t'iao-tchouan* 佛圖調傳. Je montrerai qu'il semble s'agir du même texte, qu'il remonte à la première moitié du IV[e] siècle et qu'il représente une des sources de Che Tao-ngan. Ces fragments seront donnés en appendice.

Texte I [10]. Le *Si-yu-tche* de Che Tao-ngan dit qu'au Nord du royaume de Kiu-yi 拘夷, à plus de cent *li* en venant de la ville, il y a sur une montagne un chameau de pierre qui urine; l'urine s'écoule en bas. Si on essaie de la recueillir avec des pots d'or, de cuivre, der fer, et même de bois, ou avec le creux des mains, tout s'écoule au-dehors. Si on l'avale, le corps humain émet une odeur et tous les poils tombent. On obtient ainsi la concentration (*tche* 止 ; *śamathā*) [11]. Ce royaume a des Brahmanes qui le surveillent et le gardent.

Comme nous venons de le dire, ce conte peut être copié d'un passage du *Yi-yuan*, qui reporte ceci: «Sur une montagne du royaume de Keou-yi 荷夷, *alias* Kiu-yi 拘夷, dans les Pays d'Occident, il y a un chameau de pierre. Il émet de l'eau au-dessous de son ventre. Si l'on tâche de la re-

[7] *T'ong-tien*, 193, 1040*c* (édition *Che-t'ong* de la Commercial Press).

[8] Sur ces transcriptions, voir E. ZÜRCHER, *The Buddhist conquest of China*, 39-40. C'est un sujet qui mériterait toute une monographie.

[9] Une partie des fragments du *Chouei-king-tchou* (textes 14, 16-25, 28, 30-32, 37, 40) ont été déjà traduits et commentés dans mon *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, Rome, 1950.

[10] *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 797, 8*b* (édition des Song reproduite par le *Tchong-houa-chou-kiu*, Pékin, 1960).

[11] *Tche* paraît être substitué à *sien*, que donnent les textes parallèles du *Yi-yuan* et du *Yeou-yang-tsa-tsou*.

cevoir dans de l'or ou du fer or même dans les mains, elle coule au travers. Mais, si on la recueille avec des calebasses ou des cannes, on peut la garder. Si on la boit, le corps humain devient odoriférant et pur, et l'on s'élève ainsi au (rang d'un) Immortel (*sien* 仙). Les mystères divins de ce royaume sont innombrables» [12]. La différence fondamentale, c'est ici le fait que l'eau du chameau de pierre a des fonctions purificatrices et non pas souillantes comme dans le *T'ai-p'ing yu-lan*.

Un autre version du même conte se trouve dans le *Yeou-yang-tsa-tsou* 酉陽雜俎: «Sur une montagne du Nord de Kiu-yi il y a un chameau qui urine. L'urine s'écoule en bas. Si on essaie de la prendre avec des vases d'or, d'argent, de cuivre, de fer, même de bois, etc., elle coule au travers. Si on la prend dans le creux de la main, elle s'écoule aussi. C'est seulement à travers des gourdes qu'elle ne passe pas. Si on l'avale, elle donne une odeur au corps humain et les poils tombent. Ainsi on s'élève au (rang d'un) Immortel (*sien*). Cité du *Louen-heng*» [13].

Ce *Louen-heng* n'est certainement pas le fameux ouvrage de Wang Tch'ong 王充 (27-97 ap J.-C.). Il pourrait s'agir d'une texte taoïste, quoiqu'il paraît bien qu'on ne retrouve pas de *Louen-heng* dans le *Tao-tsang*.

Les relations entre ces trois textes semblent être à peu près les suivantes: il existait une légende (taoïste?) concernant les montagnes situées derrière Kiu-yi, qui est probablement, mais pas certainement, Koutcha. Elle est conservée dans le *Yi-yuan* et, dans une forme quelque peu divergente, dans un *Louen-heng* perdu que cite le *Yeou-yang-tsa-tsou*. Le *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, on bien l'encyclopédie perdue qu'il copie, lui prête une teinte bouddhiste et l'attribue à Che Tao-ngan.

Texte 2 [14]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-chi* dit qu'à 200 *li* au Nord de K'iuts'eu 屈茨 (Koutcha), il y a une montagne. Pendant la nuit à l'ordinaire elle émet le lumière d'un feu; parellèlement, pendant le jour elle fume seulement. Le peuple excave du charbon de cette montagne et fond

[12] *Yi-yuan*, 2, 3, *b*-4*a* (édition du Tsin-tai-pi-chou). Sur le *Yi-yuan*, du deuxième quart du V^e^ siècle, voir P. Pelliot, *Études asiatiques*, II, 254. Ce passage a été aussi traduit par S. Lévi, «Le tokharien B langue de Koutcha», *JA*, 1913, 2, 340.

[13] *Yeou-yang-tsa-tsou*, 10, 7 *b* (édition Sseu-pou-ts'ong-k'an). Sur cet ouvrage de c. 860, voir P. Pelliot, «Autour d'une traduction sanskrite du *Tao-tö-king*», *T'oung Pao*, XIII (1912), 373-375; R. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée*, I, Leiden, 1947, CVI-CVI; J.J.L. Duyvendak, *T'oung Pao*, XXXVIII (1948), 296-297.

[14] *Chouei-king-tchou* 2, 9 *b* (édition Sseu-pou-ts'ong-k'an). Cf. S. Lévi, «Le tokharien B langue de Koutcha», 347.

le fer de cette montagne. Normalement il suffit aux besoins des trente-six royaumes [de l'Asie Centrale].

Il s'agit de la Montagne Blanche (白山) à 170 *li* au Nord de Koutcha [15]. Le *Souei-si-yu-t'ou* 隋西域圖, c'est-à-dire le *Si-yu-t'ou-ki* 西域圖記 de P'ei Kiu 裴矩, «parle de la Montagne Blanche, autrement dite mont A-kie 阿羯; il y a constamment du feu et aussi de la fumée; ainsi, c'est un endroit d'où on extrait le sel ammoniac» [16].

Le Montagne Blanche n'est pas limitée à la région de Koutcha. Déjà sous les Han on trouve des Monts Blancs près de P'ou-lei 蒲類 (Barkoul) et le commentaire au *Heou Han-chou* cite le *Si-ho kieou-che* 西河舊事 selon lequel les Hiong-nou les appellent T'ien-chan et ils sont à 100 *li* du lac de Barkoul [17]. D'autres Monts Blancs étaient au pays de Kiu-che 車師 (Tourfan) [18]. Plus tard on trouve des Monts Blancs à 70 *li* au Nord de Karachahr [19] et à quelque 100 *li* au Nord de Kachgar [20]. Il semble bien que pendant les dix premiers siècles de notre ère, «Monts Blancs» était un nom général du T'ien-chan.

Le nom A-kie (*·â-kiät*) [21] a été expliqué par le turc Aq-tagh, «mont blanc», le Ektag de Ménandre [22]. Cependant, l'équivalence phonétique n'est pas bonne; l'original doit être quelque chose comme **akar*, et je crois qu'il faut plutôt songer à une connexion avec le koutchéen *arkwi-*, «blanc», avec métathèse.

Les deux textes sont à peu près parallèles, avec cette différence que le *Souei-si-yu-t'ou* substitue le sel ammoniac au fer. Or, précisément, les montagnes de Koutcha ont toujours été fameuses pour la production du sel ammoniac [23]. Cette description trouve un parallèle très curieux dans des

[15] *Tcheou-chou*, 50, 13 *b*; *Souei-chou*, 83, 11 *a*. Le *T'ong-tien*, 1031 *b*, donne la distance de 200 *li*.

[16] Ap. *T'ong-tien*, 191, 1031 *b*.

[17] *Heou Han-chou*, 77, 14 *b*.

[18] *Heou Han-chou*, 49, 16 *b*. E. CHAVANNES, «Les Pays d'Occident d'après de *Heou Han-chou*», *T'oung Pao*, VIII (1907), 222.

[19] *Tcheou-chou*, 50, 12 *b* (où la distance est donnée par erreur comme 7.000 *li*); *Souei-chou*, 83, 10 *b*.

[20] *Souei-chou*, 83, 11*a*.

[21] Sur la prononciation 羯, qui manque chez Karlgren, voir H. W. Bailey, «Gandhārī», *BSOAS*, XI (1946), 790. Le *T'ang-chou*, 221 A, 9 *a*, a la variante A-kie-t'ien 阿𠯿田, qui paraît fautive.

[22] Discussion par E. CHAVANNES, *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, Saint Pétersbourg, 1900, 237.

[23] Les textes chinois concernant le sel ammoniac du T'ien-chan ont été groupés par H. MATSUDA, *Kodai Tensan no rekishi chirigaku no kenkyū*, 2ª éd. Tokyo, 1969, 399-413.

textes arabes de Xe et XIe siècles, qui parlent aussi du sel ammoniac en remarquant qu'on voit le feu pendant la nuit et la fumée pendant le jour [24]; ils se réfèrent cependant aux monts de la Sogdiane, fort loin de Koutcha.

Texte 3 [25]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit qu'à à 40 *li* au Nord du royaume de Koutcha il y a un temple appelé le «Grand [sanctuaire] pur Ts'iao-li 焦離».

Pelliot a étudié ce nom, ses relations avec le temple Ts'iao-li de Peshawar, sa localisation et son étymologie dans des pages qui restent un modèle de discussion philologique. Il a montré que le koutchéen que transcrivent Ts'iao-li et les formes analogues doit être quelque chose comme **čäküri*, signifiant «tour de garde» et «flèche de *stūpa*» [26].

Texte 4 [27]. Le *Si-yu-ki* de Che Tao-ngan dit qu'an Nord du royaume des Hou 胡 il y a la Ville des Poules 鶏城, et qu'elle est habitée par des hommes dont tous les bonnets ont la forme de poules.

C'est une légende du même type que celle du texte 1; il est possible qu'elle vienne de la même source. Mais les données sont trop vagues pour la localiser. Les Hou sont en principe les populations indo-européennes d'Asie Centrale.

Texte 5 [28]. Le *Si-yu-ki* de Che Tao-ngan dit qu'à la moitié de la route de Yu-t'ien (Khotan) il y a le royaume du Roi des Rats 鼠王. Les plus grands sont comme des chiens, les plus petits comme des lapins. En portant leurs tuniques (*kāśāya*) de la couleur de l'or, les *śramaṇa* passent par là sans exécuter les rites. Mais si les hommes communs n'exécutent pas les rites, immédiatement [les rats] les détruisent.

La légende est du même type des précédentes, et on la retrouve dans des textes plus anciens. Il y en a une version un peu plus étendue dans le

[24] Ibn Hauqal, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, éd. J.H. Kramers, Leiden, 1938-1939, 505-506; al-Istakhrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, (*BGA, I*), Leiden, 1870, 327; Mas'ūdī, *Murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab*, éd. et trad. Barbier de Meynard, I, Paris, 1861, 347 et 348.

[25] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 2, 9 *b*.

[26] P. Pelliot, «Tokharien et koutchéen», *JA*, 1934, I, 75-103; additions dans *T'oung Pao*, XXXII (1936), 284. On a proposé, sans beaucoup de fondement, de faire venir *čäküri* du sanskrit *śikhara*, «flèche de *stūpa*»; P.A. Boodberg, «Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier», *HJAS*, I (1936), 290-291 n.

[27] *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 797, 9 *a*.

[28] *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 797, 8 *b*.

Yi-yuan: «Les Pays d'Occident ont le royaume du Roi des Rats. Les plus grands sont comme des chiens, les moyens comme des lapins, le petits comme des rats normaux. La tête des rats plus grands est complètement blanche, mais ils portent un collier à anneaux d'or. Quand des marchands doivent passer à travers ce royaume, s'ils n'offrent pas auparavant prières et sacrifices, alors les rats détruisent les hommes, leurs robes et leurs vêtements. S'ils prennent des *śramaṇa* pour réciter des prières, plus jamais les rats n'en attrapent d'autres. Quand Che Tao-ngan alla aux Pays d'Occident, il le vit lui-même. Il existe un proverbe commun qui dit ceci: 'Les rats prennent un homme mort et en considèrent le fantôme comme leur roi'» [29]. Nous verrons plus loin un texte du *Si-yu Tchou-kouo-tche* (Texte 33), qui est plus près de celui du *T'ai-p'ing yu-lan* et qui peut en être la source.

La mention de Che Tao-ngan dans le *Yi-yuan* ne laisse pas de nous surprendre. Ce texte est postérieur d'un demi-siècle seulement à la mort de Che Tao-ngan et il nous montre déjà tout formée la légende d'un voyage en Asie Centrale. Or, nos sources les plus anciennes (*Tch'ou-san-tsang-ki-tsi* et *Kao-seng-tchouan*) ne soufflent mot d'un tel voyage et il est presque certain que Che Tao-ngan ne quitta jamais la Chine. C'est là un problème dont je n'entrevois pas pour le moment la solution.

Hiuan-tsang connaît aussi ces rats, qu'il place «à 150 ou 160 *li* à l'Ouest de Khotan, au milieu de la route directe à travers un grand désert de sable». Pour lui aussi ce sont des animaux de dimensions supérieures à la normale. Mais la légende qui s'y attache est tout à fait différente: ils aident le roi de Khotan à repousser les Hiong-nou en rongeant les cordes de leurs arcs, les selles, etc.; on leur bâtit un temple et on leur affecte un culte. La fin du conte rappelle notre texte: «ceux qui pratiquent ces rites voient leurs désirs s'accomplir; mais si on les néglige, un désastre s'ensuit certainement» [30].

Texte 6 [31]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit que le royaume [de Kachgar?] possède le siège d'ablution du Buddha. Il est fait de pur bois de santal

[29] *Yi-yuan*, 3, 5 *a-b*. La première partie de ce passage (jusq'à «détruisent les hommes, leurs robes et leurs vêtements») se trouve aussi dans le *Chou-yi-ki* 述異記, A, 15 *b*-16 *a*. Sur cette collection de *mirabilia*, compilée entre 502 et 519, voir R. DES ROTOURS, *Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée*, CI-CII. La dernière partie du passage (depuis «quand Che Tao-ngan» jusq'à la fin) se trouve aussi, comme citation du *Yu-yuan*, dans le *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 911, 6 *a-b*.

[30] *T'a-T'ang Si-yu-ki*, T. 2087, 944 *a-b*; S. BEAL, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Londres, 1906, II, 315-316.

[31] *Chouei-king-tchou* 2, 8 *a*.

rouge et il a quatre pieds au carré. Le roi lui fait des offrandes à l'intérieur de son palais même.

Il s'agit du siège ou couche où l'on place le Buddha après sa naissance, afin que les deux rois des Nāgas, Nanda et Upananda, puissent l'arroser l'un d'eau froide et l'autre d'eau chaude. Cet événement donna origine à une fête célébrée au huitième jour de la quatrième lune [32]. Mais ce siège se trouvant à Kachgar ne semble pas être mentionné ailleurs. En tout cas, les reliques (le crachoir et une dent) vus par Fa-hien et Tchemong à Kie-tch'a 揭叉 ou K'i-cha 奇沙 [33] n'ont rien à voir ici; non seulement les objets sont différents, mais Kie-tch'a n'est certainement pas Kachgar [34].

Texte 7 [35]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit qu'il y a un royaume appelé K'ie-chö-lo-che 伽舍羅遮. Quoique ce royaume soit étroit et petit, il est le nœud [des routes] qui relient tous les royaumes; on ne peut pas se passer de cette voie. Au Sud de la capitale se trouve une rivière qui s'écoule vers le Nord-Est; elle sort des montagnes à l'Ouest des [K'ie-chö-] lo-che. La montagne à laquelle nous faisons allusion, c'est le Ts'ong-ling 葱嶺.

Li Tao-yuan cite ce texte en connexion avec l'hydrographie du haut Tarim, qui pour lui ses contemporains est le même que le Houang-ho. Auparavant il avait dit que «le fleuve Ho 河 sort du Ts'ong-ling en se divisant, et s'écoule à l'Est à travers le royaume de Kia-chö-lo 迦舍羅». Ceci se réfère au premier des deux fleuves qui vont former le Tarim, le deuxième étant le Khotan-darya. C'est une théorie qui remonte au *Han-chou*, c'est-à-dire au I^er^ ou même au II^e^ siècle avant Jésus-Christ. Il s'agit presque certainement du Yarkand-darya.

K'ie-chö-lo-che (anc. *g'ia-śia-lâ-źiäi*), en admettant une influence indienne, transcrit Khaśa-rājya. Des formes très voisines se trouvent dans des textes des T'ang et avant les T'ang; c'est le même que le Khāsya du *Lalitavistara* et le Κάσια ὤρη de Ptolémée, nom général pour les peuples montagnards de l'Himalaya. Dans le cas présent, il correspond à la vallée de Tash-kurgan [36].

[32] E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist conquest of China*, 327, n. 53.

[33] H.A. Giles, *The travels of Fa-hsien*, Cambridge, 1923, 8; E. Chavannes, «Le voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra», *BEFEO*, III (1903), 432-433.

[34] P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, Paris, 1959, 202.

[35] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 2, 4 *a*.

[36] Voir à ce sujet la discussion par K. Shiratori, «On the Tsung-ling traffic route

Texte 8 [37]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit que la rivière Ho s'écoule à l'Est pendant 3.000 *li*. Quand elle arrive à Yu-t'ien (Khotan), elle fait une courbe et s'écoule au Nord-Est.

Le contexte est formé par la description précise que Li Tao-yuan donne du Ho méridional, l'autre source du Houang-ho, c'est-à-dire le Khotan-darya [38], qui est la rivière décrite par notre Texte 8. Juste avant cette citation, Li Tao-yuan rapporte que «le Ho méridional passe plus à l'Est, au Nord de Khotan». Il y joint le texte du *Han-chou*, 96A, 8*a*, qui affirme qu'«à l'Est de Khotan toutes les rivières s'écoulent à l'Est».

Texte 9 [39]. (A) Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit que le Ho méridional, en venant de l'Est de Yu-t'ien (Khotan), s'écoule pendant 3.000 *li* au Nord jusqu'à Chan-chan 鄯善. Puis il se jette dans la mer de Lao-lan 牢蘭 (le Lop-nor).

Li Tao-yuan continue en disant qu'«à partir de l'Est de K'i-cha 岐沙 (vallée de Tash-kurgan) le Ho septentrional se sépare du Ho méridional». Puis il ajoute ceci:

(B) C'est là aussi que le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit: Les deux rameaux s'écoulent au No.d. Ils passent près de K'iu-ts'eu 屈茨 (Koutcha) de Wou-yi 烏夷 (Karashahr) [40] et de Tch'an-chan 禪善 (= Chan-chan). Puis ils se jettent dans la mer de Lao-lan».

Les deux citations se complètent mutuellement. Il s'agit évidemment du même texte, coupé de manière différente; et le tout est la continuation directe du texte 8. On sait que Herrmann fut amené à proposer la théorie de deux branches du Tarim coulant parallèlement jusq'au IV^e^ siècle et se

described par C. Ptolemaeus», *Mem. Tôyô Bunko*, XVI (1957), 22-27, où la plupart des textes chinois sont groupés. Les recherches de A. Herrmann, dans S. Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, VIII, Stockholm, 1922, 10-13, et *Das Land der Seide und Tibet im Lichte der Antike*, Leipzig, 1938, 141-142, sont toujours de quelque utilité. Aussi P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, 201-202. Récemment H.W. Haussig, «Die Beschreibung des Tarimbeckens bei Ptolemaios», *ZDMG*, CIX (1959), 153, proposa d'identifier Kasia avec les monts de l'Alai et du Trans-Alai, mais il ne semble pas que ses arguments soient suffisants pour étayer cette hypothèse.

[37] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 2, 5 *b*.

[38] Tout ce passage a été traduit par E. Chavannes, «Les Pays d'Occident d'après le *Wei-lio*», *T'oung Pao*, VI (1905), 565-566.

[39] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 2, 7 *a*. Cf. E. Chavannes, «Les Pays d'Occident d'après le *Wei-lio*», 569-570.

[40] Sur Wou-yi et les formes parallèles, voir l'ample étude de P. Pelliot, «A propos du tokharien», *T'oung Pao*, XXXII (1936), 266-283.

jetant toutes les deux dans le Lop-nor [41]. C'est une thèse qui n'a pas été acceptée.

On dit généralement que Chan-chan est la région du Lop-nor. Récemment on a proposé une autre identification, qui est peut-être plus plausible: Chan-chan serait la transcription du nom même de l'oasis et la rivière de Tchertchen [42]. Si c'est correct, notre texte paraît impliquer qu'au IV^e^ siècle le bas Tarim s'écoulait au Sud-Est jusqu'à Yi-hiun tch'eng 伊循城, qui était la capitale du Chan-chan à cette pèriode, avant de se jeter dans le Lop-nor. Yi-hiun tch'eng est Miran, comme le veut M. Enoki, ou Tcharkhliq, comme le proposait jadis Sir Aurel Stein [43].

Texte 10 [44]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit qu'à l'Est de la mer de Lao-lan, [Le Houang-ho] s'écoule caché sous les «collines de sable des dragons» 龍沙堆, qui sont à T'ouen-houang 屯皇. A 400 *li* au Sud -Est [il y a] les monts des A-pou-kan Sien-pei 阿步干鮮卑. [Puis] il s'écoule jusqu'à Kin-tch'eng 金城, où il devient le Grand Ho. Le Ho sort du K'ouen-louen 崑崙; le K'ouen-louen est en réalité la montagne A-neou-ta 阿耨達.

Ce passage veut décrire le cours (en grande partie fictif) du Houang-ho à l'Est du Lop-nor (mer de Leou-lan). Il est censé s'écouler sous terre en passant près des «collines de sable des dragons». Ce sont les [Po]-long-touei 白龍堆 des autres textes [45]. Ils ont été reconnus sur le terrain par Sir Aurel Stein. Il s'agit de formations curieuses du sol imprégné de sel, avec des formes fantastiques ressemblant à des dragons, sur l'extrême lisière nord-est du lac desséché qui fut l'ancien Lop-nor [46]; au temps des Han, la région appartenait au *kiun* 郡 de Touen-houang. A ce propos, on remarquera l'ortographe aberrante de Touen-houang.

Le nom des monts A-pou-kan Sien-pei est fort obscur. Pour les trois premiers caractères, les chapitres du *Chouei-king-tchou* conservés dans le

[41] Surtout A. Herrmann, *Das Land der Seide und Tibet im Lichte der Antike*, Leipzig 1938, *passim; Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, Cambridge, Mass., 1935, C. 24.

[42] J. Hamilton, «Autour du manuscrit Stael-Holstein», *T'oung Pao*, XLVI, 1958, 121-122. Identification acceptée par K. Enoki, «Yü-ni ch'êng and the site of Lou-lan», *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, XXXIII (1961), 57-59, et par P. Daffinà, «L'itinerario di Hui-shêng», *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XXXVIII (1963), 264-266.

[43] K. Enoki, *op. cit.*, 59; A. Stein, *Serindia*, I, 325 et 342.

[44] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 2, 30 *b*

[45] E. Chavannes, «Les Pays d'Occident d'après le *Wei-lio*», 529-531 n.

[46] A. Stein, *Serindia*, I, 341; *Innermost Asia*, Oxford, 1928, I, 308-311.

Yong-lo ta-tien ont Ho-po-yu 河步于 (anc. *γâ-b'uo-jiu*) [47], dont on ne sait que faire. Quant à A-pou-kan (anc. *·â-b'uo-kân*), certains disent [48] que c'est une autre forme de A-fou-kan 阿伏于 (anc. *·â-b'iuk-kân*), nom de personne (très probablement de clan) chez les Jouan-jouan [49]. Quant à Sien-pei, les texts chinois signalent au moins trois montagnes de ce nom, mais dans une toute autre direction, au Jehol ou même en Mandchourie [50]. Je n'ai pas recontré ailleurs les monts A-pou-kan Sien-pei, et je puis seulement dire que, selon moi, il faut les chercher du côté de la vallée du Syrtyn-nor.

Kin-tch'eng est la moderne Lan-tcheou. L'identification du K'ouen-louen avec l'A-neou-ta (Anavatapta) est l'un des pivots de la géographie de Che Tao-ngan et du *Chouei-king-tchou*, comme nous le verrons plus loin.

TEXTE 11 [51]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit qu'à partir du [lac de] P'ou-tch'ang 滂昌 le Ho se cache et entre sous la terre. Plus au Sud, il sort de Tsi-che 積石 .

Ce passage est copié de celui du *Han-chou*, 96A, 1*b*. Tsi-che («Pierres entassées») dans la tradition chinoise est la résurgence, c'est-à-dire la vraie source, du Houang-ho. D'après Herrmann, au V^e^ siècle il était situé dans la région du Tibet nord-oriental, où se trouvent les sources réelles du rMa-c'u (Houang-ho); ce fut seulement plus tard qu'on l'identifia avec le ravin à l'Est de Lan-tcheou, au-dessous de la confluence du Ta-t'ong-ho [52].

TEXTE 12 [53]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit qu'à Nord-Ouest de la montagne A-neou-ta il y a un grand fleuve, qui s'écoule au Nord et se jette dans la mer de Lao-lan (Lop-nor).

Auparavant Li-Tao-yuan avait appelé ce fleuve «rivière A-neou-ta».

[47] *Chouei-king-tchou*, édition du Wen-hio-kou-tsi-k'an-hing-chö, Pékin, 1955, 45.4 (19 *a*).

[48] YANG CHEOU-KING, *Chouei-king-tchou chou*, 2, 83 *b*.

[49] *Wei-chou*, 26, 3 *b*, 8 *b*. Pour une interprétation sémantique voir L. BAZIN, «Recherches sur les parlers T'o-pa», *T'oung Pao*, XXXIX (1950), 241.

[50] J. MULLIE, «La rivière Jao-lo», *T'oung Pao*, XXX (1933), 186-188; R. SCHREIBER, «Das Volk der Hsien-pi zur Han-Zeit», *Monumenta Serica*, XII (1947), 162-163.

[51] *Chouei-king-tchou*, I, 22 *a*.

[52] A. HERRMANN, *ap.* S. Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, VIII, 11-12.

[53] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 2, 5 *b*-6 *a*.

On l'identifie depuis longtemps avec le Cherchen-darya [54]. Il peut aussi, du point de vue phonétique, être identique à la riviére Navote des documents kharosthī [55]. Mais la position de sa source au Nord-Ouest de l'Anavatapta (lac Manasarovar) n'a aucun rapport avec la réalité.

TEXTE 13 [56]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit que le Yi-lo-k'i-ti 伊羅枳底 sort au Nord de la montagne A-neu-ta et s'écoule à l'Ouest dans le royaume de Yi-t'ien (Khotan).

Le Yi-lo-k'i-ti paraît être l'une des Six Rivières dont le texte parle plus tard. La connexion avec Khotan est due au fait que les Chinois plaçaient le mont Anavatapta dans le territoire de Khotan [57].

L'identification n'est pas aisée. M. Waley avait jadis proposé de corriger Yi-lo-k'i-ti en Yi-lo-pa (跋)-ti (anc. *ngiei-lâ-b'uât-tiei*) et d'y voir l'Airāvatī [58]. Cette correction ne semble pas acceptable. Du point de vue phonétique, *-vatī* dans les transcriptions bouddhiques anciennes est rendu normalement par *yue* 越 ou d'autres caractères homophones; *po-ti*, qui transcrit plutôt *-varti*, appartient aux transcriptions puristes de l'époque de Hiuan-tsang. Du point de vue géographique, tous les textes s'accordent pour placer l'Airāvatī dans l'Inde et non pas au Nord de l'Hindukush.

On a proposé de voir dans le Yi-lo-k'i-ti le Iaxartes [59]. En fait, M. Pulleyblank tend à y voir quelque forme du nom même du Iaxartes [60]. Actuellement, c'est la solution qui paraît la plus probable.

Un problème tout à fait différent est de savoir ce que Li Tao-yuan entend par le Yi-lo-k'i-ti. Pour l'auteur du *Chouei-king-tchou* la question est étroitement liée à celle du troisième rameau du Houang-ho, dont il parle dans ce qui précède. Ce fleuve est censé sortir à l'Ouest du royaume de Tchouan-tcu 捐毒 (dans la haute vallée du Kashgar-darya?), en haut des Ts'ong-ling; il s'écoule à l'Ouest en passant au Sud de Hieou-siun 休循 (dans la haute vallée de l'Alai?), au Nord du Nan-teou 難兜 (Dardistan ?), au Nord du Ki-pin 罽賓 (Kāpiśī-Gandhāra), au Sud des Yue-

[54] E. CHAVANNES, «Les Pays d'Occident d'après le *Wei-lio*», 566-567; A. STEIN, *Serindia*, 297.

[55] F.W. THOMAS, «Some notes on the Kharosthī documents from Chinese Turkestan», *AO*, XII (1934), 56-58, et XIII (1935), 44-45.

[56] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 2, 2 *a*.

[57] «Le royaume de Khotan a la montagne A-neou-ta, où d'après le *Han-chou* jaillit la source du Hoang-ho», *T'ong-tien*, 192, 1033 *b*.

[58] A. WALEY, *JRAS*, 1951, 113.

[59] H.W. HAUSSIG, «Die Beschreibung des Tarimbeckens bei Ptolemaios», 159.

[60] E. G. PULLEYBLANK, «The consonantal system of Old Chinese», *Asia Major*, IX (1962), 95.

tche 月氏, au Sud du Ngan-si 安息 (Parthie), et «ensemble avec le fleuve Yi-lo-k'i-ti, il se jette dans la mer de Lei-tchou 雷翥 (Aral)» [61]. Quant au Yi-lo-k'i-ti, Li Tao-yuan le fait passer au Nord des Quatre Grands Stūpas du Gandhāra [62]; c'est pour lui une rivière plus ou moins fictive, qui lui sert pour mettre en ordre les textes de Fa-hien concernant les Quatre Stūpas. On a l'impression que Li Tao-yuan n'a pas d'idées très claires au sujet de l'Amu-darya et du Syr-darya et qu'il a beaucoup confondu les deux.

Texte 14 [63]. Cette rivière s'écoule vers le Ngan-si (la Parthie) jusqu'à la mer de Lei-tchou (Aral)

C'est sans doute une citation du *Che-che Si-yu-ki*, car elle suit celle concernant la pierre où le Buddha lava sa robe (Texte 19). La rivière est le Yi-lo-k'i-ti.

Texte 15 [64]. Le *Si-yu-tche* dit que le balai du Buddha est dans le royaume des Yue-tche. Il est long de trois pieds et davantage et ressemble à la queue d'un paon.

Il n'est pas certain que ce passage soit de Che Tao-ngan. Il pourrait bien s'agir du *Si-yu-che* de Yen-ts'ong 彥悰 (m.610) [65]; mais l'attribution à Che Tao-ngan paraît plus vraisemblable. Le balai du Buddha, fait de l'herbe *kāśa* et long de plus de deux pieds, est mentionné par Hiuan-tsang parmi les reliques vénérées à Balkh [66], ce qui concorde bien avec notre texte.

Texte 16 [67]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit que l'A-neou-ta (Anavatapta) est une grande montagne. Au-dessus il y a un bassin d'eau vaste et profond et un palais royal, dont les tours sont très grandes. Cette montagne est maintenant le mont K'ouen-louen.

Les derniers mots répètent la fin du Texte 10. Rappelons que A-

[61] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 2, 1 *b*-2 *a*.

[62] *Northern India*, etc., 57-62.

[63] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 2, 3, *b*.

[64] *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 765, 2 *b*.

[65] Sur Yen-ts'ong, voir P. Pelliot, «Les fresques de Touen-houang et les fresques de M. Eumorfopoulos», *RAA*, V (1928), 155-156, et aussi H. Iwai, *Nisshi bukkyōshi ronkō* 日支佛教史論攷 Tokyo, 1957, 40-51.

[66] *Ta-T'ang Si-yu-ki*, T. 2087, 872 *c*; Th. Watters, *On Yüan Chwang's traveles in India*, Londres, 1904, I, 109.

[67] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 3 *b*.

neou-ta (anc. *·â-neu-d'ât*) transcrit plus exactement une forme prakrite *Anodatta [68].

Texte 17 [69]. De cette montagne (Anavatapta) six grandes rivières s'écoulent. A l'Ouest de la montagne il y a la grande rivière appelée Sin-t'eou 新頭 (Sindhu, Indus).

Il n'y a pas de doute que ce passage est simplement la continuation du Texte 16, quoique Li Tao-yuan ait interpolé entre les deux une citation du *Mou-t'ien-tseu-tchouan* et quelques remarques personelles.

La liste des six rivières du *Che-che Si-yu-ki* se rapproche un peu de celle des cinq fleuves des textes canoniques, qui comprend Gangā, Yamunā, Sarabhū (Gogra), Aciravatī (Rapti), Mahī (une dérivation de la Gandak, sinon la Gandak elle-même). Chez Tao-ngan on a la Heng-kia à la place de la Mahī, le Yi-lo-k'i-ti à la place de l'Airāvatī, et en plus l'Indus [70].

Texte 18 [71]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit que l'Indus s'écoule par tous ces royaumes qui sont le Ki-pin 罽賓, le Kien-yue 犍越, le Mo-ho-la 摩訶剌; et c'est là la rivière qui se jette dans la Mer du Sud.

Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* étant un ouvrage bouddhiste, Ki-pin doit être ici le Kachmir [72], quoique l'Indus ne passe pas par la vallée de Kachmir. Quant à Kien-yue, c'est une transcription abrégée du nom du Gandhāra [73].

Mo-ho-la, anc. *muâ-χâ-lât*, paraît être une simple variante de Mo-ho-lai 摩訶賴, qui dans la Texte 29 indique le Magadha [74]. Le cours de l'«Indus» de notre texte va ainsi du Kachmir au Gandhāra et de là au Magadha. On peut supposer que cette curieuse distorsion est due à l'influence du *Nan-tcheou Yi-wou-tche* 南州異物志 de Wan Tchen

[68] P. Pelliot, *BEFEO*, V (1905), 436.

[69] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 5 *a*.

[70] Sur ce problème voir E. Lamotte, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna*, I, Louvain, 1944, 385-386 n. et 450 n.; M. Hofinger, *Le congrès du lac Anavatapta*, I, Louvain, 1954, 179-180; W. Hoey, «The five rivers of the Buddhists», in *JRAS*, 1907, 44-45.

[71] *Chouei-king-tchou*, I, 6 *a*.

[72] Sur Ki-pin, voir *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, 63-80.

[73] *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, 22.

[74] Quelques siècles après on trouve une alternance tout à fait semblable dans le nom d'une tribu des T'ou-kiue, pour lequel on a les deux formes parallèles Nou-la 奴剌 et Nou-lai 奴賴; E. Chavannes, «Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux», *T'oung Pao*, V (1904), 96.

萬 震 [75], qui paraît identifier l'Indus avec le Gange [76]. Li Tao-yuan fait même couler l'Indus vers l'Inde centrale [77].

TEXTE 19 [78]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit qu'au Nord-Ouest de la capitale royale du Kien-t'o-yue 揵 陀 越 (Gandhāra) il y a la ville royale de Po-t'ou-lo-yue 鉢 吐 羅 越 [qui est] la ville royale de la robe du Buddha. A l'Est il y a un monastère. En retournant en arrière et en cherchant l'eau de la rivière, à dix *li* au Nord-Ouest il y a le gouffre du dragon Ho-pou-lo 河 步 羅 ; c'est la place où le Buddha alla à un gouffre laver sa robe. La pierre du lavage existe toujours.

Le texte est difficile et paraît altéré. La capitale du Gandhāra aux IV^e^ et V^e^ siècles était Puṣkalavatī. La ville de Po-t'ou-lo-yue située au Nord-Ouest, ne peut être autre que Nagarahāra, où l'on vénérait la robe du Buddha [79]. Mais le nom (anc. *puât-t'ou-lâ-jiwat*) fait difficulté, et je n'ai aucune solution plausible à proposer.

La monastère à l'Est est le grand *stūpa* à deux *li* à l'Est de Nagarahāra, où le Buddha reçut de Dīpaṃkara la prédiction de sa dignité future [80]. Sa position dépend de celle du Nagarahāra des IV^e^ et V^e^ siècles. D'après Foucher, ce serait le Begram de Djelalabad, et le monastère serait la ruine d'Ahin-posh au Sud-Est [81]. Si l'on admet que la citadelle et les sites des monastères étaient plus au Nord-Ouest sur la rive du Surkh-rūd ou même à la sortie du fleuve Kaboul du défilé de Daruntah, et qu'aux temps de Hiuan-tsang la ville, après sa dévastation par les Hephthalites, se limitait désormais à l'ancienne citadelle, le monastère serait alors à identifier avec le *stūpa* Nandara ou Khaistah, sur une colline au pied du

[75] Sur Wan Tchen (III^e^ siècle) et son ouvrage perdu sur les «Pays du Sud», voir Hiang Ta 向 達 , «Han-T'ang kien Si-yu ki Hai-nan-tchou-kouo-kou-ti-li-chou-siu-lou», 漢 唐 間 西 域 及 海 南 諸 國 古 地 理 書 叙 錄 , dans *T'ang-tai Tch'ang-ngan yu Si-yu wen-ming* 唐 代 長 安 與 西 域 文 明 Pékin, 1957, 568-570.

[76] «Le *Nan-tcheou Yi-wou-tche* dit que l'Inde a une rivière appelée Heng 恒 (Gange), nommée également Sin-t'ao 新 陶 (Indus)», *Pei-t'ang-chou-tch'ao*, 146, 2 *a*.

[77] «Le fleuve Indus s'écoule plus loin au Sud-Ouest, puis il fait une courbe et s'écoule au Sud-Est vers l'Inde centrale», *Chouei-king-tchou*, I, 6 *a*.

[78] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 2, 3 *b*; *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, 61-62.

[79] H.A. GILES, *The travels of Fa-hsien*, 17; E. CHAVANNES, *op. cit.*, 428-429; Th. Watters, I, 184.

[80] *Ta-T'ang Si-yu-ki*, T. 2087, 878*c*; Th. Watters, I, 183.

[81] A. FOUCHER, «La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila», *MDAFA*, Paris, 1942-1947, I, 152.

Siyah Koh [82]. On a même songé au couvent de Gudara, de l'autre côté de la rivière de Kaboul [83]; mais la distance est trop grande.

La rivière mentionnée dans notre texte doit être le Surkh-rūd, ou bien le ravin (*kand*) qui s'étend parallèlement au Nord du Surkh-rūd.

En suivant une suggestion de M. Demiéville, je crois maintenant qu'on doit identifier Ho-pou-lo (anc. *γâ-b'uo-lâ*) non pas avec Apalāla, comme je l'avais fait en 1950 [84], mais avec Gopāla, [85] dans la caverne duquel il y avait l'ombre du Buddha; cent pas au Sud-Ouest de la caverne était l'endroit où le Buddha lava sa robe [86]. La position indiquée ici, 10 *li* au Nord-Ouest de Nagarahāra, convient mieux à la localisation de Foucher (Nagarahāra = Begram de Djelalabad), tandis que les données de Hiuan-tsang, 20 *li* au Sud-Ouest de Nagarahāra, se comprennent mieux avec une ville située à la sortie du défilé de Daruntah. Dans les deux cas, il me paraît que la localisation de la caverne par Caspani (pentes méridionales du Siyah Koh au-dessus de la Ziarat de Said Ilas) soit à retenir; mais seulement des fouilles sur place pourront trancher la question.

L'ordre du récit montre qu'il s'agit de l'itinéraire de retour, de Puṣkalavatī à Nagarahāra (et de là sans doute vers Bactres).

Texte 20 [87]. Il dit aussi qu'à l'Ouest du K'ien-t'o-yue (Gandhāra), au milieu de l'Océan d'Occident, il y a le royaume de Ngan-si (Parthie).

On peut garder des doutes sur l'attribution de ce passage au *Che-che Si-yu-ki*; mais aucun autre texte n'est cité auparavant.

Texte 21 [88]. Au Sud-Ouest de la montagne A-neou-ta (Anavatapta) il y a la rivière appelée Yao-nou 遙 奴 . Au Sud-Ouest de la montagne, un peu plus à l'Est il y a la rivière appelée Sa-han 薩 旱 . Un peu plus à l'Est, il y a la rivière appelée Heng-kia 恒 伽 . Ce trois rivières ensemble

[82] E. Caspani, «The cave of the shadow of the Buddha at Nagarahāra», *JASB Lett.*, XI (1945), 49-52. Aussi E. Caspani, et E. Cagnacci, *Afghanistan crocevia dell'Asia*, Milan, 1951, 215.

[83] H. Heras, «The spread of Buddhism in Afghanistan», *J. Un. Bombay*, VI, 4 (1938), 30.

[84] C'était aussi l'opinion de Yang Cheou-king, *Chouei-king-tchou chou*, 2, 9 *b*.

[85] Ho-pou-lo ne transcrit pas le sanskrit Gopāla, mais quelque forme locale. Il peut y avoir confusion avec Apalāla, dont la légende était localisée dans l'Uḍḍiyāna; mais ce n'est pas nécessaire.

[86] *Lo-yang kia-lan-ki*, édition de Tcheou Tsou-mo, Pékin, 1958, 113; E. Chavannes, «Le voyage de Song Yun», 429.

[87] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 2, 3*b*.

[88] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 6 *b*.

sortent de la même montagne. Toutes se jettent dans le fleuve Heng (Gange).

Ce passage vient immédiatement après le Texte 18; sans doute appartient-il aussi au *Che-che Si-yu-ki*. Yao-nou est la Yamunā et Sa-han, qui est à lire Sa-yu (字), est la Sarayū (Gogra) [89]. Quant à la Heng-kia (en apparence = Gaṅgā), ce doit être ici le nom de la Gaṇḍakī, car la géographie nous impose cette identification. On se rappellera aussi que l'une des rivières qui vont former la Gandak, s'appelle Trishuli Ganga.

Texte 22 [90]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit que le fleuve Gange s'écoule à l'Est et se jette dans l'Océan oriental.

Le texte continue: «Ainsi est-il, que les deux rivières qui s'écoulent, et les deux océans qui le reçoivent, sont chacun d'eux à l'Est et à l'Ouest». Ceci peut faire encore partie de la citation du *Che-che Si-yu-ki*, mais c'est plus probablement un commentaire par Li Tao-yuan. En tout cas, il n'est pas très net, car, d'après la tradition, le Gange se jette dans l'Océan oriental, mais l'Indus (si c'est bien l'Indus dont il s'agit) s'écoule au Sud et non pas à l'Ouest.

Texte 23 [91]. C'est pourquoi le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* a une liste [de places en relation avec] la courbe du Gange. Au Nord du Gange, il y a quatre royaumes. Plus à l'Ouest de tous, il y a celui qui est au-dedans de la courbe du Gange.

Ce passage est suivi par les mots: «il y a le royaume de Kiu-yi-na-ho 拘夷那竭 (Kuśinagara)», après quoi vient une citation de Fa-hien sur l'endroit de la mort du Buddha. Mais Kuśinagara n'est certainement pas le plus occidental de ces États, et Li Tao-yuan paraît avoir coupé la citation et ajouté quelque chose qui y est étranger. Ce premier royaume pourrait être le Pañcāla avec sa capitale Ahicchatrā; mais il n'y a pas de rapport spécial entre cette région et la géographie religieuse du bouddhisme.

Je ne sais pas trés bien ce que le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* entend par la «courbe du Gange». Si on la comprend dans son sens le plus logique, ce serait la courbe que le Gange fait en sortant des montagnes et en s'écoulant d'abord au Sud, puis au Sud-Est, puis à l'Est. Mais les autres royaumes expressément mentionnés en relation avec la courbe du Gange sont Saṅkāśya et Campā et tous les deux sont au Sud, c'est-à-dire en de-

[89] Voir la discussion dans *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, 23-24.
[90] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 16 *b*.
[91] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 6 *b*.

hors d'elle. Il y a là une difficulté pour laquelle je ne vois pas de solution à présent.

Texte 24 [92]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit que plus à l'Est, au-dedans de la courbe du Gange, il y a la ville de Seng-kia-chan-nai-kie 僧 迦 扇 奈 揭 (Saṅkāśyanagara). C'est le royaume où le Buddha descendit par trois escaliers de marches précieuses.

La légende concerne le voyage du Buddha au ciel Trāyastriṃśa pour y prêcher la Loi à sa mère, et son retour à la terre.

Texte 25 [93]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit qu'à trois *li* au Nord de la ville [de Kapilavastu], sur le fleuve Heng, il y a la place où le roi son père accepta le Buddha comme fils. On a bâti un temple et on y a placé une image du père étreignant le Buddha sur sa poitrine.

Heng (Gange) indique ici la petite rivière Rohinī, tributaire de la Rapti, qui passe près de Kapilavastu.

Texte 26 [94]. (A) *Si-yu-tche* de Che Tao-ngan dit que le royaume de Lo-wei 羅 衛 [s'étend] par 400 *li* de l'Est à l'Ouest jusqu'a au royaume de Po-li-yue 波 麗 越 . (AB) Le royaume de Po-li-yue [95] est le royaume du grand-père maternel du Buddha.

C'est là le seul texte qui paraît donner une preuve positive de l'identité du *Che Tao-ngan Si-yu-tche* avec le *Che-che Si-yu-ki*, auquel le *Chouei-king-tchou* semble attribuer ce petit passage.

Lo-wei est une abréviation de Kia-wei-lo-wei (Kapilavastu).

Mahāmāyā, le mère du Buddha, était la fille d'un seigneur des Koliya, dont les domaines étaient à peu de distance à l'Est de Kapilavastu, quelque part dans le Terai népalais. Mais le nom ne se laisse pas expliquer. Le suffixe *yue* est naturellement l'usuel *-vatī*. Po-li (anc. *puâ-liei*) ne peut pas transcrire Koliya; l'original doit être quelque chose comme *Pale.

Texte 27 [96]. (AB) Le *Si-yu-tche* de Che Tao-ngan parle du royaume

[92] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 9 *a*.
[93] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 9 *b*.
[94] A = *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 797, 9*a*; B = *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 16 *b*.
[95] B omet *yue*.
[96] A = *Yi-wen-lei-tsiu*, 76, 1 *a*; B = *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 797, 8 *a*.

de Po-lo-nai-sseu 波羅奈斯 (Bénarès); ce royaume est la place où le Buddha tourna la Roue de la Loi, (B) Devadatta entra dans l'enfer et le sol s'effondra. Tous ces endroits (AB) sont dans ce royaume.

Après la faillite de tous les complots de Devadatta contre la vie du Buddha, la terre s'ouvrit et il fut précipité dans l'enfer; mais la fosse, qu'on montrait aux pèlerins comme l'endroit de cet événement, était à Srāvasti et non à Bénarès [97]. Les compilateurs du *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan* ont mélangé deux récits différents du *Si-yu-tche*.

Texte 28 [98]. (A) Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit que la rivière Ni-lien 尼連 (Nairañjanā) en venant du Sud se jette dans le fleuve Gange. A l'Ouest de la rivière, il y a l'arbre du Buddha (c'est-à-dire de la Bodhi). (B) Il y a aussi la place où (ABC) le Buddha fit pénitence pendant six ans, (A) et un jour mangea de la bouillie de riz [99]. (C) De l'arbre *pei-to* 貝多 (A) à l'Ouest (AC) vers la ville il y a cinq (C: cinquante) *li* (A) et davantage. A l'Est de l'arbre [de la Bodhi] au bord de la rivière il y a l'endroit où le Buddha alla se baigner. Il remonta la rive à l'Est et s'assit sous l'arbre *ni-kiu-liu* 尼拘律 (*nyagrodha*). La femme Sieou-chö 脩舍 (Sujātā) lui offrit en cet endroit de la bouillie de riz. A l'Ouest de cette place il passa la rivière, au Sud de l'arbre des six ans, et s'assit sous l'arbre *pei-to*, où il défit les démons et atteignit la condition de Buddha.

Sur cette légende, voir le *Mahāvastu*, I, 263-265. L'arbre *pei-to* (*Borassus flabellifera*) est l'arbre de la Bodhi [100].

Texte 29 [101]. (AB) Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* de Che Tao-ngan dit que le royaume de Mo-ho-lai 摩訶賴 (Magadha) [B] plus au Sud touche au royaume de Ho-lai 訶賴. Il (AB) renferme le mont A-neou-ta (Anavatapta). La ville de Rājagṛha est au coin sud-est de l'A-neou-ta.

[97] H.A. Giles, *The travels of Fa-hsien*, 34; *Ta-T'ang Si-yu-ki*, T. 2089, 899*c*-900*a*; Th. Watters, *On Yüan Chwang's travels*, I, 390.

[98] A = *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 15 *b*; B = *Yi-wen-lei-tsiu*, 76, 1 *a*; C = *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 797, 8*b*-9*a*.

[99] La traduction proposée par L.S. Yang, *HJAS*, XIV (1951), 663: «Pendant six ans il mangea une bouillie de riz chaque jour», est correcte du point de vue grammatical, mais impossible du point de vue historique. Il n'y a pas de doute que le texte du *Chouei-king-tchou*(佛于此若行日食麋六年) soit en désordre. On doit probablement lire: 佛若行六年于此日食麋.

[100] *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, 39; mais mon hypothèse de *pei-to* = *vaṭa* est à abandonner.

[101] A = *Yi-wen-lei-tsiu*, 76, 1*a*; B = *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 797, 8*b*.

L'illustre résidence du jardin de bambou (le Veluvana) se trouve à l'Ouest de la ville.

Mo-ho-lai ne peut être que Magadha, puisqu'ils est le pays dont Rājagṛha est la capitale. Mais l'équivalence phonétique est fort obscure. Dans la préface de Che Tao-ngan à la traduction du *Buddhacarita* par Saṅgharakṣa, Siu-lai 須 賴 transcrit Surāṣṭra [102]. Ainsi Mo-ho-lai devrait transcrire Mahārāṣṭra; mais le Magadha ne porta jamais un nom pareil. Quant à Ho-lai, il doit s'agir simplement d'une corruption du texte du *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*.

Un rapport mythique de l'Anavatapta avec Rājagṛha est mentionné par Hiuan-tsang [103]. Mais ici il est tout à fait réel et trouvera sa confirmation dans le Texte 30. Puisqu'il s'agit ici de Rājagṛha, cet Anavatapta devrait correspondre à la colline Vaibhāragiri, qui se trouve au Nord-Ouest de la ville.

Le Veluvana était en réalité au Nord de l'ancienne Rājagṛha (et au Sud de la nouvelle); notre texte fait évidemment erreur sur la direction.

Texte 30 [104]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit que la colline K'i-chö-kiue 耆 闍 崛 (Gṛdhrakūṭa) est au Nord-Est de la ville de Rājagṛha et de l'Aneou-ta. Si on regarde à l'Ouest en direction de cette colline, il y a deux pics qui s'élèvent comme des jumeaux, à la distance d'environ deux ou trois *li* l'un de l'autre. Sur le sentier [qui passe] entre des deux, des vautours se tiennent toujours sur le point de séparation. Les gens du pays l'appellent colline K'i-chö 耆 闍 . Dans le langage hou 胡 (indien), K'i-chö (pali *gijja*, sanskrit *gṛdhra*) veut dire «vautour».

La mention de l'Anavatapta place ce texte en relation avec le précédent. Pour la localisation du Gṛdhrakūṭa, je n'ai rien à ajouter à ce que j'avais écrit en 1950 [105]. Ni les fouilles ni les études plus récentes [106] n'exigent une modification de mes résultats.

[102] P. Demiéville, «La *Yogācārabhūmi* de Saṅgharakṣa», *BEFEO*, XLIV (1954), 363.

[103] *Ta-T'ang Si-yu-ki*, T. 2087, 921 *b* (Th. Watters, II, 153-154).

[104] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 13 *b*-14 *a*.

[105] *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, 44-47.

[106] R.C. Majumdar, «Identification of some old sites in Rājagṛha», *JASBL*, XV (1949), 65-80; A. Ghosh, «Rajgir 1950», *Ancient India*, VII (1951), 66-78; A. Banerji, «Buddha's Rajgir», *J. Or. Res.* 21 (1951/2), 33-47, et 22 (1952/3), 20-30; D.N. Sen, «Sites in Rajgir associated with Buddha and his disciples», *J. Bihar Res. Soc.*, Buddha Javanti issue (1956), 136-158.

TEXTE 31 [107]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit que P'i-chö-li 毗舍利 est le royaume de Wei-ye-li 維耶離 (Vaiśālī).

Li Tao-yuan cite ce texte pour élucider son affirmation précédente que «le Gange s'écoule encore à l'Est, au Nord (*sic*) de la ville de P'i-chö-li».

Wei-ye-li transcrit une forme *Vaiyālī [108]. C'est là un phénomène phonétique fort intéressant, mais encore peu étudié. Beaucoup de transcriptions chinoises anciennes sont faites sur des originaux dans lesquels *-y-* prend la place de *-ś-*: A-yi pour Aśita, A-yu pour Aśoka, Yue-t'eou-t'an pour Śuddhodana. D'autre part, dans les monnaies des Śakas on a l'alternance Aya-Azes, Ayilişa-Azilises.

Il y a là deux possibilités. La première est d'ordre purement graphique; on sait que dans la kharoṣṭhī la confusion entre *y* et *ś* est très facile et présente une vraie pierre d'achoppement pour la lecture de textes dans cet alphabet [109]. En ce cas, les anciennes transcriptions chinoises seraient faites pour la plupart sur des textes kharoṣṭhī. On peut toutefois objecter que les premiers traducteurs étaient eux-mêmes bien souvent des gens d'Asie Centrale, qui ne pouvaient pas s'y méprendre; tandis que normalement peu de traducteurs chinois lisaient les textes directement, mais en écoutaient la dictée par un étranger.

L'autre possibilité est d'ordre phonétique. M. Pulleyblank a soutenu avec de bons arguments l'opinion que *y* dans le chinois moyen a la valeur de *ź*, représentant une forme prakrite avec passage à sonnante de la sifflante moyenne. Autrement dit, la valeur de transcription de *y* dans la période qui va des Han aux T'ang était la palatale fricative *ź*; nous devons aussi supposer un passage à sonnante intervocalique du sanskrit *ś*, devenant *ź* dans le prakrit qui est à la base de ces transcriptions [110]. Pour donner un exemple, Aśoka > Aźuka [111] > *a-yuk*. Mais ceci ne tient pas compte de l'alternance *y-z* dans le monnaies des Śakas. Ou l'on a employé en Inde *y* pour transcrire *ź*, comme les Chinois l'ont fait, et ce

[107] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 7 *b*.

[108] Sur la valeur de transcription de 邪, voir P. Pelliot, «Pāpiyān > Po-siun», *T'oung Pao*, XXX (1933), 93.

[109] J. BROUGH, *The Gandhārī Dhammapada*, London, 1962, 58-59.

[110] E.G. PULLEYBLANK, «The consonantal system of Old Chinese», *Asia Major*, IX (1962), 68 et 115.

[111] Cette forme est indirectement attestée en khotanais, à travers la transcription tibétaine *'a-źu-ka*. Je remercie Sir Harold Bailey de m'avoir donné cette indication. Voir aussi H.W. BAILEY, «Rāma II», *BSOAS*, X (1940-1942), 592 n., et «Hvatanica IV», *ibid.*, 919.

serait une coïncidence bien curieuse, ou bien l'explication est à chercher ailleurs: le passage de *ź* à *y* était déjà réalisé dans le prakrit des monnaies, lequel serait alors à la base des transcriptions chinoises [112]. Je manque à présent de moyens pour trancher la question.

Texte 32 [113]. Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit que plus à l'Est, en partant de la courbe du Gange, il y a la capitale du royaume de Tchan-p'o 瞻婆 (Campā). Au Sud il y a l'étang Pou-k'ia-lan 卜佉蘭 (Pukkharaṇī). Le fleuve Gange est au Nord. C'est la place où Buddha expliqua les prohibitions.

En ce cas aussi, je n'ai rien à ajouter à ce que j'avais écrit en 1950 [114].

APPENDICE

Il reste maintenant à parler d'un ouvrage obscur appelé le *Fo-t'ou-t'iao-tchouan* 佛圖調傳 ou *Fo-t'ou-t'iao-lie* (列), connu seulement par quelques citations dans le *Chouei-king-tchou*.

Le nom de l'auteur paraît transcrire Buddhadeva; mais il est difficile à identifier. D'après Chen Ta-t'cheng 沈大成 (1700-1771) [115], Fo-t'ou-t'iao est une autre nom de Fo-t'ou-teng 佛圖澄 (m. 349), le fameaux moine et nécromancien qui joua un rôle si important sous la dynastie des Tchao postérieurs [116]. Toutefois cette identification repose sur des bases trop fragiles; on ne trouve pas Fo-t'ou-t'iao parmi les variantes autorisées de Fo-t'ou-teng et il n'est dit nulle part qu'il ait écrit un ouvrage sur les Pays d'Occident [117]. Il est vrai qu'il était issu d'une famille indienne, qu'il naquit problement à Koutcha, et qu'il était censé avoir étudié au

[112] Il s'ensuit que des formes comme Kia-ye pour Kāśyapa et Ye-ye pour Yaśas dans M. Hofinger, *Le Congrés du lac Anavatapta*, I, Louvain, 1954, 220, n. 3 et 233, n. 2, ne sont pas fautives comme le supposait P. Demiéville, *T'oung Pao*, XLVI (1956), 290.

[113] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 16 *a*.

[114] *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, 51.

[115] Cité par Yang Hi-min 楊希閔, *Chouei-king-tchou-houei-kiao* 水經注匯校, I, 12 *a*.

[116] Sa biographie a été traduite par A.F. Wright, «Fo-t'u-têng», *HJAS*, XXI (1948), 321-371.

[117] Le *Fo-t'ou-teng-tchouan* cité dans le *Fa-yuen-tchou-lin*, T. 2122, 36, 573 *a*, concerne un passage de la biographie de Fo-t'ou-teng dans le *Tsin-chou*, 95, 12 *a*, qui est plus ou moins un sommaire de celle du *Kao-seng-tchouan*.

Kachmir et avoir visité l'Uḍḍiyāna [118]; il n'y a en soi rien d'improbable qu'il ait écrit un livre sur ces pays. Yang Cheou-king a proposé [119] une identification avec Tchou Fo-t'iao 竺佛調, un magicien d'un type plutôt taoïste que bouddhiste, qui fut disciple de Fo-t'ou-teng et vint en Chine de l'Inde ou de la Sogdiane [120]; naturellement il n'y a pas mention d'un récit de voyage écrit par lui. La question reste ouverte.

Li Tao-yuan avait une grande opinion de cet ouvrage. Il met sur le même plan le *Fo-t'ou-t'iao-lie* et des livres fameaux comme le *Che-che Louen* 釋氏論 (peut-être même que le *Che-che Si-yu-ki*) et le *Chan-hai-king*, en les citant comme autorités pour la théorie que «au Sud de l'Océan Occidental, sur la lisière des Sables Mouvants, derrière la Rivière Rouge, avant la Rivière Noire, il y a une grande montagne appelée K'ouen-louen. On dit aussi que six cents *li* à l'Ouest du mont Tchong 鍾 [121] il y a le mont K'ouen-louen, dont jaillissent cinq fleuves» [122]. Li Tao-yuan expressément «prend le *Fo-t'ou-t'iao-tchouan* comme texte original» pour cette affirmation [123]. Il semble que cette autorité lui vient du fait qu'il était une des sources du *Che-che Si-yu-ki*: «Le *Che* 釋 dit qu'il se fonde sur le *T'iao-tchouan*» [124]. Ailleurs il est cité en corrélation avec une autre source ancienne (du III^e^ siècle): «Les récits de Fo-t'ou-t'iao et de K'ang T'ai 康泰 sont aussi du même genre» [125].

On peut en déduire que Fo-t'ou-t'iao était un auteur ancien et fort respecté, et que nous devons le dater de la première moitié du IV^e^ siècle. En tout cas, même si l'auteur n'est pas identique avec Fo-t'ou-teng ou Tchou Fo-t'iao, on peut admettre qu'il appartenait à leur cercle.

Un autre série de fragments vient d'un ouvrage perdu appelé *Si-yu Tchou-kouo-tche* 西域諸國志. Un de ces fragments (Texte 37) est pratiquement le même qu'un texte de Fo-t'ou-t'iao, et cela suffit à mon sens pour conclure qu'il s'agit d'un seul ouvrage [126]. Li Tao-yuan évidemment a préféré un titre dérivé du nom de l'auteur; il dit *Fo-t'ou-t'iao-tchouan* pour *Si-yu Tchou-kouo-tche*, tout comme il dit *Fa-hien-tchouan* pour *Fo-kouo-ki*.

[118] A.F. WRIGHT, «Fo-t'u-têng», 335.
[119] *Chou-king-tchou-chou*, 1, 45 *b*.
[120] A.F. WRIGHT, «Fo-t'u-têng», 367.
[121] Cf. *Chan-hai-king*, 2, 17 *a*, 8, 1 *a-b*.
[122] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 16 *b*-17 *a*.
[123] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 17 *a*.
[124] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 17 *a*.
[125] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 20 *a*.
[126] C'était aussi l'opinion de Yang Cheou-king.

TEXTE 33 [127]. Le *Si-yu Tchou-kouo-tche* rapporte [128] que sur les rives du fleuve Mi-lou 糜盧 [129] il y a des ruches d'abeilles de taille mince (短腰 *touan-yao*) et que, fondues au feu, on en tire de l'ambre.

Cette étrange manière de fabriquer l'ambre est mentionnée en peu de mots dans le *Po-wou-tche* 博物志 de Tchang Houa 張華 (232-300) [130]. Il y a, en particulier, un texte très proche, tiré du *Nan-man-ki* 南蠻記 actuellement perdu, qui localise cette légende dans la région de Ning-tcheou 寧州 au Yunnan [131]; on pourrait y voir une allusion aux gisements d'ambre situés près de Myitkyina sur le haut Irawadi. Mais le fleuve Mi-lou (*mji-luo*) ou Mo-lou (*muâ-luo*) doit être cherché dans les Pays d'Occident, et non pas dans le Sud-Ouest de la Chine.

TEXTE 34 [132]. Le *Si-yu Tchou-kouo-tche* dit que dans le royaume de K'iu-ts'eu 屈茨 (Koutcha) il y a une montagne qui pendant la nuit a couramment une lumière de feu; en conséquence, elle fume régulièrement [pendant le jour].

C'est une version plus courte du Texte 2 du *Che-che Si-yu-ki*.

TEXTE 35 [133]. Le *Si-yu Tchou-kouo-tche* dit qu'il y a l'État du Roi des Rats. Les rats les plus grands sont comme des chiens et on leur met une chaîne d'or. Les plus petits sont comme des lapins. Quelques-uns sont comme des rats de taille entre les deux [134]. Quand des *śramaṇas* passent par là, ils ne récitent pas de prières. Mais si les gens communs n'offrent pas de sacrifices, immédiatement [les rats] détruisent les hommes, leurs vêtements et outils.

[127] *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 808, 2 *a*.

[128] L'édition Song du *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, ajoute après 日 les mots 珠穴出 en caractères plus petits. Ces trois mots, qui ne donnent aucun sens plausible, sont dus à une diplographie du texte précédent tiré *Houa-yang-kouo-tche* 華陽國志. Ils sont omis, à bon titre, dans les éditions des Ts'ing.

[129] Les éditions Ts'ing ont Mo (摩) -lou.

[130] *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, loc. cit., traduit par B. LAUFER, «Historical jottings on amber in Asia», *Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assoc.*, I (1905-1907), p. 235; déjà T'ao Hong-king 陶弘景 (452-536) niait la réalité de ce récit; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 217.

[131] «Dans les sables de Ning-tcheou il y a des abeilles de taille extrêmement mince. Quand la rive [du fleuve] s'écroule, les abeilles en sortent. Les gens de la réligion les fondent au feu et en font de l'ambre»; cf. *Yeou-yang-tsa-tsou*, 11, 7 *a-b*, traduit par E. H. SCHAFER, *The golden peaches of Samarkand*, Berkeley, 1963, p. 247.

[132] *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 871, 3 *a*.

[133] *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 911, 6 *a*.

[134] Le texte paraît corrompu.

C'est une version de la légende des rats en substance identique à celle de Che Tao-ngan (Texte 5).

Texte 36 [135]. Le *Si-yu Tchou-kouo-tche* dit que les [monts] Ts'ong-ling sont si hauts qu'on peut atteindre leur sommet seulement après douze jours de marche.

Texte 37 [136]. (ABC). Le *Si-yu Tchou*[137]*-kouo-tche* dit que le royaume des Yue-tche a le vase à eau (澡灌 [138], *kuṇḍikā*) du Buddha. Il contient plus de deux litres (*cheng* 升). [Il est fait d']un lapis-lazuli bleu appelé *lo-lo* 羅勒 [139]. La couleur est grisâtre comme le jade *pi* 碧. Son contenu d'eau n'est pas constant, (AC) et selon qu'il en a plus ou moins, (B) c'est une signe de bonheur ou de malheur.

La *kuṇḍika* [140] du Buddha, de la capacité d'un *teou* 斗 est mentionnée par Hiuan-tsang et Yi-ts'ing parmi les reliques conservées a Balkh [141], qui dans la période allant du IV[e] au VII[e] siècle, était censé être la capitale des Kuṣāṇa. *Lo-lo* est normalement le nom du basilic (*Ocimum basilicum*). Mais ici *lo-lo* (anc. *lâ-lek*) ou *lo-tch'e* (anc. *lâ-tiek*) paraît transcrire le nom même du lapis-lazuli (iran. *lāžvard*), dans une forme qu'il est difficile de préciser.

Texte 38 [142]. (A) Fo-t'ou-t'iao (B) Le *Si-yu tchouan* [143] dit que le *Tchou-kouo-tche* (C) Le *Si-yu Tchou-kouo-tche* (ABC) dit que le bol à aumônes du Buddha (BC) se trouve dans le royaume de K'ien-t'o-yue 乾陀越 (Gandhāra). (ABC) Il est fait de jade vert et contient plus de trois boisseaux (*teou* 斗', de 10 *cheng*). Ce royaume le considère comme un objet saint. A l'époque des offrandes, si on désire qu'il ne soit pas rempli par les fleurs parfumées [jetées là pendant] tout un jour, [il se fait] comme

[135] *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 50, 6 *a*.

[136] A = *Pei-t'ang-chou-tch'ao*, 135, 5 *b*; B = *Ta-T'ang-lei-yao*大唐類要 (sous un autre titre le même que le précédent; Bibliothèque nationale de Pékin),135, 4 *a*; C = *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 712, 2 *b*.

[137] B omet *tchou*.

[138] Lire 澡罐 .

[139] B = *lo-tch'e* 囉勒 .

[140] Sur la *kuṇḍikā*, vase à deux ouvertures, voir A. K. Coomarasvamy et F. Kushaw, «A Chinese Buddhist water vessel and its Indian prototype», *Artibus Asiae*, II-III (1928-1929), 122-141.

[141] *Ta-T'ang Si-yu-ki*, T. 2087, 872 *c* (Th. Watters, I, 108); E. Chavannes, *Les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la Loi dans les Pays d'Occident*, Paris, 1894, 23.

[142] A = *Chouei-king-tchou*, 2, 3 *a*; B = *Yi-wen-lei-tsiu*, 73, 2, *b*; C = *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 759, 5 *b*.

[143] Probablement le *Si-yu-tche* de Che Tao-ngan.

l'on a dit; et si (A) on désire qu'il (ABC) soit rempli (A) par une seule poignée [de fleurs, il se fait] (ABC) également comme l'on a dit.

Ce passage montre que le *Fo-t'ou-t'iao-tchouan* et le *Si-yu Tchou-kouo-tche* sont le même ouvrage. La légende ici contée est identique à celle de Fa-hien [144].

Texte 39 [145]. (AB) Le *Si-yu Tchou-kouo-tche* dit que le royaume de T'ien-tchou 天竺 (Inde) tient le 6e jour du 11e mois pour le solstice d'hiver. (A) Le solstice d'hiver (AB) est ainsi le temps quand le blé bourgeonne.

Il s'agit presque certainement du 6e Māgha *śudi*. C'est le jour qui suit le 5e du 11e mois de l'anné *caitrādi*, quand on fête la Vasantapañcamī. Ce n'est pas maintenant le solstice d'hiver, mais on est au commencement du *śiśira*, la saison du frimas.

Texte 40 [146]. (A) Le *Si-yu Tchou-kouo-tche* dit que le royaume de T'ien-tchou (Inde) observe (AB) le 16e jour du 12e mois pour le sacrifice d'hiver. (A) Le sacrifice d'hiver (AB) est ainsi le temps quand le blé est mûr.

C'est la *pratipad* de Phālguṇa *badi*, le 16e jour du 12e mois de l'année *caitrādi*. On y célèbre la grande fête de la Holikā (mod. Holi) en l'honneur du réveil de la nature après la fin de la saison froide.

Texte 41 [147]. Fo-t'ou-t'iao dit que le l'arbre du Buddha était pourri dans sa moelle; mais quand [le Buddha] y vint, il poussa des rameaux et des feuilles.

Ce passage suit immédiatement le récit de la pénitence du Buddha dans le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* (Texte 28) et pourrait bien être une citation comprise dans celui-ci.

Texte 42 [148]. Le *Si-yu Tchou-kouo-tche* dit que le K'i-chö-kiue (Gṛdhrakūṭa) est au Nord de la ville de Wang-chö-tch'eng 王舍城 (Rājagṛha) à une distance au Nord de quatre *li*. Cette colline a deux pics et des vautours stationnent toujours sur leurs sommets. Le peuple du pays l'appelle «Colline des Vautours».

C'est une version plus courte du Texte 30 du *Che-che Si-yu-ki*.

[144] H.A. Giles, *The travels of Fa-hsien*, 14-15.
[145] A = *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 28, 6 *a*; B = *id.*, 838, 8 *b*.
[146] A = *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 33, 7 *a*; B = 838, 8 *b*.
[147] *Chouei-king-tchou*, 1, 15 *a*.
[148] *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, 926, 10 *a*.

NOTE ADDITIONELLLE SUR LA DESCRIPTION DES PAYS D'OCCIDENT DE CHE TAO-NGAN

Dans le premier volume des *Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demiéville* j'avais publié un article intitulé «La Description de Pays d'Occident de Che Tao-ngan». C'est seulement après sa publication que j'ai eu accès, grâce à l'obligeance de M.K. Enoki, aux deux travaux suivants:

1) H. Matsuda 松田壽男, «Shakushi saiikiki shūchū» 釋氏西域記集註 (Editio variorum du *Che-che Si-yu-ki*), dans *Mélanges en l'honneur du Professeur Iwai* 岩井博士古稀記念論文集, Kyoto 1963, pp. 635-644.

2) Ts'en Tchong-mien 岑仲勉, «Tsin Song kien wai-kouo ti-li yi-chou tsi-lio» 晉宋間外國地理佚書輯略 (Édition des livres perdus sur la géographie des pays étrangers dans la période Tsin et Song), publié, originairement dans l'introuvable *Cheng-sin* 聖心 de Canton, II (1933) et maintenant réimprimé dans son *Tchong-wai che ti k'ao-tcheng* 中外史地攷證, I, Hong Kong 1966, pp. 164-182 (les fragments de Che Tao-ngan sont à pp. 171-178).

Je n'ai pas l'intention de discuter les identifications et les commentaires (pas très riches) des deux savants, sur plusieurs points desquels je ne suis pas d'accord; il suffit de se référer à mon article. Je vais seulement faire quelques observations sur le choix de certains fragments.

Il va de soi que les textes de Che Tao-ngan colligés par M.M. Matsuda et Ts'en sont pour la plus grande partie identiques aux miens. Sans entrer dans les détails, je note que M. Matsuda a ignoré tous les fragments conservés dans le *Yi-wen lei-tsiu* 藝文類聚 et que M. Ts'en a omis mes textes 4, 10 et 15.

De mon côté, j'ai été coupable de deux omissions. La première concerne un court fragment conservé dans le *Chouei-king-tchou*, k. 1, f. 16: «Le *Che-che Si-yu-ki* dit que le Ta-ts'in 大秦 est appelé d'un autre nom, Li-kien 犁軒 ». Che Tao-ngan ne fait que copier le passage très connu qui

est au commencement de la monographie du Ta-ts'in dans le *Heou Han-chou*, k. 88 [1].

L'autre texte (n° 15 de M. Matsuda; omis par M. Ts'en) est tiré du *T'ang Che Tchan-jan fou-hing-ki* 唐釋湛然輔行記, k. 4, et donne une courte description de l'origine du Yaṣṭivana (Jardin des bâtons) à Rājagṛha. N'ayant pas d'accès direct au *T'ang Che Tchan-jan fou-hing-ki*, et voyant l'absence d'intérêt de ce texte, je renonce à le traduire.

Une troisième omission peut, je crois, se justifier. Il s'agit du texte n. 34 de M. Matsuda [2]: «Le *Si-yu-tche* dit que la montagne Wou-hien 巫咸 est appelée d'un autre nom: montagne Fou-mo 覆莫 ». La montagne Wou-hien ou Fou-mo est à 5 li de Hia-hien 夏縣, dans le coin sud-occidental du Chansi [3]. Il est évidemment inattendu de trouver cette explication de topographie purement chinoise dans un ouvrage dédié à l'Asie Centrale, et je me demande si l'attribution à un Si-yu-tche (dont l'identification avec l'ouvrage de Che Tao-ngan serait d'ailleurs à établir) n'est pas due à une erreur [4].

Deux groupes de fragments exigent une discussion. L'un est formé de mes nn. 14, 17, 21, qui n'ont pas été acceptés par MM. Matsuda et Ts'en. Il est vrai que ces textes ne sont pas expressément donnés sous le nom de Che Tao-ngan; mais l'attribution me paraît presque certaine et je m'en suis expliqué dans mon article. Toutefois, il y là un élément d'impression subjective qui m'empêche d'insister trop à fond sur mon opinion.

L'autre problème est représenté par les textes de M. Matsuda nn. 12, 19 (= mon 15), 20, 27, dont j'ai accepté en forme dubitative un seul, alors que M. Ts'en n'en a accepté aucun. Ils sont tous attribués à un *Si-yu-ki* 西域記 sans nom d'auteur, et j'ai déjà avancé l'hypothèse qu'il s'agirait du *Si-yu-ki* de Yen-ts'ong 彥琮 (m. 610). Le dernier de ces textes [5] paraît donner le moyen de trancher le question: «Le roi de Sou-le 疎勒 (Kashgar) envoya à Wen-ti 文帝 des Wei deux vases centro-asiatiques (Hu 胡) d'or et deux vases centro-asiatiques d'argent».

Malheureusement le texte est ambigu; il peut s'appliquer à Wen-ti (220-226) des Wei des Trois Royaumes, ou à Wen-ti (534-551) des Wei occidentaux. Ni les *pen-ki* du *Wei-tche* du *San-kouo-tche*, ni la mono-

[1] Voir aussi mon *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, pp. 52-53.

[2] *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, k. 50, f. 6 a.

[3] *Tchong-kouo kou-kin ti-ming ta-ts'eu-tien*, s.v.

[4] Voir aussi R.A. STEIN, «Mi-ñag et Si-hia», *BEFEO*, XLIV (1951), p. 226.

[5] M. Matsuda l'a tiré du *T'ai-p'ing-yu-lan*, k. 758, f. 5 b; mais il s'y trouve aussi dans le k. 800, f. 7 a.

graphie sur les Pays d'Occident du *Wei-lio*, ni les *pen-ki* du *Tcheou-chou* ne mentionnent une ambassade de Sou-le pendant ces deux périodes. Toutefois, Tou Yeou nous donne une indication précieuse: «depuis la chute des Han (220) jusqu'au règne de Hiao Wen[-ti] (481-499) des Wei postérieurs, [Sou-le] n'envoya aucun tribut» en Chine [6]. Ainsi Wen-ti du *Si-yu-ki* est une abréviation de Hiao Wen-ti, et par conséquent les quatre fragments, appartenant à un ouvrage postérieur à la fin du V^e^ siècle, ne peuvent être attribué à Che Tao-ngan; très probablement ils sont de Yen-ts'ong. Mon texte 15 est donc à éliminer.

Je profite de l'occasion pour faire quelques additions:

Texte 5. Un fragment du conte du Roi des Rats se trouve aussi dans le *T'ang-chou*, k. 221, A, f. 11 a. La légende a été localisée par Sir Aurel Stein à Kaptar Mazar, c. 40 km de Khotan, et une figure de divinité à la tête de rat dans une fresque de Dandan Oiliq montre qu'elle faisait partie de la mythologie khotanaise [7].

Texte 10. Le passage 阿步干鮮卑山 doit être corrompu. M. Matsuda, p. 664, en s'en tenant partiellement à la lecture du *Yong-lo ta-tien*, propose de lire 河出于鮮卑山. La traduction serait: «[Le Hoang-]Ho sort des monts des Sien-pei (et s'écoule à l'Est jusqu'à Kin-tch'eng)». Sien-pei serait ici un synonyme de T'ou-yu-houen. La correction est assez hardie, mais plausible, et je ne suis pas loin de l'accepter.

Texte 17. La Mahī est maintenant une rivière qui dérive de la Gandak et la rejoint peu avant sa confluence avec le Gange; mais anciennement c'était peut-être un nom de la Grande Gandak elle-même [8].

[6] *T'ong-tien*, k. 192, p. 103 c. En fait, cette indication n'est pas correcte: la première ambassade de Sou-le aux Wei arriva le 8 mai 437, sous le règne de T'ai-wou-ti, *Wei-chou*, k. 4-A, f. 24 b.

[7] M.A. STEIN, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford 1907, pp. 120-121, 264-165.

[8] W. HOEY, «The five rivers of the Buddhists», *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 44-45.

GLOSSE AGLI *ANNALI* DI TUN-HUANG

Lo scopo di questa serie di note è di delucidare alcuni punti oscuri dell'interessantissimo testo tibetano dell'VIII o IX secolo conservato in piccola parte a Parigi (Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Tibétain Pelliot, n. 1288) e in maggior parte a Londra (India Office Library, Tun-huang, n. 750 [79.VIII.7]). Fu pubblicato e tradotto per la prima volta da J. Bacot [1]; opera di pioniere, ora largamente sorpassata grazie al lavorio critico svoltosi negli ultimi anni ad opera soprattutto di H. Richardson, G. Tucci, Li Fang-kuei, H. Satō, A. Róna-Tas, G. Uray, V. A. Bogoslovskij [2]. V'è però sempre campo per ulteriori ricerche su un testo che per il suo carattere arcaico offre numerosi e gravi problemi non solubili con l'aiuto dei lessici e dei testi storici tibetani medievali e moderni [3].

§ 1. NOTE DI TOPONOMASTICA.

A. *Residenze reali e dei ministri e luoghi di riunione delle assemblee del Tibet Centrale.*

Un'osservazione preliminare riguarda il frequente termine *btsan po'i p'o brań*, o anche semplicemente *p'o brań*, che nelle lingua moderna significa palazzo. Negli *Annali* esso indica più vagamente la residenza regia [4]. In quel periodo Lhasa serviva soltanto da centro amministrativo; il re manteneva ancora, forse per motivi sacrali, il costume atavico della transumanza tra sedi estive e sedi invernali, per lo più variabili anno per anno. Quindi *p'o brań* in pratica designava l'accampamento del re e della sua corte.

[1] *DTH*, pp. 7-52. Per le abbreviazioni vedasi la lista alla fine di questo articolo.

[2] Le loro opere verranno citate nel corso del nostro studio.

[3] Il manoscritto viene qui citato per righe, la cui numerazione è consecutiva, senza cioè distinguere la porzione parigina da quella londinese.

[4] Così anche nei testi tibetani tradotti dal khotanese; EMMERICK, pp. 138-139.

A partire dal 690 gli *Annali* forniscono sempre più frequentemente, e da ultimo regolarmente, la specificazione delle residenze estive e invernali. A questo proposito va notato che quasi mai una località di residenza estiva serviva anche da residenza invernale, e viceversa. Ciò dà un certo aiuto nelle identificazioni; è infatti evidente che le residenze estive vanno cercate nei pascoli estivi (*'brog*) sugli altopiani e in regioni elevate, mentre quelle invernali sono da localizzare nei fondovalle (*roṅ*), e spesso non lontano dalle confluenze dei vari fiumi nei due maggiori: sKyi-c'u e gTsaṅ-po.

Purtroppo la maggior parte di queste residenze temporanee non sono identificabili, a causa dei profondi mutamenti nella toponomastica tibetana causati dal passar del tempo e dall'introduzione del buddhismo. La seguente lista elenca, nell'ordine dell'alfabeto tibetano, tutti i toponimi di queste residenze che sono stati identificati, sia da altri, sia in seguito alle mie ricerche [5].

r K o ṅ g Y u g; luogo di caccia e di vacanza reale: 653, 662.

La località non è identificabile, ma si trovava nel Koṅ-po, vasta regione a est del dBus.

s K e - b y i, in Mal-gro; residenza reale: 660.

Potrebbe essere la zona in cui sorge il tempio di sKa-ts'al [6], attribuito dalla tradizione a Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po.

s K y i; regione.

Secondo il Thomas equivarrebbe al cin. Hsi-chih 析 支 (nome che ricorre già nello *Yü-kung* 禹 貢), cha a sua volta sarebbe il paese dei Tangut, a est delle gole del Huang-ho [7]. Ma il Róna-Tas ha dimostrato, in modo a parer mio definitivo, che sKyi corrisponde in tutto o in parte a sKyid-śod, il distretto in cui si trova Lhasa [8].

Nel sKyi si trovavano le seguenti località: sKyi rNams (luogo di riunione invernale dell'assemblea: 710, 711, 743); sKyi Byar-liṅs-tsal (luogo di riunione invernale dell'assemblea: 704, 728, 746); sKyi Śo-ma-ra [9] (luogo di riunione invernale dell'assemblea: 729, 731, 744).

[5] Le identificazioni qui proposte possono essere comodamente seguite sulle tre carte alla fine di FERRARI.

[6] Su cui vedi FERRARI, pp. 109-110 n. 113.

[7] F.W. THOMAS *TLTD*, III, p. 32; *Nam, an ancient language of the Sino-Tibetan borderland*, Londra 1948, p. 38; *Ancient folk-literature from North-Eastern Tibet*, Berlino 1957, Geogr. Introd., p. 4.

[8] A. RÓNA-TAS, Recensione di F.W. THOMAS, *Ancient folk-literature*, in *AOH*, 7 (1957), pp. 321-325.

[9] Śo-ma-ra è menzionato nel *Deb-t'er sṅon-po* (*BA*, p. 615) e compare come sKyi-śod Śo-ma-ra in *PT*, f. 19*a*.

G l a g; regione.

Di essa sappiamo solamente che conteneva le località di Ryu-bye [10], gNas-mo-c'e [11] e Pu-c'uṅ (q.v.).

s G r e g s; regione.

Conteneva le località di Lha-luṅ (luogo di nascita di K'ri-'dus-sroṅ-brtsan, 676) e di Bya-tsal (riunione invernale dell'assemblea: 699 e 738). Le cronache Sa-skya-pa, nel passo parallelo concernente la nascita di K'ri-'dus-sroṅ-brtsan, dànno la forma sGrags [12]. È il vasto distretto chiamato Tra dalle carte, sullo gTsaṅ-po a monte di bSam-yas.

Ñ e n - k a r; residenza del re: 651-653 e 677-693 (eccettuato il 690); residenza invernale del re: 714, 759.

Questa era la prediletta residenza nel VII secolo, e si trovava nel g·Yas-ru, una delle tre province primitive del Tibet [13]. Nelle sue vicinanze era la località di lCaṅ-bu (Ñen-kar lCaṅ-bu), residenza invernale di ministro nel 695. Ora noi sappiamo dall'iscrizione di mTs'ur-p'u che lCaṅ-bu è nella valle di sTod-luṅ a ovest di Lhasa [14], e forse è identico a mTs'ur-p'u stesso. Questa stessa località, sTod[-luṅ]-gyi lCaṅ-bu è menzionata nel ms. Br. Museum, 1. 27, come residenza invernale del re nel 757. Un altro lCaṅ-bu era situato nel Byar [15]. [SATÒ 1978, pp. 372-373, identifica Ñen-kar con T'aṅ-po-c'e nella valle di 'P'yoṅs-rgyas. La sua proposta sembra preferibile, data la posizione nei luoghi d'origine della dinastia].

s Ñ i ṅ - d r u ṅ; regione.

Ivi si trovavano Gye-t'al-ba e sNa-riṅs, residenze di ministro rispettivamente nel 657 e nel 658. Come risulta dal *Padma-t'aṅ-yig*, sÑiṅ-druṅ si trovava nella valle di sÑe-mo [16].

D o l d; regione.

Conteneva la località di Mar-ma (q.v.); corrisponde sulle carte alla valle del fiume senza nome che sbocca da sud nello gTsaṅ-po di fronte a

[10] *Annali*, ll. 71-72.

[11] *BA*, p. 95.

[12] *Validity*, p. 311.

[13] *PT*, f. 20*a*. Sulle tre province o corni (*ru*) vedi G. URAY, «*The four horns of Tibet according to the Royal Annals*», in *AOH*, 10 (1960), pp. 31-57.

[14] H.E. RICHARDSON, *Three ancient inscriptions from Tibet*, in *JASBLett.*, 15 (1949), pp. 50, 62; cf. *TTK*, p. 16. Sul sTod-luṅ vedi FERRARI, pp. 73-74.

[15] *Byar gyi lCaṅ-bu*. Residenza invernale del re 758, 761, 762, 763; ms. Br. Mus., ll. 31, 43, 47, 56. Questo Byar non può essere la valle del Byar-c'u (Charchu) nel Lho-k'a (su cui vedi FERRARI, pp. 51 e 127), trovandosi questo troppo al di fuori del Tibet Centrale.

[16] FERRARI, p. 161.

rDo-rje-brag, da Tonnamgyalling (Dol rNam-rgyal-gliṅ) a Chitishio; in quel distretto giace anche Dol gSuṅ-rab-glin [17]. Dol è spesso menzionato nel *Deb-t'er-sṅon-po*.

N a m - c e - g l i ṅ; residenza invernale del re: 672.

Potrebbe essere nella valle di sNam, affluente del sKyi-c'u a valle di Lhasa [18].

P u - c ' u ṅ, in Glag; luogo di riunione di assemblea: 674, idem invernale: 658, 694, 701; idem estiva: 756,762,763.

Il Thomas pensava al lago P'u-ch'ang 蒲昌 dei cinesi, ossia il Lop Nor [19]. Ma la corrispondenza fonetica (ant. *b'uo tś'iang*) è molto imperfetta: e soprattutto le assemblee del Tibet centrale non si riunivano nel mDo-smad o regioni vicine. È più verosimile che si tratti della patria di P'u-c'uṅ-ba gŽon-nu-rgyal-mts'an (1031-1106), un villaggio nella valle di 'P'an-yul a nord di Lhasa [20].

s P e l; residenza estiva del re: 724.

Probabilmente era non lontano da bSam-yas, dove un traghetto si chiamava sPel-dmar [21].

s P r a g s, P r a g s ; regione.

In essa si trovano Śa-ra (q.v.) e Mur-gas, luogo di riunione di assemblea nel 680 e 683. Per la sua determinazione disponiamo di due serie di dati, difficimente conciliabili tra di loro. Da un lato risulta da due testi indipendenti che sPrags era situato nel Myaṅ-yul, il paese del clan Myaṅ [22]. Questo a sia volta corrispondeva alla valle del Maṅ-ra-c'u, affluente del sKyi-c'u nella zona di Žva'i-lha-k'aṅ [23]. D'altra parte secondo PT, f. 19 *a, b,* Prags si trovava a nord di Lhasa e a est della valle dello Śaṅs, centri rispettivamente di dBu-ru e du g·Yas-ru; e questa determinazione, sebbene parecchio vaga, si attaglierebbe bene con la localizzazione da noi proposta per Śa-ra (q.v.). Mancano elementi per decidere tra le due alternative.

P ' a r; residenza estiva del re: 698 e 699.

Vi è forse una connessione col passo P'ar, tra Śaṅs e 'U-yug [24].

[17] T.V. WYLIE, *The geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad* (SOR XXV), Roma 1962, p. 166, n. 487.

[18] FERRARI, p. 72, n. 666.

[19] *TLTD*, III, p. 95.

[20] FERRARI, p. 39 e n. 27.

[21] *BA*, p. 257.

[22] Ciò risulta da *BA*, p. 84, e dal ms. Pelliot Tib. 1285/III pubblicato in *J. As.* 1958, p. 179.

[23] FERRARI, p. 110, n. 114.

[24] FERRARI, p. 69 e n. 611.

P ' o - d a m - m d o; residenza estiva del re: 673.

Probabilmente è P'o-mdo, Phondu delle carte, nel distretto di sTag-luṅ; è un punto importante della strada da Lhasa a Hsi-ning, dove essa passa con un ponte il sKyi-c'u.

P ' y i ṅ - b a; luogo di sepoltura reale: 650, 679, 706, 713.

Hoffmann fu il primo a riconoscere nel nostro testo questa parola come toponimo [25]. È menzionato in altri testi di Tun-huang [26], ed è stato visitato e descritto dal prof. Tucci [27].

B a l - p o ; residenza estiva di ministro: 675; residenza estiva del re: 690, 695, 697, 699, 707-712, 718, 719, 722, 723.

Dopo la discussione fatta dal prof. Tucci [28] è ormai pacifico che Bal-po, che nella lingua moderna indica il Nepal, non può avere questo significato negli *Annali*; e ciò soprattutto perchè i re tibetani non potevano recarsi a passare l'estate in una regione relativamente così bassa e calda. Bal-po è invece da identificare con la valle di Pa-pu 跋布 (*b'uât puo*), che secondo i cinesi era residenza del re tibetano assieme a Lhasa [29]. È identico anche al lago Pa-pu 拔布 (*b'wat puo*), termine di un itinerario cinese nel Tibet [30]. Quindi è probabilmente da ricercare nella zona del lago Palti o Yamdrok-tso. Bal-po conteneva la località di Bri'u-taṅ, residenza estiva del re nel 699 e luogo di riunione estiva dell'assemblea nel 725.

B r a - m a - t a ṅ; luogo di riunione invernale dell'assemblea nel 689 e 691.

Nel 691 viene chiamato sKyi Bra-ma-taṅ; va quindi ricercato nella zona di Lhasa.

B r a g - d m a r; residenza invernale del re nel 695, 697, 707,709-713, 717-747 (con l'eccezione degli anni 720, 727, 739).

Il nome è trascritto Po-li-man 勃呬漫 (*b'uet liek muân*) in un testo cinese [31]. L'identificazione è sicura; è il luogo dove più tardi sorse il tempio reale di bSam-yas [32].

[25] H. HOFFMANN, *Die Gräber der tibetischen Könige im Distrikt 'P'yongs-rgyas*, in *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Phil. hist. Klasse, 1950 p. 13 n. La constatazione è stata fatta indipendentemente anche da H. RICHARDSON, *Early burial grounds in Tibet and Tibetan decorative art of the VIIIth and IXth centuries*, in *CAJ*, 8 (1963), pp. 75-76, a cui sembra essere sfuggita la nota di Hoffmann.

[26] *DTH*, pp. 127, 132.

[27] *TTK*, p. 31.

[28] *MBT*, pp. 34-36.

[29] *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 1*b* (= PELLIOT, p. 80).

[30] *TS*, ch. 40, f. 7*a* (= PELLIOT, p. 142).

[31] *MBT*, p. 286; P. DEMIÉVILLE, in *T'oung Pao*, 46 (1958), p. 406.

[32] G. TUCCI, *A Lhasa e oltre*, p. 106; *TTK*, pp. 86-87; *MBT*, II, p. 32.

M a l - g r o, M a l - t r o, M a l - t ' r o; regione.

Conteneva sKe-byi (q.v.) e brDzen-t'aṅ (residenza estiva del re: 694, 713, 714; luogo di riunione estiva dell'assemblea: 761). Nessun dubbio sulla localizzazione; è la valle di Mal-gro (Metro delle carte), il cui fiume è un affluente di riva sinistra del sKyi-c'u [33].

M a r - m a, in Dold; residenza invernale del re, 699.

Questo nome ricorre anche nel *Deb-t'er-sṅon-po*, Ña, f. 117*a*, come Mar-ma gSer-steṅs nel basso Dol (Dol-mda') [34].

M e r - k e o M e r - k ' e; residenza reale: 650, 654-658, 661; luogo di deposito del cadavere reale: 705, 706.

Secondo il Thomas e il Richardson [35] sarebbe da identificare con Merge, a poca distanza ad ovest di Sung-p'an nel Ssŭ-ch'uan. Ma risalendo queste notizie a un periodo di poco posteriore alla formazione dello stato tibetano, è molto difficile che Merge fosse già inclusa nel territorio del regno. È una presunzione quasi inevitabile che Mer-ke vada cercata nel Tibet centrale, tanto più che il cadavere reale non poteva essere deposto molto lungi dal cimitero regio di 'P'yiṅ-ba nella valle di Yar-kluṅs.

M o ṅ - k a r; residenza estiva del re: 700; luogo di riunione invernale dell'assemblea: 713, 717, 723.

L'ipotesi più plausibile è che vada identificato con Moṅ-mk'ar-rdzoṅ, capoluogo dello sÑe-mo [36]. Una possibilità secondaria è rappresentata dal Moṅ nel sTod[-luṅ] [37], menzionato sotto la data del 757 nel ms. Br. Mus., l. 25.

M o ṅ - p u S r a l - r d z o ṅ ; residenza di ministro: 654.

Va evidentemente ricercata in una delle due località menzionate nella voce precedente.

g Ž o ṅ P ' y a g; luogo di riunione estiva dell'assemblea: 711.

Potrebbe essere situato nella regione di gŽoṅ-ba Lha-c'u, nella parte bassa del sTod-luṅ presso sKyor-mo-luṅ [38], dove Padmasambhava fece

[33] FERRARI, p. 109. Secondo H. SATŌ, *Toban-ō no Kaga Monkuro-sen ni tsuite*, in *Kodai Bunka (Cultura Antiqua)*, 15 (1965), pp. 41-45, il fiume Mal-gro sarebbe da identificare col Mên-ch'ü-lu 悶樞盧 del *CTS*, ch. 196, f. 15*b* (= PELLIOT, p. 76). Ma l'equivalenza fonetica è insoddisfacente e quella geografica mi sembra molto dubbia.

[34] Trascrizione imperfetta in *BA*, p. 667.

[35] *TLTD*, III, p. 87; H. E. RICHARDSON, *Early burial grounds in Tibet and Tibetan decorative art of the VIIIth and IXth centuries*, in *CAJ*, 8 (1963), p. 76.

[36] FERRARI, p. 161.

[37] Il Thomas intende sTod[-p'yogs], ossia il Tibet occidentale; ma è impossibile, perché il testo vi colloca la riunione dell'assemblea del Tibet Centrale.

[38] FERRARI, p. 73 e n. 689.

scaturire una fonte miracolosa (*lha-c'u*)[39]. Oppure è la zona di Żoń-pa Ts'al nello Śańs [40]. Trattandosi di una residenza estiva, propenderei per la seconda alternativa. [Così anche Satō 1978, p. 372].

Z u ń - k a r; residenza reale nell'estate e nell'inverno 756. È il luogo di morte di K'ri-sroń-lde-brtsan, Zungkar delle carte sullo gTsan-po a poche miglia a ovest di bSam-yas [41]. Un testo cinese riguardante il famoso «concilio» trascrive questo nome come Sung-ko 訟 割 (ant. *ziwong kât*) [42].

' O - d a ń ; residenza reale della reggente: 704.

Sotto l'anno 745 viene scritto Yi-dań. Sotto l'anno 704 il testo specifica: «'O-dań dello Yar-'brog», il che significa che la località va cercata nei dintorni del lago Yar-'brog o Palti, a est dello gTsań. Un testo interessante ci informa che nel 638 Sroń-btsan-sgam-po chiuse o colmò (*bsubs*) il lago di 'O-t'ań [43]; ciò concorda nell'indicare una zona lacustre.

Il Thomas [44] richiama un «Ri O-tang rDzoń» nella carta di S. Ch. Das; ma la forma esatta nella carta del Das è Rivotag [45], il che sembra troppo lontano da 'O-dań.

' O - y u g; regione, residenza estiva del re nel 715.

L'identificazione è certa: è la valle dell'affluente di riva destra dello gTsań-po a monte della confluenza del Roń-c'u [46]. Conteneva Ts'a-steńs (residenza di ministro, 690) e Nubs (luogo di riunione dell'assemblea, 715).

' O n; regione.

L'identificazione è sicura; è la valle di Wön delle carte, che confluisce nello gTsań-po sotto rTse-t'ań [47]. Conteneva sNa-bo (residenza invernale del re, 675) e 'A-ga-tsal (residenza invernale del re, 690, 697).

[39] G. TOUSSAINT, *Le dict de Padmasambhava*, Parigi 1933, p. 248.

[40] Menzionato in *PT*, f. 19*b*, e in un testo Bon-po citato da S. CH. DAS, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 1230*b*. È dubbio se la regione vada identificata con lo Żoń-ba assegnato al clan sNa-nam in *PT*, f. 19*b*.

[41] *TTK*, p. 79 n. 49; G. TUCCI, *A Lhasa e oltre*, p. 102. È Zur-mk'ar-mdo di Ferrari, p. 46, dove la prima sillaba va corretta in Zuń-, seguendo per questa volta la lezione del ms. della «Guida» di mK'yen-brtse.

[42] P. DEMIÉVILLE, *Deux documents de Touen-houang sur le dhyāna chinois*, in *Essays on the history of Buddhism presented to Professor Zenryū Tsukamoto*, Kyoto 1961, p. 23.

[43] *PT*, f. 41*b*.

[44] *DTH*, p. 67.

[45] S. CH. DAS, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, Londra 1904, p. 187.

[46] FERRARI, p. 69 e n. 612.

[47] FERRARI, p. 47 e n. 186.

' O n - c a ṅ - d o; residenza invernale della reggente: 700, 702; luogo di riunione invernale dell'assemblea: 702, 707, 709.

È un nome su cui si è discusso a lungo [48]. Si tratta, nel caso presente del palazzo vicino a Lhasa [49].

Ś a - t s a l; luogo di giudizio: 695; luogo di arrivo della principessa cinese Chin-ch'êng Kung-chu: 710.

Dalla menzione dell'anno 710 (*Ra-sa'i-Śa-tsal*) risulta che questo «Parco dei Cervi» era a Lhasa o nei dintorni.

Ś a - r a , di sPrags; residenza reale: 659, 668, 676.

Potrebbe essere la località dove più tardi nacque Śa-ra-ba Yon-tan-grags [50], la cui residenza Śa-ra 'Bum-pa si trova nel 'P'an-yul, a nord di Lhasa [51]. Ciò è elemento rilevante per la determinazione geografica di Prags (q.v.).

Ś a ṅ s; regione.

L'identificazione è sicura; è la valle dello Shangchu, affluente di riva destra dello gTsan-po, a OSO di Lhasa [52]. La valle costituiva il centro del g·Yas-ru [53] e conteneva Rab-ka-tsal (residenza invernale del re, 673) e Sum-c'u-bo (q.v.).

Ś o ṅ s N a; luogo di riunione estiva dell'assemblea: 686, 692.

Il Thomas suggerì un'equivalenza con la depressione dello Shona-nor tra Hami e il Quruq-tagh [54]; ma è del tutto inverosimile che un'assemblea del Tibet Centrale si riunisse in piena Asia Centrale, e per di più Shona-nor è nome moderno. C'era invece nel Tibet centrale un monastero di gŚoṅs a Ṅog e soprattutto una località di Śoṅ-yur [55]. Il distretto di questo nome era la patria del famoso mistico Śoṅ-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mts'an (XIII secolo) [56].

S u m - c ' u - b o, in Śaṅs; residenza estiva del re: 672 e 673; luogo di morte del ministro mGar bTsan-sña: 685.

Quasi certamente è Sog-luṅ Sum-mdo, il Sulung Sumdo delle carte, alla confluenza del Sokpo-lungba con lo Shangchu [57].

[48] *TTK*, pp. 14-19; *TLTD*, III, pp. 2-4; DEMIÉVILLE, *Concile*, pp. 277, 367.

[49] Su cui vedi FERRARI, p. 72 e n. 679.

[50] FERRARI, pp. 83-84.

[51] FERRARI, p. 39.

[52] FERRARI, pp. 68-69 e note.

[53] *PT*, ff. 19b e 20a. Cf. G. TUCCI, *Preliminary Report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*, (SOR X, I), Roma 1956, pp. 80 e 82.

[54] *BA*, pp. 748-749.

[55] *BA*, pp. 108, 748.

[56] *BA*, pp. 784-785.

[57] FERRARI, p. 160 n. 160.

L h a s - g a ń - t s a l; residenza invernale del re: 707; residenza invernale della reggente: 704 e 707-711; luogo di riunione invernale dell'assemblea: 724, 727, 732, 733.

Come risulta dalla menzione sotto l'anno 727, la località era nel sKyi, e quindi nella regione di Lhasa.

Le identificazioni sopra elencate non lasciano alcun dubbio sul fatto che le residenze reali e i luoghi di riunione delle assemblee (annuali prima, semestrali poi) si trovavano in una regione, relativamente molto circoscritta, ossia nel Tibet Centrale tra lo Śaṅs, il P'an-yul e lo Yar-kluṅs. Il nomadismo regio si limitava a quella regione, mentre (a quanto pare) una parte almeno degli uffici amministrativi era permanentemente situata a Lhasa, la quale città però non viene mai nominata negli *Annali*. Anche le assemblee non si spostano oltre la stessa zona, tanto più che il Tibet nord-orientale aveva assemblee proprie. Bisogna quindi rinunziare a priori a qualsiasi identificazione di questa classe di toponimi con regioni o località dell'Asia Centrale, come talvolta ha tentato di fare il Thomas.

B. *Località ai confini*

K ' u - ñ e - m o ń - g a ń s; località dove nel 742 fu fatta la revisione amministrativa (*mk'os*) [58] degli 'A-ža.

Forse identica con K'u-le-mo-ńan dei documenti d'Asia Centrale, da ricercare nella regione di Sha-chou [59].

l C o g - l a; regione ribellatasi nel 674 [60] e di nuovo (?) nel 677 sotto il suo capo lCog-la Riń-cug-skor [61].

Il nome ricorre anche nel *Deb-t'er-sṅon-po* [62]. dPa'-bo ne fa la sede di uno dei dodici uomini saggi incontrati da gÑa'-k'ri-btsan-po, primo re mitologico del Tibet, al suo arrivo nel paese; è accoppiato con Žaṅ-

[58] Come già notato da G. TUCCI, *Preliminary Report* ecc., p. 90 n, *mk'os* significa organizzazione, amministrazione ecc. Sembra però che gli *Annali* distinguano il *mk'os c'en-po* (grande organizzazione), che avviene per la prima volta e indica l'impianto della struttura amministrativa tibetana in un paese suddito, dal semplice *mk'os*, che indica una riorganizzazione successiva; preferisco quindi tradurre il secondo termine come «revisione». L'interpretazione *mk'o[s]* = funzione, proposta da R.A. STEIN, *La civilisation tibétaine*, Parigi [1981, p. 78] non mi sembra adeguata.

[59] *TLTD*, II, pp. 7 e 365-367.

[60] l. 60: *lcog la log pa daṅ*. Il verbo *log-pa* negli *Annali* ha sempre il significato di ribellione.

[61] ll. 69-70, dove il nome è stato male letto dal Bacot. Quanto all'espressione *glo ba riṅs*, è ormai assodato che essa significa «essere infedele, essere fellone»; LI FANG-KUEI, *Tibetan glo-ba-'driṅ*, in *Studia Serica Karlgren dicata*, Copenaghen 1959, pp. 55-59.

[62] *BA*, p. 201.

žuń [63]. Nella stessa opera ricorre assieme a Gug in un passo [64] in cui *gug ge cog la* deve essere una corruzione testuale per *gug gcog la*; ambedue i paesi vengono collegati in Žań-žuń. Altrove compaiono i capi di Gug e Cog come vincitori dei Gru-gu (Turchi) [65]. Deve trattarsi di una suddivisione dello Žań-žuń (q.v.) e va quindi cercata nell'alta valle del Nag-c'u.

J i - m a - k ' o l; nel 668 vi fu istituito un comando militare (?) [66]; nel 670 i tibetani vi sconfissero un esercito cinese.

La finale *k'ol* ricorda da vicino il mongolo *γol*, «fiume, valle». L'accostamento non è arbitrario, in quanto Ji-ma-k'ol si trovava certamente nelle antiche sedi dei T'u-yü-hun 吐谷渾 ('A-ža per i tibetani), i quali a quanto pare parlavano una lingua proto-mongola.

La notizia riguardante la vittoria del 670 tende a identificare Ji-ma-k'ol, con il Ta-fei-ch'uan 大非川 delle fonti cinesi [67]. Secondo l'opinione più comune sarebbe la valle del Bukhain-gol, che si getta nel Kökenōr dall'ovest [68]. Ma R. A. Stein ha giustamente obiettato che Ta-fei-ch'uan ricorre nell'itinerario cinese da Hsi-ning a Lhasa [69], e quindi doveva trovarsi a est o sud-est del Köke-nōr [70]. Un altro elemento non ancora apprezzabile è dato dalla monografia sui T'u-yü-hun: la valle e i monti Ta-fei sono all'altezza della valle di P'o-lo-chên 破邏真 [71]; ma

[63] *Cog-la Bon* | *Žań-žuń Bon; PB*, f. 6b.

[64] *PT*, f. 20*a*.

[65] *PT*, f. 20*b*. Cf. G. TUCCI, *Preliminary Report*, ecc., pp. 83, 87, [e SATŌ 1978, pp. 375-376].

[66] l. 49: *ji ma k'ol du dgra bžer brtsigs*. Il Bacot traduce il termine *dgra-bžer* come «forteresse»; SATŌ, 1958, p. 316, è della stessa opinione. Ma non si vede su quali argomenti riposi questa traduzione. Il Thomas (*TLTD*, III, p. 107) rinunzia a tradurre. La parola ricorre anche nella frase *dgra bžer ni g·yul sprad cin* in *DTH*, P113, dove il significato pare essere appunto quello da me adottato. Infatti *dgra* in questi composti significa militare (BOGOSLOVSKIJ, p. 133) e *bžer* equivale al cinese *lang* 郎, funzionario (*Concile*, p. 281*n*).

[67] *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, f.3*b*; *TS* ch. 216*a*, f. 4*a* (= PELLIOT, pp. 7, 86).

[68] CHAVANNES, *Documents*, p. 179 n; DEMIÉVILLE, *Concile*, p. 185 n; A. HERRMANN, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, Cambridge Mass. 1935, tav. 67. L'interpretazione si basa sul *T'ung-chien chi-lan* 通鑑集覽 e sembra confortata dal racconto della marcia di Hsi-no-lo (sTag-sgra) nel 727; *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, f. 5*b* (= PELLIOT, p. 17). È accettata anche nel *Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta-tz'u-tien* 中國古今地名大辭典, p. 66 *d*.

[69] *TS*, ch. 40, f. 6*b* (= PELLIOT, p. 141).

[70] STEIN, *Tribus*, p. 75 n. [Secondo H. SATŌ, *The route from Kokonor to Lhasa during the T'ang period*, in *Acta Asiatica* 29 (1975), pp. 56, e SATŌ 1978, pp. 144-145, sarebbe il fiume Hoyuyun, a nord del Gungga-nor].

[71] *CTS*, ch. 198, f. 7*a*.

quest'ultima non è stata ancora localizzata. Comunque rimane certo che Ji-ma-k'ol, se identico a Ta-fei, va cercato a sud-est del Köke-nōr.

D a r - k ' v a - h y v a n; fortezza cinese conquistata nel 741.

L'equivalenza è stata determinata da Satō, 1958, p. 493: è Ta-hua *hsien* 達化縣 (ant. *d'ât χwa γiwen*), distretto elencato tra quelli dipendenti da K'uo-chou 廓州 nel Kan-su [72]. La presa di Ta-hua *hsien* ad opera dei tibetani è registrata nelle fonti cinesi sotto le date del 31 gennaio [73] e dell'8 febbraio 742 [74], che evidentemente si riferiscono all'arrivo della notizia a corte; esse confermano in pieno quella degli *Annali*.

P o ṅ; *regione*.

Conteneva K'ri-mu-steṅs (residenza estiva del re, 702) e Lag-raṅ dove un pretendente al trono fu deposto nel 705 (vedi oltre). Potrebbe essere la regione in cui giace Poṅ rDzi-ra, sull'alto Yangtze-kiang [75], a nord-ovest del 'Jang dove il re condusse una spedizione nel 703.

' B u - ś i ṅ - k u n: città o fortezza che i tibetani attaccarono nel 714 e conquistarono nel 762.

Si tratta dell'odierna città di Lin-t'ao 臨洮.

[Un testo cinese ci informa infatti che in antico Lin-t'ao era chiamata dai tibetani col nome Wu-shêng-chün 武寧軍 (*b'iu śieng kiuen*)] [76].

Le fonti cinesi confermano che Lin-t'ao venne saccheggiata dai tibetani nel 714 e da loro conquistata nel 762 [77].

Ż a ṅ - ž u ṅ; regione ripetutamente menzionata.

Dopo gli studi del prof. Tucci, dello Stein e di Chang Kun [78] mi sembra ormai evidente senza bisogno di ulteriore dimostrazione che il centro di gravità dello Żaṅ-žuṅ nell'VIII secolo non era nella regione del Tibet occidentale più tardi chiamata Gu-ge, ma era situato a nord-nord-est del Tibet centrale, lungo la grande via di comunicazione descritta nel *TS* e che in tutti i tempi ha congiunto Lhasa con Hsi-ning. Corrisponderebbe quindi all'incirca alla regione di Nag-c'u-k'a, al cui limite meridionale le

[72] *TS*, ch. 40, f. 10*a*. Sulla località vedi *TCTC*, ch. 214 (p. 6846) e *Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming-ta-tz'u-tien*, p. 1068*c*; all'incirca l'odierna Kuei-tê 貴德.

[73] *CTS*, ch. 9, f. 4*b*.

[74] *TCTC*, ch. 214 (p. 6846).

[75] T.V. WYLIE, *The geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bśad*, p. 99 e n. 587.

[76] H. SATŌ, *A note on 'Bu-śiṅ-kun*, in *Tōyōshi kenkyū*, XXXIII, 2 (1974), p. 108.

[77] *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, f. 7*a*. e *TS*, ch. 216*a*, ff. 8*a*, 11*b* (= PELLIOT, pp. 15, 96, 107).

[78] G. TUCCI, *Preliminary Report* ecc., pp. 71-75, 92-105; STEIN, *Tribus*, pp. 51-54; CHANG KUN, *On Zhang-zhung*, in *Studies presented to Tung Tso-pin on his sixty-fifth birthday*, Taipei 1960, pp. 137-154.

carte segnano ancora oggi un passo chiamato Shang-shung-la (c. 91°35′ E, 30°57′ N). Il quadro storico a cui ci riconduce questa identificazione è abbastanza chiaro; all'epoca della monarchia la conquista, pacificazione e organizzazione di Žaṅ-žuṅ costituivano un prerequisito assolutamente necessario per la sottomissione degli 'A-ža o T'u-yü-hun, intrapresa nel 659 e condotta a termine nel 666. Del resto una prima sottomissione di Žaṅ-žuṅ e degli 'A-ža è attribuita già al re sTag-ri-gñan-gzigs, il nonno di Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, vissuto quindi nella seconda metà del VI secolo [79].

Quanto allo Žaṅ-žuṅ medievale, ossia Gu-ge, corrispondente a parte del moderno mÑa'-ris sKor-gsum, la sua sottomissione dovette aver luogo nel 721, quando numerosi ambasciatori del sTod-p'yogs (Tibet occidentale) resero omaggio al re tibetano; erano gli anni in cui il Tibet iniziava la sua politica di espansione verso Bru-ža (Gilgit), per raggiungere il quale era necessario prima sottomettere Gu-ge e il La-dvags. Dal punto di vista fonetico si può accostare Gu-ge al Gog menzionato nell'anno 747 assieme a Bru-ža (Gilgit); i sovrani dei due stati fuggirono all'apparire delle truppe cinesi nel Kog-yul (alta valle dell'Indo?) [80]. Si tratta naturalmente della famosa spedizione di Kao Hsien-chih nel Piccolo P'o-lü (747). Nel 756 un'ambasciata di Gog viene menzionata in un contesto che dimostra come Gog venisse incluso nel sTod-p'yogs, ossia nel Tibet occidentale [81]. Lo stesso dato ci viene fornito dalle ultime linee frammentarie del ms. Tib. Pelliot 1287, dove però la grafia è Kog [82]. Infine, Gog corrisponde esattamente alla forma sanscrita Goggadeśa, con cui una parte del Tibet occidentale (Bhoṭṭabhūmi) viene indicata da Jonarāja, *Dvitīya-Rājataraṅgiṇī*, v. 1106. Resta da chiarire il rapporto (se esiste) tra Gog e Kog-yul, ma esso mi rimane ancora oscuro [83].

Ž o - d o ṅ; località presso cui nel 741 fu fatto il primo impianto dell'ammistrazione politica e fiscale (*mk'os c'en-po*; vedi sopra) del paese di K'rom.

Malgrado qualche difficoltà fonetica, Žo-doṅ potrebbe essere Shu-tun 樹敦 (*źiu tuen*) dei testi cinesi, una città dei T'u-yü-hun. Sebbene di-

[79] *PT*, f. 11b. Nella lista delle conquiste di Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po in *PT*, f. 22*b*, Žaṅ-žuṅ e Gru-gu vengono posti all'ovest; ma qui Žaṅ-žuṅ viene inteso da dPa'-bo gTsug-lag nella sua accezione medievale, con risultati assurdi: Gru-gu (= Dru-gu, Turchi) non poteva certo essere situato nel Tibet Centrale.

[80] Ms. Br. Mus., l. 10 (= *DTH*, p. 55).

[81] Ms. Br. Mus., l. 20 (= *DTH*, p. 56).

[82] *DTH*, p. 122.

[83] La nota in *TLTD*, III, p. 6, non contribuisce a rischiarare l'oscurità. Naturalmente il Kog di Rag-tag, dove fu riunita l'assemblea invernale del mDo-smad nel 755, non ha nulla a che fare col Kog o Gog all'ovest del Tibet.

strutta dai Turchi e Cinesi nel 556 [84], è menzionata ancora all'inizio del periodo K'ai-huang (581-600) [85].

R a g - t a g; distretto dove si riunì il consiglio del mDo-smad: 707, 708, 759.

L'identificazione offre qualche difficoltà di ordine storico, se non geografico; ma nelle sue linee essenziali essa era già stata definita dal Thomas [86]. Rag-tag corrisponde al cinese Lo-t'o 駱駝 (ant. *lâk t'âk*), regione in cui si trovavano il ponte e la montagna dello stesso nome [87]. In essa erano situate le località di rMa-roṅ (gole del rMa-c'u o Huang-ho) e di Ñam-pu. Quest'ultima ricorda il cinese Nien-po 碾伯, menzionato per la prima volta all'inizio della dinastia Ming, eretto a *hsien* nel 1725: nel 1929 il suo nome fu mutato in Lo-tu 樂都. Quest'ultimo a sua volta compare come nome di un *chün* sotto i Chin (265-420), e poi di nuovo sotto i Chou settentrionali (558-581); ma nel 598 la denominazione andò fuori uso. Nel 1929 venne riesumata, applicandola al posto di Nien-po, da cui però origine differiva [88].

Dagli *Annali* si può desumere che: 1) Lo-t'o dei T'ang, sebbene graficamente e foneticamente del tutto differente, era geograficamente identico o quasi al Lo-tu dei Chin, dei Chou settentrionali e della repubblica; 2) Ñam-pu, sebbene differente foneticamente da Nien-po (ant. *niän pak*), ne rappresenta una forma similare, di sei secoli più antica dell'introduzione ufficiale del nome nella terminologia amministrativa cinese; 3) sebbene la regione venisse definitivamente conquistata dai tibetani appena nel 762 [89], essa, o parte di essa, era già stata saltuariamente occupata nel corso dei sessant'anni precedenti.

§ 2. Dispute dinastiche.

A. *Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po e suo fratello.*

Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po non succedette pacificamente al padre gNam-ri-sroṅ-btsan, morto di veleno; la *Cronaca* di Tun-huang parla di torbidi se-

[84] *TCTC*, ch. 166, p. 5153. Cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 260n.

[85] *Sui-shu*, ch. 83, f. 2*b*. Per la localizzazione vedi A. Herrmann, *Historical Atlas*, tav. 33-2.

[86] *TLTD*, III, p. 6.

[87] *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, f. 8*a*; *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 4*a*; *TFYK*, ch. 981, f. 12*a*. L'edizione seguita dal Pelliot, pp. 18, 44, ha l'erronea lezione Lo-t'o 駱馳 (*lâk-d'â*).

[88] Queste notizie si ricavano dal *Ch'ing-hai chi* 青海記, tradotto in J.F. Rock, *The Amnye Ma-chhen range and adjacent regions* (SOR XII), Roma 1956, pp. 9-10.

[89] *Ch'ing-hai chi*, *ap.* J.F. Rock, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

guiti alla morte del vecchio re [90]. Ma queste non furono le sole lotte interne sostenute dal fondatore del regno tibetano. Sembra che nei suoi ultimi anni egli avesse a combattere con un suo fratello minore. Nessuna fonte antica o tarda ne parla, ma ciò pare risultare dalle prime linee frammentarie del ms. parigino degli *Annali*. Questi frammenti, esclusi dall'edizione del Bacot, sono stati recentemente pubblicati dal Richardson [91].

Le linee che ci interessano sono le seguenti.

l. 8 ... *na'* | *btsan po gcen sroṅ rtsan dṅa* | *gcuṅ btsan sroṅ gñis nold nas* | *gcuṅ*

l. 9 ... [*ža*]*l ta mk'a's sregs 'k'u ste* | *mñald gyi gzen du* | *gcuṅ btsan sroṅ* | *žugsu*

l. 10 .... *o* |.

Una traduzione non può essere che congetturale. Propongo la seguente, che in due punti differisce da quella del Richardson.

«Il re fratello maggiore Sroṅ-rtsan e il fratello minore bTsan-sroṅ si combatterono [92]; [il funzionario del] fratello minore, mK'a's-sregs, tradì [93]; e a gZen del mÑal [94] il fratello minore bTsan-sroṅ [perì] nel fuoco».

Nell'assenza di ogni informazione indipendente, posso rilevare soltanto alcuni fatti. La l. 2 come correttamente restaurata dal Richardson, accenna a spedizioni vittoriose del re contro gli 'A-ža e i Cinesi, il che si riferisce agli anni 634-641. È questa la stessa epoca in cui si pone l'effimero regno del figlio Guṅ-sroṅ-guṅ-brtsan (633-638) [95]. La lotta col fratello minore potrebbe quindi essere connessa con la restaurazione di Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po, che riprese lo scettro dopo l'immatura morte del figlio.

Osservo inoltre che questo secondogenito deve essere stato munito dal padre di un appannaggio o feudo, il quale, se la mia interpretazione è esatta, si trovava nel Tibet meridionale.

[90] *DTH*, p. 147.

[91] H.E. RICHARDSON, *A fragment from Tun-huang*, in *Bulletin of Tibetology*, 11, 3 (1965), pp. 73-38.

[92] RICHARDSON: «si riconciliarono». Ma *nold* sembra qui avere lo stesso significato che nella frase *[s]nol-[']t'abs* della l. 37, che va tradotta «combattere»; *Validity*, p. 319.

[93] Questo pare essere il significato di *'k'u* nei due passi in cui la parola ricorre nella *Cronaca* (*DTH*, p. 111, ll. 1, 23). Da notare che il verbo è intransitivo, essendo il soggetto senza il segno dell'agentivo.

[94] *Contra* RICHARDSON, credo trattarsi di toponomi. mÑald sarebbe una variante di gÑal, distretto del Lho-brag; FERRARI, p. 51 e n. 258.

[95] Queste date si possono dedurre dai calcoli in *PT*, f. 47*b*, dove però le date del ciclo sessagesimale sono spesso falsate di 12 o 24 anni.

B. *La successione di K'ri-gtsug-lde-brtsan.*

Negli ultimi del 704 il re K'ri-'du-sroṅ-brtsan era morto nel Myva (paese Mo-so). Il governo era rimasto nelle mani di sua madre K'ri-ma-lod, a cui il re l'aveva affidato partendo per la sua spedizione. Poco prima, nella primavera della stesso anno, era nato un principino di nome rGyal-gtsug-ru. Che ci fossero state delle lotte interne e che soltanto nel 712 il principe venisse incoronato re, è cosa già nota. È passato inosservato un passo degli *Annali*, che dà qualche dettaglio su queste lotte. È il seguente.

l. 150: ... | *btsan po sras rgyal gtsug ru daṅ* | *p'yi k'ri ma lod dron na bžugs* | ...

l. 152: .... | *poṅ lag raṅ du btsan po gcen lha bal p'o rgyal sa nas p'ab* | ...

«(Nell'anno del Serpente 705) il re figlio rGyal-gtsug-ru [96] e sua nonna K'ri-ma-lod risiedevano a Dron ... [97] A Poṅ Lag-raṅ [98] il re fratello maggiore Lha-bal-p'o [99] fu deposto dal trono».

L'ultima frase ci dà il nome di un pretendente al trono, fratello maggiore del principino, proclamatosi re (*btsan-po*) e probabilmente appoggiato dalle truppe che il morto aveva guidato nella sua campagna contro il Nan Ch'ao, e che dovevano trovarsi ancora ai confini del Tibet sud-orientale. Questo principe Lha-bal-p'o non ricorre nelle altri fonti tibetane; ma i testi cinesi confermano nelle grandi linee questo quadro. «Il re ... morì durante la campagna. I figli si disputarono la successione. Dopo molto tempo [precisamente nel 712 secondo gli *Annali*] la gente del regno mise sul trono come *btsan-po* un figlio di K'ri-'du-sroṅ, [di nome] K'ri-gtsug-brtsan, che a quell'epoca [probabilmente all'arrivo della principessa cinese, 710] aveva sette anni [nato nel 704 secondo gli *Annali*]» [100].

[96] Nome non compreso e malamente tradotto in *DTH*, p. 40. Fu rettamente riconosciuto da LI FANG-KUEI, *Treaty*, p. 68.

[97] Per la frase qui omessa vedi oltre, p. 275.

[98] Su Poṅ vedi sopra, p. 251.

[99] La traduzione del Bacot («Le prince frère aîné fut deposé du trône du Népal») sembra andar contro la struttura della frase; inoltre il titolo di *btsan-po* apparteneva esclusivamente ai re del Tibet e non poteva applicarsi a un re del Nepal. Non mi sembra accettabile l'interpretazione di H.E. RICHARDSON, *Names and titles in early Tibetan records*, in *Bulletin of Tibetology* 4 (1967), p. 10 e n. 7 dell'estratto, secondo cui *btsan po gcen* sarebbe un titolo concesso dal re del Tibet al re del Nepal.

[100] *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, f. 5*b*; *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 7*a* (= PELLIOT, pp. 12, 95).

C. *Il principe Lhas-bon e la principessa cinese Chin-ch'êng.*

Lhas-bon è menzionato in due passi degli *Annali*:

ll. 280-281; *yos bu'i lo la | btsan po dbyard c'ab srid la beg tu gśeg-ste | sras lhas bon dron na bžugs | bžugs pa las noṅs | btsan po yab dgun bod yul du slar gśegs | btsan mo kim śeṅ k'oṅ co noṅs par lo c'ig |*

«Nell'anno della lepre (739) il re d'estate partì per una spedizione militare [101] nel Beg e suo figlio Lhas-bon risiedette a Dron. Avendovi risieduto, morì. Il re suo padre nell'inverno ripartì per il Tibet. La regina Chin-ch'êng Kung-chu morì. Con ciò, un anno».

ll. 287-288; ... *btsan po sras lhas bon dṅa | btsan mo k'oṅ co gñis gyi mdad btaṅ* ...

«(Nell'anno del serpente, 741) .... furono fatte le cerimonie funebri del re figlio Lhas-bon e della regina Kung-chu».

Il principe Lhas-bon era forse reggente in assenza del padre; non godeva però del titolo regio, giacchè la sua morte è indicata col termine *noṅs*, usato per i membri della famiglia reale, mentre per il re morire è *guṅ du gśegs*. D'altra parte egli dovette ricevere il titolo regio in via postuma, giacchè in occasione dei funerali viene chiamato *btsan-po sras*, e i casi paralleli [102] mostrano che l'espressione non significa «figlio del re», bensì «re figlio». Può darsi che questo fosse uno dei casi di abdicazione (nell'VIII secolo divenuta una pura formalità) del sovrano in favore dell'erede, non appena quest'ultimo avesse raggiunto la maggiorità sacrale a 13 anni [103]. E infatti Lhas-bon, figlio di un re nato nel 704, non poteva avere più d'una quindicina d'anni nel 739.

Secondo la tradizione medievale tibetana, la principessa cinese era stata dapprima destinata al principe lJaṅ-ts'a Lha-dbon, figlio del re K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtsan e della regina K'ri-btsun della famiglia reale di lJaṅ. Ma essendo questi morto prima dell'arrivo della sposa nel Tibet, il re, piuttosto di rimandarla in Cina, la prese in moglie lui stesso [104]. Una variante vuole che la principessa sposasse effettivamente Lha-dbon e ne avesse un

[101] [Per questo significato di *c'ab srid* vedi A. MACDONALD, *Une lecture des Pelliot Tibetain 1286, 1287, 1038, 1047, et 1290*, in *Études Tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, Parigi 1971, p. 280, n. 342.].

[102] Vedi per esempio sopra: *btsan-po gcen* («re fratello maggiore»).

[103] G. TUCCI, *The sacred character of the kings of ancient Tibet*, in *East and West*, 6 (1955-56), p. 197-205.

[104] *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me loṅ*, ed. B.I. Kuznetsov, Leiden 1966, pp. 162-163; *PT*, ff. 71*b*-72*a*.

figlio, ma dopo la morte del bambino abbandonasse il principe e si unisse al vecchio re [105].

Il matrimonio della principessa Chin-ch'êng è stato magistralmente trattato dal Demiéville [106]. A complemento della sua discussione osservo che il racconto delle cronache medievali tibetane è assolutamente inconciliabile con i dati degli *Annali* e con quelli cinesi; il re K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtsan, nato nel 704, non poteva avere un figlio in età di sposarsi all'arrivo della principessa cinese nel 710. Si potrebbe quindi respingere il racconto tibetano come una semplice leggenda. Ma forse esso riflette, deformandoli, dei fatti realmente avvenuti. Si sa che le trattative erano iniziate fin dal 679 e che il matrimonio stesso era stato deciso in linea di massima nel 702 o 703 [107]. Potrebbe quindi darsi che la principessa fosse stata richiesta dapprima per il figlio maggiore del re K'ri-'du-sroṅ-brtsan (676-704), cioè il Lha-bal-p'o sopra discusso. Ma dopo la morte del re, la nonna del principino rGyal-gtsug-ru si sarebbe affrettata a prevenire l'altro pretendente al trono chiedendo che la principessa venisse concessa appunto a sua nipote; nessuno, evidentemente, tenne conto del fatto che la principessa, nata a quanto pare nel 689 [108], veniva così promessa in moglie a un bambino, di quindici anni più giovane di lei. Il rivale cadde (e forse perì) nel 705, e dopo una prudente attesa la corte imperiale accolse formalmente la domanda il 19 maggio 707. La tradizione posteriore avrebbe quindi confuso il Lha-bal-p'o del 705 con Lhas-bon morto nel 739. Comunque, questa non è che un'ipotesi bisognosa di ulteriori elementi di prova per essere accettata.

§ 3. Ambasciatori e generali cinesi.

Lo scopo di questo paragrafo è di identificare i dignitari cinesi menzionati negli *Annali*.

a) ll. 37-38 .... *da rgyal maṅ po rjes* | *mts'o nag stoṅ rur* | *rgya se'u den paṅ daṅ* | *nol t'abs bgyiste* | *da rgyal gyaṅ gum žiṅ brgyad k'ri ston la rdugs* ...

[105] Bu-ston, *The history of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, trad. E. Obermiller, II, Heidelberg 1932, p. 186.

[106] Demiéville, *Concile*, pp. 1-9 n. Le poesie composte dai cortigiani dell'imperatore in occasione della partenza della sposa sono state tradotte da M. Benedikter, *Ein Gedichtzyklus um die im Jahre 712 nach Tibet verheiratete Prinzessin Chin-ch'éng*, in *Oriens Extremus*, 12 (1965), pp. 11-35.

[107] Demiéville, *Concile*, p. 3.

[108] Vedi l'esauriente discussione in Satō, 1958, pp. 392-417.

«(Nell'anno della capra, 659) Il *da-rgyal* Mań-po-rje [109] fece battaglia [110] a sTon-ru del mTs'o-nag col cinese Se'u Den-pań. Il *da-rgyal* [111] morì; [ma i Cinesi] furono battuti [in modo da essere ridotti da] 80.000 a mille» [112].

Secondo il Pelliot [113], Se'u Den-pań è Su Ting-fang 蘇定方 (593-667), uno dei più famosi generali dell'epoca, il quale alla fine della sua carriera fu nominato *an-chi ta-shih* 安集大使 e incaricato di dirimere il conflitto tra Tibetani e T'u-yü-hun [114]. L'identificazione è stata generalmente accettata [115].

Tuttavia sorgono alcuni dubbi. Anzitutto, dal punto di vista storico la notizia non trova rispondenza in ciò che sappiamo della vita di Su Ting-fang. Dal 657 al 660 fu impegnato ininterrottamente nelle regioni a nord del T'ien-shan, nella lotta senza quartiere contro Ho-lu, capo dei turchi Occidentali [116]. Alla fine del 659 egli sconfiggeva il capo turco Tu-man nella valle dell'Ili [117]. Nel 660 assumeva il comando delle truppe sul fronte coreano. Solamente nel V mese del 663 ricevette la nomina ad *an-chi ta-shih* [118] e quindi diede inizio alla sua missione riguardante il Tibet. Non si vede quindi come nel 659 egli abbia potuto combattere, o comunque avere rapporti, con i Tibetani.

Altri dubbi si possono elevare dal punto di vista fonetico. L'equivalenza del nome di famiglia non è affatto soddisfacente. Il tibetano *se'u* normalmente trascrive non *su*, ma *hsiao* 蕭 (ant. *sieu*) [119]. [La seconda sillaba trascrive uno dei caratteri pronunziati *tien* (ant. *d'ien*), probabilmente 典; la terza può trascrivere *fang* 坊 (ant. *pi^{w}ang*)].

[109] Era uno dei quattro grandi ministri di Sroń-btsan-sgam-po, autore, assieme a mGar sTon-brtsan, della divisione del Tibet in quattro corni (*ru*); *PT*, ff. 19*a* sgg. Dopo la morte del re appoggiò la successione al trono di Mań-sroń-mań-brtsan; *PT*, ff. 63*b*, 68*a*.

[110] *Nol-t'abs* sta qui per *snol-t'ab; Validity*, p. 319.

[111] Se *gyań* = *kyań* (?).

[112] La traduzione della seconda frase è molto dubbia.

[113] *DTH*, p. 32.

[114] *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 3*b* (= PELLIOT, p. 85). La sua biografia in *CTS*, ch. 83, ff. 3*a*-5*a*, omette questa nomina, ma essa è registrata nell'altra biografia in *TS*, ch. 111, f. 5*b*.

[115] Per es. da SATÔ 1958, pp. 309-311.

[116] CHAVANNES, *Documents*, pp. 36-37.

[117] CHAVANNES, *Documents*, p. 72; cf. *TCTC*, ch. 200, p. 6319.

[118] *TCTC*, ch. 201, p. 6336.

[119] Così nel trattato sulla stele di Lhasa, lato Sud, l. 17; LI FANG-KUEI, *Treaty*, p. 75.

A questo punto va osservato che in tutti i nomi che studieremo in seguito la forma tibetana consiste della trascrizione del nome di famiglia cinese seguita dalla trascrizione del titolo, tavolta abbreviato. Si può quindi legittimamente presumere che qui si tratta di un caso analogo. [Perciò la ricostruzione teorica di Se'u Den-pañ potrebbe essere Hsiao *tien-fang*, in cui il titolo sarebbe un abbreviazione di *tien-shu-fang* [vicepresidente del] gran segretariato di destra del principe ereditario [120]].

Un'identificazione è per ora impossibile. Hsiao Ssŭ-yeh 蕭嗣業. 635-679) [121] era specialista per i rapporti con i Turchi, e solo una volta nel 676 partecipò ad una spedizione contro i Tibetani [122]. Hsiao Kuan 蕭灌 (626-682) [123] non ebbe alcun rapporto col Tibet. La stessa obiezione vale per l'oscuro Hsiao Ling 蕭齡, che intorno al 650 era *tz'ŭ-shih* di Hua-chou 華州 e venne trasferito nel Kuang-tung [124]. La questione rimane aperta.

b) ll. 121-122 ... *blon c'en k'ri 'briṅ 'a ža yul du mc'is śiṅ* | *stag la rgya dur du rgya'i dmag dpon waṅ* [125] *žaṅ śo daṅ g·yul sprade rgya maṅ po bkum* ...

«(Nell'anno della capra, 695) Il grande ministro K'ri-'briṅ, stando nel paese degli 'A-ža, combattè una battaglia a sTag-la rGya-dur col generale cinese Waṅ Žaṅ-śo e uccise molti cinesi».

Waṅ Žan-śo trascrive il cinese Wang *shang-shu* 王尙書 (ant. *jiwang žiang śiwo*). Si tratta di Wang Hsiao-chieh 王孝傑, che nel 692 aveva riconquistato per la Cina il bacino del Tarim, e in seguito alla vittoria era stato nominato presidente del ministero della guerra (*hsia-kuan shang-shu*); questo è appunto il titolo a cui si riferisce il testo tibetano. Nel 696 comandava l'esercito imperiale disastrosamente sconfitto alla battaglia del monte Su-lo-han 素羅汗 [126], evidentemente identica a quel-

[120] [DES ROTOURS, p. 597].

[121] Biografia in *CTS*, ch. 63, f. 5*a-b*, e in *TS*, ch. 101, f. 2*b*, tradotta da LIU MAU-TSAI, p. 304.

[122] *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 4*b* (= PELLIOT, p. 88); *TFYK*, ch. 986, f. 13*b*.

[123] Vedi la sua iscrizione funeraria nel *Chang Yen-kung chi* 張燕公集 (opere letterarie 文集 di Chang Yüeh 張說 667-730), ed. Ssŭ-pu ts'ung k'an, ch. 25, ff. 3*b*-6*a*.

[124] *CTW*, ch. 11, ff. 20*b*-21*a*, f. 9 *a-b*.

[125] La prima lettera sembra una *'a-c'uṅ* soprascritta a *b*; e infatti il Bacot trascrisse *'b*. Ma più verosimilmente è una forma leggermente aberrante di *w*.

[126] Su questa battaglia vedi *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, f. 5*a*, e *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 6*a* (= PELLIOT, pp. 11, 92); *CTS*, ch. 6, f. 4*b*; *TCTC*, ch. 205 (pp. 6504-6505).

la di sTag-la rGya-dur di cui parlavano gli *Annali*. Si noti la differenza nella date: quella tibetana è anteriore di un anno a quella cinese; incontreremo più oltre altri esempi di questa stessa discrepanza. Malgrado la sconfitta, nel 697 gli fu conferito un comando contro i Ch'i-tan; fu battuto e cadde sul campo [127].

c) ll. 127-128 .... *dgun blon c'en p'o k'ri 'briṅ gyis | tsoṅ ka c'e c'uṅ du draṅste | rgya'i dmag dpon c'en po t'ug pu śi bzuṅ* ....
«(Nell'anno del cane, 698) D'inverno il grande ministro K'ri-'briṅ condusse [una spezione] [128] a Tsoṅ-ka grande e piccolo e fece prigioniero il grande generale cinese T'ug Pu-śi».

«Grande generale» può tradurre il cinese *ta tsung-kuan* 大總管, ma più probabilmente *ta chiang-chün* 大將軍. La prima sillaba del nome non può trascrivere, come sarebbe normale, *t'u* 禿 (ant. *t'uk*), praticamente inusitato come cognome. Potrebbe essere un abbrevazione di Tu-ku 獨孤 (*d'uk kuo*), sebbene la sonora nella prima sillaba faccia difficoltà. La seconda parte del nome trascrive *fu-shih* 副使 (ant. *p'ieu śi*), vice-commissario imperiale [129]. Non ho alcuna identificazione plausibile da proporre.

d) ll. 129-130 .... *btsan po dbyard p'ar nas bal p'o bri'u taṅ du gśegs śiṅ | rgya'i p'o ña je'u žaṅ śo p'yag 'ts'ald* |.
«(Nell'anno del porco, 699) Il re d'estate partì da P'ar per Bri'u-taṅ del Bal-po, e l'ambasciatore cinese Je'u Žaṅ-śo gli rese omaggio».

Je'u non trascrive Chou 周, come sembrerebbe a prima vista, bensì Chao 趙 (ant. *ɖ'iäu*) [130]. Žaṅ-śo è naturalmente il titolo di *shang-shu* sopra citato. Non mi è possibile identificare questo personaggio.

e) l. 134 ... *yum k'ri ma lod 'on caṅ do na bžugs śiṅ | 'ba' da śi p'yag 'ts'ald* ....
«(Nell'anno del topo, 700) La madre K'ri-ma-lod risiedendo a 'On-caṅ-do, 'Ba' Da-śi le rese omaggio».

Dopo la partenza del re per la guerra del nord-est, le regina madre esercitava la reggenza nel Tibet Centrale. Sebbene non sia espressamente

[127] Su tutto ciò vedi le sue biografie in *CTS*, ch. 93, f. 2*a-b*, e *TS*, ch. 111, ff. 10*b*-11*a*. Cf. *TFYK*, ch. 425, f. 20*a*.

[128] Sull'espressione *dra-ma draṅs* e le sue forme elittiche vedi G. URAY, *Old Tibetan dra-ma drangs*, in *AOH*, 14 (1962), pp. 219-230.

[129] Sul titolo vedi DES ROTOURS, pp. 658, 660, 661.

[130] Ciò è dimostrato dall'uso costante sulla stele di Lhasa, faccia Sud, ll. 22, 42, 47; LI FANG-KUEI, *Treaty*, pp. 75-76.

detto che 'Ba' Da-śi fosse un ambasciatore cinese, il parallelismo di passi analoghi rende il fatto quasi sicuro. 'Ba' trascrive Ma 馬 o Ma 麻. Il titolo *da-śi* va restituito in *ta-shih* 大使 (ant. *d'âi ṣi*), uno dei tanti nomi con cui, in vari tempi e luoghi, si indicarono i commissari imperiali [131].

L'identificazione più verosimile è quella con Fu-mêng Ling-ch'ing 夫蒙令卿, che compare nel 699 come *ta-shih* del Ho-yüan *chün* 河源軍[132]; la famiglia Fu-mêng, di lontana origine Ch'iang ossia non-cinese, cambiava spesso il suo cognome in Ma 馬[133].

Un'altra possibilità, assai più remota, sarebbe un'identificazione con il *ssŭ-nung hsiao-ch'ing* (vice-presidente della corte dell'agricoltura) Ma Jên-chih 麻仁節, inviato nel giugno 696 contro i Khitan [134]. Ma non si spiegherebbe il titolo *ta-shih*.

f) l. 143 .... *btsan po dbyard gliṅ gi 'ol byag na bžugs śiṅ* | *rgya'i p'o ña kam keṅ p'yag 'ts'ald* |
«(Nell'anno della lepre, 703) Il re d'estate risiedendo a 'Ol-byag di Gliṅ, l'ambasciatore cinese Kam Keṅ gli rese omaggio».

Kam Keṅ trascrive con sicurezza Kan *ch'ing* 甘卿 (ant. *kâm k'ieng*) in cui la seconda parola è il titolo del presidente di una delle Nove Corti (*ssŭ* 寺). Potrebbe trattarsi di Kan Chao 甘昭, che nel 711 venne inviato in Tibet a informare la principessa cinese che l'imperatore la adottava come figlia [135]. C'è però una difficoltà, rappresentata dai suoi titoli di *ch'ao-san ta-fu* 朝散大夫 (rango onorario di VI grado, I[a] classe) [136], *ssŭ-pin shao-ch'ing* 司賓少卿 (vice-presidente della corte per il cerimoniale agli stranieri) [137], *hu-chün* 護軍 (protettore d'armata) [138], duca dello stato di Ts'ao 曹國公. Come mai nel 703 era presidente, e otto anni dopo soltanto vice-presidente? Potrebbe trattarsi di un caso di degradazione; ma un elemento di dubbio permane.

g) l. 190 .... *rgya'i p'o ña yaṅ k'eṅ p'yag 'ts'ald* |
«(Nell'anno del bue, 713) L'ambasciatore cinese Yaṅ K'eṅ rese omaggio».

[131] DES ROTOURS, p. 674; E.G. PULLEYBLANK, *The background of the rebellion of An Lu-shan*, Londra 1955, p. 107.
[132] *CTS*, ch. 97, f. 4*a*; *TS*, ch. 122, f. 15*a* (= CHAVANNES, *Doc.*, p. 182).
[133] E.G. PULLEYBLANK, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
[134] *CTS*, ch. 6, f. 5*b*; *TS*, ch. 4, f. 8*b*; *TFYK*, ch. 986, ff. 13*b*-14*a*.
[135] *CTW*, ch. 235, ff. 12*b*-13*a*. Cf. DEMIÉVILLE, *Concile*, p. 4 n.
[136] DES ROTOURS, p. 36.
[137] DES ROTOURS, p. 413.
[138] DES ROTOURS, p. 51.

Yaṅ Keṅ trascrive il cinese Yang *ch'ing* 楊卿 (ant. *iang k'ieng*). Per l'identificazione, non facile, vi sono due possibilità. Potrebbe trattarsi dello *tso-wei ta-chiang-chün* (generale della guardia di sinistra) [139] Yang Chü 楊矩, che nel 710 aveva accompagnato in Tibet la principessa cinese e dal 713 era *tu-tu* [140] (governatore generale) del Lung-yu 隴右 (odierno Kan-su), dove ebbe trattative con i tibetani; morì suicida l'anno seguente [141]. L'altra possibilità è Yang Chih-i 楊執一 (662-726), che fu governatore generale del Ho-hsi nel 713-716 [142]. L'unica, ma seria difficoltà è che non risulta dalle fonti cinesi che alcuno dei due portasse il titolo di presidente di una delle Nove Corti. Il problema rimane così in sospeso.

h) ll. 253-254 .... *dgun p'o braṅ brag mar gyi dbu ts'al gžugste* | *rgya'i po ña li tsoṅ kan p'yag 'ts'ald* |
«(Nell'anno del serpernte, 729) D'inverno la corte risiedette a dBu-ts'al di Brag-mar, e l'ambasciatore cinese Li Tsoṅ-kan rese omaggio».

Li Tsoṅ-kan trascrive Li *tsung-kuan* 李總管 (ant. *lji-tsung-kuân*) [143]. V'è contrasto con le fonti cinesi, in quanto l'ambasciata inviata in Tibet nel 729 non fu capeggiata da un Li *tsung-kuan*, bensì da Huang-fu Wei-ming 皇甫惟明 e dall'eunuco Chang Yüan-fang 張元方 [144]. Nel 729 tuttavia un membro della casa imperiale, Li Wei 李禕, principe di Hsin-an 信安王, rivestiva la carica di gran comandante in capo (*ta tsung-kuan* 大總管) di Shuo-fang; in quell'anno i testi cinesi registrano appunto una spedizione vittoriosa contro i Tibetani [145], ma nessuna attività diplomatica. Non si vede comunque di quale altro personaggio possa trattarsi.

i) l. 256 .... *btsan po dbyard ba cos gyi diṅ diṅ taṅ na bžugste* | *rgya'i po ña tsva de pu p'yag 'ts'ald* |

[139] DES ROTOURS, p. 501, 503.

[140] DES ROTOURS, p. 703.

[141] *CTS* ch. 19*a*, ff. 6*b*, 7*a*; *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 7*b* (= PELLIOT, pp. 14, 15, 96).

[142] Fu poi commissario imperiale di Sho-fang dal 724 al 726. Vedine l'iscrizione funeraria nel *Chang Yen-kung chi*, ch. 25, ff. 6*a*-10*b*; e cf. WU T'ING-HSIEH, pp. 7306*c* e 7503*a*.

[143] DES ROTOURS, pp. 708, 710.

[144] *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, f. 8*b*; *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 9*b* (= PELLIOT, pp. 19, 102). *T'ang-hui-yao*, ch. 97, p. 1733.

[145] *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, f. 8*b*; *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 9*b* (= PELLIOT, pp. 19-101). *TFYK*, ch. 979, f. 13*a*. Cf. le sue biografie in *CTS*, ch. 76, ff. 3*b*-4*a*, e in *TS*, ch. 80, f. 3*a*-*b*. Cf. *CTW*, ch. 100, ff. 6*b*-7*a*.

«(Nell'anno del cavallo, 730) Il re d'estate risiedette a Diṅ-diṅ-taṅ di Ba-cos, e l'ambasciatore cinese Tsva De-pu rese omaggio».

Il nome trascrive Ts'ui *ta-fu* 崔大夫 (ant. *dz'uâi d'âi piu*). Si tratta del presidente del censorato (*yü-shih ta-fu* 御史大夫) [146] Ts'ui Lin 崔琳, inviato come ambasciatore al Tibet [147] V'è però una discrepanza di date, sia perchè il *hung-lu ch'ing* 鴻臚卿 Ts'ui Lin fu nominato *yü-shih ta-fu* solo nel X mese del 730 [148], sia perchè il suo decreto di nomina come ambasciatore porta la data *hsin-wei* 1 (= 4 marzo) 731 [149]; è quindi escluso che la sua missione possa essere arrivata in Tibet nell'estate del 730. Abbiamo quindi la prova assoluta che, a meno di un errore di registrazione, v'è un sfasatura di un anno nel calendario tibetano di questo periodo. È curioso notare che nel ms. Br. Mus. Or. 8212, l. 54 [150], la presa di Ch'ang-an, avvenuta certamente nel dicembre 763, viene registrata nell'anno 762. Non è il caso di ricercare qui la ragione di queste discrepanze.

l) l. 259 .... *btśan po dbyard mts'ar bu sna na bžugste | rgya'i p'o ña caṅ 'do śi las stsogs p'a p'yag 'ts'ald |*
«(Nell'anno della capra, 731) Il re d'estate risiedette a mTs'ar-bu-sna; gli ambasciatori cinesi Caṅ 'Do-śi ed altri gli resero omaggio».

La prima sillaba trascrive il cognome Chang 張. La seconda e la terza presentano delle difficoltà. Secondo le consuetudini delle trascrizioni tibetane di suoni cinesi nell'VIII e IX secolo, *'do* dovrebbe trascrivere *no* o *nu*; ma nessun titolo *no-shih* o *nu-shih* esiste. Penso quindi che qui ed altrove si tratti di una trascrizione aferetica di *chieh-tu-shih* 節度使 (ant. *tsiet d'uo ṣi*), commissario imperiale [151]. A ciò conforta il fatto che sulla stele di Lhasa, lato Sud, ll. 14-15, *d'o* trascrive *tu* [152].

Si tratta probabilmente di Chang Shou-kuei 張守珪 (m. 739), che nel 727 aveva difeso Kua-chou contro i tibetani, nel 729 aveva riunito

[146] DES ROTOURS, p. 291.

[147] *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, f. 9*a*; *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 10*a* (PELLIOT, pp. 21, 102). I brevi cenni biografici in *CTS*, ch. 187*a*, f. 9*a-b*, e in *TS*, ch. 109, f. 2*a-b*, non dànno alcun elemento utile.

[148] *TFYK*, ch. 979, f. 10*a*.

[149] *CTS*, ch. 8, f. 17*b*; *CTW*, ch. ff. 21*b*-22*b*. Non darei peso a un testo del *CTW*, ch. 30, ff. 6*b*-7*a*, secondo cui Ts'ui Lin sarebbe stato inviato nel Tibet mentre era ancora *ch'ing*.

[150] *DTH*, p. 66.

[151] DES ROTOURS, pp. 662, 664, 820.

[152] LI FANG-KUEI, *Treaty*, p. 75.

truppe contro di essi [153] e nel 730 aveva fatto parte delle commissione mista che doveva far cessare le ostilità alla frontiera [154]. Dal 729 al 733 ricoperse la carica di commissario imperiale del Lung-yu [155]. Tuttavia una sua ambasciata in Tibet nel 731 non è registrata nei testi cinesi.

m) ll. 262-263 .... *dbyard btsan po ba c'os gyi diṅ diṅ taṅ na bžugs śiṅ* | *btsan yul du rgya'i p'o ña li k'eṅ daṅ* | *ta c'ig daṅ dur gyis gyi po ña p'yag 'tsald* |.

«(Nell'anno della scimmia, 732) D'estate il re risiedendo a Diṅ-diṅ-taṅ di Ba-c'os, nello bTsan-yul l'ambasciatore cinese Li K'eṅ e gli ambasciatori dei Ta-c'ig (Arabi) e dei Dur-gyis (Türgeš) gli resero omaggio».

Li K'eṅ trascrive il cinese Li *ch'ing* 李 卿 (ant. *lij k'ieng*). L'unico personaggio che sembra corrispondere a questi dati è lo *tsung-chêng ch'ing* 宗正卿 [156] Li Chüan 李佺, un membro della casa imperiale. Nel VI mese del 734 egli veniva inviato a delimitare, d'accordo con plenipotenziari tibetani, la frontiera al Ch'ih-ling 赤嶺 e ad erigervi una stele [157]. Nel XII mese dello stesso anno l'imperatore lo deputava a portare l'investitura al nuovo sovrano dei Turchi settentrionali [158]. Una volta di più, una sua ambasciata in Tibet nel 732 non è menzionata nei testi cinesi.

Il presente passo degli annali richiama in discussione il Likeṅ dell'iscrizione di Qočo Caydam (anch'essa del 732), inviato dall'imperatore cinese a presenziare ai funerali di Köl-tegin [159]. Secondo Pelliot, questo Likeṅ «est nommé dans les conditions qui semblent imposer une identifica-

[153] *TFYK*, ch. 986, f. 22*b*.

[154] Vedi le sue biografie in *CTS*, ch. 103, ff. 4*b*-6*a*, e *TS*, ch. 133, ff. 3*a*-4*a*; traduzione parziale di LIU MAU-TSAI, p. 325; riassunto e notizie addizionali in R. DES ROTOURS, *Histoire de Ngan Lou-chan*, Parigi 1962, pp. 12-15 n. Cf. *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, ff. 7*b*-8*a*, e *TS*, ch. 216*a*, ff. 9*a*-*b*, 10*a* (= PELLIOT, pp. 18, 100, 101, 103); *CTW* ch. 24, f. 5*b*, e ch. 40, f. 21*a*. *TFYK*, ch. 358, f. 12*a*-*b*; ch. 366, ff. 16*b*-17*a*; ch. 384, ff. 19*b*-20*a*; ch. 422, f. 19*a*.

[155] WU T'ING-HSIEH, p. 7500*b*.

[156] DES ROTOURS, p. 370.

[157] *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, ff. 9*b*-10*a*, e *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 10*a* (= PELLIOT, pp. 23, 103); *CTS*, ch. 8, f. 20*a*; *TFYK*, ch. 981, f. 8*b*. Cf. SATŌ 1958, p. 465.

[158] *CTS*, ch. 194*a*, e *TS*, ch. 215*b* (= LIU MAU-TSAI, pp. 179, 228-229); altri dati in LIU MAU-TSAI, pp. 376, 382. Su Li Ch'üan, che è menzionato nelle versioni turca e cinese dell'iscrizione di Bilge *qaγan*, vedi P. PELLIOT, *Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie Centrale*, in *T'oung Pao*, 26 (1929), pp. 229-240.

[159] V. THOMSEN, *Alttürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei*, in *ZDMG* 1924, p. 156; S. E. MALOV, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti*, Mosca-Leningrado 1951, pp. 33, 43.

tion avec» Lü Hsiang 呂 [向] , il quale infatti fu incaricato di questa missione secondo i testi cinesi; la brillante discussione del Pelliot ha dimostrato che il turco e tibetano *li* spesso corrispondono a un cinese *lü* (ant. *liwo*). Osservo tuttavia che la seconda sillaba *hsiang* (ant. *χiang*) difficilmente può essere trascritta da *-keń*. Dal punto di vista puramente fonetico è quasi irresistibile la conclusione che tib. Li K'eń = turco Likeń = cin. Li *ch'ing*. Rimane però la gravissima obiezione di carattere storico: l'inviato cinese era Lü Hsiang e non Li Ch'üan. Si potrebbe forse supporre che Li Ch'üan partecipasse in sottordine all'ambasceria ed il suo nome venisse registrato dai turchi, ma non v'è chi non veda quanto forzata sia questa spiegazione, tanto più che nell'iscrizione di Bilge *qaγan* Li Ch'üan viene correttamente trascritto Lisün. Il problema deve per ora rimanere aperto.

n) ll. 265-266 .... *btsan poe p'o braṅ na dron na bžugs* | *btsan yul du rgya'i p'o nā li žaṅ śo daṅ myva la kag las stsogs pa p'yag 'tsald* |
«(Nell'anno dell'uccello, 733) La corte del re risiedette a Dron. Nello bTsan-yul l'ambasciatore cinese Li Žaṅ-śo, Myva La-kag [161] ed altri ancora resero omaggio».

Li Žan-śo trascrive il cinese Li *shang-shu* 李尙書 (ant. *lji źiang śiwo*). È il presidente del ministero dei lavori pubblici (*kung-pu shang-shu*) Li Hao 李皓 , inviato nel Tibet appunto nel I mese del 733 [162].

o) l. 268 .... *btsan poe p'o braṅ dbyard dron na bžugs* | *rgya'i p'o ña waṅ 'do śi p'yag 'ts'ald* |
«(Nell'anno del cane, 734) La corte del re d'estate risiedette a Dron; l'ambasciatore cinese Waṅ 'Do-śi offrì omaggio».

Tenendo conto di quanto si è detto sopra (p. ...) a proposito di *'do-śi*, il nome sembra trascrivere Wang 王 [*chieh-*]*tu-shih*. Secondo ogni probabilità va identificato con Wang Yü 王昱, commissario imperiale del Chien-nan 733-734 [163].

[160] P. PELLIOT, *Neuf notes ecc.*, pp. 221-225.

[161] Myva La-Kag è P'i Lo-ko 皮羅閣 (ant. *b'jie lâ kâk*), re del Nan Ch'ao (Myva) dal 728 al 748. Vedi R.A. STEIN, in *J.As.* 1952, p. 83.

[162] *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, f. 9*b*, e *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 10*a* (= PELLIOT, pp. 23, 102); *CTS*, ch. 8, f. 19*a*; *TFYK*, ch. 979, f. 11*b*; *CTW*, ch. 23, ff. 12*b*-13*a*. La sua biografia in *CTS*, ch. 112, f. 1*a-b*, specifica cha la sua missione era indirizzata sopratutto alla principessa cinese e gli attribuisce a torto l'erezione della stele di confine sul Ch'ih-ling (IX mese del 733), che le monografie sul Tibet attribuiscono a Li Ch'üan. Vedi anche P. PELLIOT, in *DTH*, p. 49, e SATÔ 1958, p. 466.

[163] *CTW*, ch. 286, ff. 8*b*-9*a* (lettera a lui indirizzata da Chang Chiu-ling); WU T'ING-

p) ll. 271-272 .... *btsan poe po brań dbyard dron gyi mań ste luń na bžugs* | .... *rgya'i po ña je'u jań śi p'yag 'tsald* |
«(Nell'anno del porco, 735) La corte del re d'estate risiedette a Mań-ste-luń del Dron .... L'ambasciatore cinese Je'u Jań-śi offrì omaggio».

Il nome trascrive il cinese Chao *ch'ang-shih* 趙長史 (ant. *đ'iäu đ'iang ṣi*); il titolo significa amministratore in capo [164]. Con una certa probabilità questo personaggio va identificato con il *ch'ang-shih* Chao Han-chang 趙含章, menzionato di passaggio nel 730 [165].

q) l.275 .... *dgun p'o brań brag mar na bžugs* | *rgya'i p'o ña li žań śo p'yag 'tsald* | ...
«(Nell'anno del topo, 736) D'inverno la corte risiedette a Brag-mar. L'ambasciatore cinese Li Žań-śo rese omaggio».

Questo Li *shang-shu* potrebbe essere naturalmente Li Hao, che era venuto nel Tibet nel 733. Ma con altrettanta e forse più probabilità potrebbe trattarsi di Li Shang-yin 李尙隱 (666-740), nominato nel 736 presidente del ministero delle finanze (*hu-pu shang-shu*) e governatore generale del Chien-nan [166]. Purtroppo né per l'uno né per l'altro consta che capeggiasse un'ambasciata nel Tibet nel 736.

r) ll. 277-278 .... *dgun p'o brań brag mar na bžugste* | *bru ža'i rgyal po p'ab ste p'yag 'ts'ald* | *rgya'i p'o ña wań 'do śi p'yag 'tsald* |
«(Nell'anno del bue, 737) D'inverno la corte risedendo a Brag-mar, il re di Bru-ža (paese dei Burusho; Gilgit) fu sottomesso e ófrì omaggio. L'ambasciatore cinese Wań 'Do-śi offrì omaggio».

Quasi certamente si tratta dello stesso Wang Yü che era venuto nel Tibet tre anni prima. Appunto nel 737 venne nominato per la seconda volta commissario imperiale del Chien-nan; ma nell'anno seguente venne malamente sconfitto dai Tibetani [167].

HSIEH, pp. 7456*c* e 7457*a*. *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, f. 10*b* (= PELLIOT, p. 24) ha invece la forma Wang Hao 王昊, probabilmente erronea.

[164] DES ROTOURS, Indice s.v. SATÔ 1958, p. 467, restituisce il titolo come un'abbreviazione di *san-ch'i ch'ang-shih* 散騎常侍, gran consigliere (DES ROTOURS, pp. 140, 141, 187, 193); ma è titolo puramente aulico, e soprattutto la pronunzia antica (*źiang źi*) corrisponde meno bene alla forma tibetana.

[165] *CTS*, ch. 8, f. 17*a*; *TFYK*, ch. 986, f. 22*b*; WU T'ING-HSIEH, p. 7539*c*.

[166] Vedi le sue biografie in *CTS*, ch. 185*b*, ff. 9*b*-10*a*, e *TS*, ch. 130, ff. 7*b*-8*a*. WU T'ING-HSIEH, pp. 7456*c*-7457*a*.

[167] *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, f. 10*b*, e *TS*, ch. 216*a* , f. 10*b* (= PELLIOT, p. 24-25, 104).

s) ll. 289-290 .... *btsan poe po braṅ dbyard mts'ar bu sna na bžugs* | *rgya'i p'o ña an da laṅ daṅ* | *myva nag poe p'o ña la bri p'yag 'tsald* |

«(Nell'anno del cavallo, 742) La corte del re d'estate risiedette a mTs'ar-bu-sna. L'ambasciatore cinese An Da-laṅ e l'ambasciatore del Myva Nero (regno di Nan Chao) La-bri offrirono omaggio».

Il nome dovrebbe trascrivere in cinese An *ta-lang* 安大郎 (ant. *ân d'âi lâng*). Il titolo non ricorre in tale forma, ma sembra indicare vagamente un segretario del ministero (*lang*) [168] superiore. La persona qui menzionata potrebbe essere il generale di origine sogdiana An Po-chu 安波注 (zio del famoso ribelle An Lu-shan), che nel 742 condusse una spedizione vittoriosa contro due eserciti tibetani [169]. Oppure potrebbe trattarsi di suo figlio maggiore An Ssŭ-shun 安思順, che in quella guerra servì agli ordini del padre [170], e che più tardi fu commissario imperiale del Ho-hsi (747-752) e di Sho-fang (750-751, 752-755) [171].

t) ll. 294-295 .... *dgun p'o braṅ brag mar na bžugs* | .... *brag mar du rgya'i po ña kvag cuṅ laṅ p'yag 'tsald* |

«(Nell'anno della capra, 743) D'inverno la corte risiedette a Bragmar .... A Brag-mar l'ambasciatore cinese Kvag Cuṅ-laṅ rese omaggio.»

Il nome trascrive il cinese Kuo *chung-lang* 郭中郎 (ant. *kwâk tiung lâng*); il titolo *chung-lang* (tenente colonnello) [172] sembra eccessivamente basso. Comunque, dovrebbe trattarsi del *hu-pu shih-lang* (vice presidente del ministero delle finanze) Kuo Hsü-chi 郭虛己, che nell'VIII mese del 746 venne nominato *yü-shih ta-fu* e commissario imperiale del Chien-nan (746-749) [173].

u) ll. 296-297 .... *po braṅ ra mts'ar du btag* | *rgya'i po ña caṅ 'gvan 'ge daṅ* | *dur gyis po ña p'yag 'ts'ald* |

«(Nell'anno della scimmia, 744) [Il re] stabilì la sua corte a Ramts'ar; l'ambasciatore cinese Caṅ 'Gvan-'ge e l'ambasciatore dei Dur-gyis (Türgeš) offrirono omaggio».

[168] DES ROTOURS, p. 29.

[169] E.G. PULLEYBLANK, *The background of the rebellion of An Lu-shan*, Londra 1955, pp. 12-13.

[170] E.G. PULLEYBLANK, *loc. cit.*

[171] WU T'ING-HSIEH, pp. 7507*c*-7508*a*, 7504*a-b*.

[172] DES ROTOURS, p. 559.

[173] *CTS*, ch. 9, f. 7*b*; WU T'ING-HSIEH, p. 7457*b*.

L'equivalenza puramente teorica del nome Caṅ 'Gvan-'ge sarebbe Chang *yüan-ai* 張元礙 (ant. *ŧiang ngiwan ngâi* [174]; ma un titolo del genere non esiste, né saprei quale emendamento proporre. Probabilmente si tratta di Chang Chi-ch'iu 張齊邱, che poi fu commissario imperiale di Sho-fang (746-750) [175].

v) Ms. Br. Mus. Or. 8212/187, l. 4 .... *btsan po p'o braṅ* | *yar 'brogi yi daṅ na bžugs* | *rgya'i dmag dpon 'ba' tsaṅ kun* | *kog yul gyi rgya'i gyim po draṅste* ....
«(Nell'anno dell'uccello, 745) La corte del re risiedette a Yi-daṅ di Yar-'brog. Il generale cinese 'Ba' Tsaṅ-kun condusse in spedizione i *gyim-po* (?) cinesi del Kog-yul».

Il nome trascrive Ma *chiang-chün* 馬將軍 (ant. *ma tsiang kiuen*). Potrebbe trattarsi di Ma Yuang-ch'ing 馬元慶, *tso hsiao-wei chiang-chün* e *yün-hui chiang-chün* [176], alla cui nomina come vice commissario imperiale (*chieh-tu fu-shih*) [177] del Ho-hsi si riferisce un documento redatto da Sun T'i孫迪[178]. Un'altra persona a cui si potrebbe pensare è Ma 馬 (*alias* Fu-mêng 夫蒙) Ling-ch'a 靈詧, commissario imperiale dell'An-hsi 741-747 [179].

w) Ms. Br. Mus. Or. 8212/187, l. 46 .... *dbyar 'dun glagi bu cuṅ* (')*du 'dus* || *rgya'i p'o ña yaṅ 'do śi las stsogs pa p'yag 'ts'ald* ||
«(Nell'anno della tigre, 762) L'assemblea estiva si riunì a Bu-cuṅ di Glag. L'ambasciatore cinese Yaṅ 'Do-śi ed altri resero omaggio».

Tenendo conto di quanto detto sopra, il nome dovrebbe trascrivere Yang [*chieh-*]*tu-shih* 楊[節]度使. Si tratta quasi certamente di Yang Chih-lieh 楊志烈, che fu commissario imperiale del Ho-hsi 763-765 [180].

[174] L'equivalenza *'gvan* = *yüan* è assicurata dalle stele di Lhasa, lato Est e lato Sud ll. 14, 41; LI FANG-KUEI, *Treaty*, pp. 68, 75, 76. Quella *'ge* = *ai* è comprovata dalla trascrizione tibetana dell'*Aṣṭabuddhakasūtra* cinese (Ms. Parigi 1258), citata da W. SIMON, *A note on Chinese texts in Tibetan transcription*, in *BSOAS* 21 (1958), p. 341.

[175] WU T'ING-HSIEH, p. 7307*c*.

[176] Su questi titoli vedi DES ROTOURS, pp. 521 e 100.

[177] DES ROTOURS, p. 658.

[178] *CTW*, ch. 310, f. 1*b*.

[179] WU T'ING-HSIEH, pp. 7507c-7508*a*. Per l'alternanza dei cognomi vedi E.G. PULLEYBLANK, *The background of the rebellion of An Lu-shan*, p. 165.

[180] *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, ff. 13*b*, 14*a*, e *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 12*b* (= PELLIOT, pp. 33, 34, 108); WU T'ING-HSIEH, p. 7504*c*. Non sembra invece possa essere identificato con l'ambasciatore cinese 'Ba' De'u menzionato in *PT*, f. 73*b*, trattandosi negli *Annali* di un generale in guerra.

Come si vede, molti di questi personaggi non sono identificabili con certezza, soprattutto perchè le fonti cinesi non registrano le ambasciate minori nel Tibet, che pure dovettero essere abbastanza frequenti.

Da quanto precede, una conclusione si impone: è consuetudine costante degli *Annali* di omettere il nome personale del dignitario cinese; la forma che compare nel testo tibetano è sempre costituita dal nome di famiglia seguito dal titolo. È curioso notare che questa consuetudine sia regola quasi assoluta anche di un millennio più tardi, come mostrano i testi storici tibetani del XVIII secolo. Cito due esempi soli: P'u *ta-śiṅ* per Fu-ch'ing *ta-jên* e g·Ya *am-pa* per Yamantai *amban*.

§ 4. PERSONAGGI VARI.

a) ll. 117-118 .... *dgun btsan po ra'u tsal na bžugs śiṅ* | *ton ya bgo k'a gan p'yag 'tsald* |
ll. 130-131 .... *dgun btsan p'o dold gyi mar ma na bžugs śiṅ* | *glo ba ñe ba yig gtsaṅ daṅ bya sga stsald* | *ton ya bgo k'a gan p'yag 'tsald* |
ll. 132-133 .... *btsan p'o dbyard moṅ kar nas c'ab srid la śa gu ñiṅ sum k'ol du gśegs śiṅ* | *ton ya bgo k'a gan dru gu yul du btaṅ* |
«(Nell'anno del cavallo, 694) D'inverno il re risiedendo a Ra'u-tsal, Ton Ya-bgo K'a-gan gli rese omaggio».
«(Nell'anno del porco, 699) D'inverno il re risiedendo a Mar-ma di Dold, diplomi e doni furono concessi ai [suoi]fedeli [181]. Ton Ya-bgo K'a-gan gli rese omaggio».
«(Nell'anno del topo, 700) Il re d'estate da Moṅ-kar partì per una spedizione militare a Śa-gu-ñiṅ-sum-k'ol [182], e mandò Ton Ya-bgo al paese dei Dru-gu».

Questo personaggio porta il titolo di Ton Yabγu Qaγan, non raro nella nomenclatura reale turca. Non può trattarsi che della stessa persona nota ai cinesi con nome di A-shih-na T'ui-tzŭ 阿史那俟子 Era un principe dei Turchi occidentali (Dru-gu), che nel 692 i Tibetani avevano nominato sovrano (*qaγan*) del suo popolo. Questo fantoccio dei Tibetani non poté mantenersi; nel 694 fu coinvolto nella sconfitta dei suoi protetto-

[181] Per la traduzione di questa frase vedi LI FANG-KUEI, *Tibetan glo-ba-'driṅ*, in *Studia Serica Karlgren dicata*, Copenaghen 1959, p. 57; e G. URAY, *The four horns of Tibet*, in *AOH* 10 (1960), p. 50 n.

[182] Da notare l'aspetto altaico del toponimo, in cui *k'ol* ricorda il mongolo γol, «fiume, valle». Vedi sopra, p. 250.

ri a Leng-ch'üan e perdette il potere [183]. Evidentemente si rifugiò nel Tibet centrale, dove nello stesso anno lo vediamo presentarsi alla corte del re. Nel 700 fu inviato di nuovo nel paese dei Turchi occidentali probabilmente con la scorta di truppe tibetane; ma questo tentativo, non registrato nelle cronache cinesi, dovette fallire; e nulla sappiamo sulla sorte finale del pretendente.

b) Colgo l'occasione per mettere in chiaro una questione di trascrizione cinese di un nome tibetano. Nel 714 i generali tibetani P'ên Ta-yen 坌達焉 e Ch'i-li-hsü 乞力徐 vennero battuti dalle truppe cinesi [184]. Gli *Annali* registrano questa spedizione nei termini seguenti:

ll. 196-197 .... *'bon da rgyal dań | blon c'en p'o k'ri gzigs gñis gyis | 'bu śiń kun du dra ma drańste | slar 'k'ord ...*

«Il *'bon da-rgyal* e il grande ministro K'ri-gzigs condussero una spedizione contro 'Bu-śiń-kun e ritornarono indietro» [185].

Il primo dei due nomi (meglio: titolo) non può essere discusso qui. Il secondo presenta una soddisfacente equivalenza fonetica; Ch'i-li-hsü (ant. *k'iet liek ziwo*) corrisponde bene a K'ri-gzigs [186]. C'è però anche il fatto, a prima vista imbarazzante, che il personaggio qui menzionato, ossia il grande ministro dBa's K'ri-gzigs-žań-ñen, morì nel 721 [187], mentre Ch'i-li-hsü compare nelle fonti cinesi anche nel 736 [188].

La spiegazione è semplice. Il Ch'i-li-hsü del 736 indica un personaggio differente, e precisamente K'ri-gzigs gnań-k'oń, che compare negli *Annali* per la prima volta nel 721 e dirige le assemblee regionali del mDo-smad fino al 724 e poi ancora nel 727 [189]. Era quindi un funzionario di frontiera molto in vista, con cui i cinesi dovevano avere rapporti continui.

§ 5. Alcuni passi oscuri.

a) l. 12: *bal po yu sna kug ti bkum | na ri ba ba rgyal p'or bc'ug |*

La prima frase si può intendere in due modi. A) «Yu-sna del Bal-po

[183] Si vedano i vari testi cinesi raccolti e tradotti in Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 77, 187, 188, 281; nonchè *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 6*a* (= Pelliot, p. 92).

[184] *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, f. 7*a* (= Pelliot, p. 15). Cf. Satō 1958, p. 490.

[185] Su 'Bu-śiń-kun vedi sopra, p. . La traduzione in *DTH*, p. 44, non ha senso.

[186] Per *ziwo* = *(g)zi(gs)* vedi P. Pelliot, *Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie Centrale*, in *T'oung Pao*, 26 (1929), pp. 221-225.

[187] *Annali*, ll. 220-221.

[188] *CTS*, ch. 196*a*, f. 10*a*, e *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 10*b* (= Pelliot, p. 23, 24, 103, 104).

[189] *Annali*, ll. 222-223, 226, 231, 235, 247.

fu preso e ucciso», B) «Yu-sna-kug-ti del Bal-po fu ucciso». La seconda frase significa certamente «Na-ri-ba-ba fu nominato re».

La prima versione esige un'interpretazione *kug-ti* = *bkugs-te* [190], il che vuol dire fare una certa violenza al testo. Richiede inoltre che Yu-sna, noto da altri testi come nome di un castello [191], qui valga come nome di persona.

La seconda interpretazione, già da me proposta altrove [192], si sosterebbe se Bal-po fosse il Nepal e Yu-sna-kug-ti e Na-ri-ba-ba fossero Viṣṇugupta e Narendradeva delle iscrizioni nepalesi. Presenta tuttavia la difficoltà che questo sarebbe l'unico passo in tutti gli *Annali* in cui Bal-po indicherebbe il Nepal e non un distretto del Tibet Centrale; inoltre i nomi nepalesi risulterebbero storpiati in maniera veramente eccessiva.

Come si vede, vi sono gravi obiezioni ad ambedue le alternative [ed ora non mi sentirei di propendere per l'una o per l'altra].

b) ll. 13-14: *de nas lo gsum na* | *btsan po k'ri sroṅ brtsan gyi riṅ la'* | *lig sña śur brlag ste žaṅ žuṅ t'ams cad 'baṅsu bkug ste mṅa'o* |

Negli *Annali* il soggetto del verbo transitivo è di solito munito della posposizione agentiva; quindi il soggetto della seconda frase non è Lig sÑa-śur, come intese il Bacot, ma lo *btsan-po* sottinteso. La traduzione è dunque: «Tre anni dopo di allora (e quindi nel 643), al tempo del re K'ri-sroṅ-brtsan[-sgam-po, il re] eliminò Lig *sña-śur*, rese suddito tutto lo Žaṅ-žuṅ e ne fu padrone».

L'esattezza di questa traduzione è garantita dal passo perfettamente parallelo in *DTH*, p. 117 ll. 16-17 (trad. p. 158 fine). In quest'ultimo il nome del re di Žaṅ-žuṅ è Lig Myi-rhya, che compare come Lig Mi-rgya in un testo Bon-po [193].

Quanto a *sña-śur* (o *gña'-śur*), si ritrova in vari documenti d'Asia Centrale [194], sempre precedendo un nome di persona; colà sembra piuttosto un titolo nobiliare che non un nome tribale. Compare anche come *gña'-gžur rgyal-po* nel *La-dvags rgyal-rabs* [195]. Nel complesso si può riconoscere come titolo del principe e della classe dirigente di Žaṅ-žuṅ.

[190] Cf. EMMERICK, n. 109. Anche alla fine della l. 124 degli *Annali*, *bkug* ha il significato di «prendere» o «ricevere».

[191] *DTH*, pp. 133, 137, 142.

[192] *The chronology of the early inscriptions of Nepal*, in *East and West*, 12 (1961), p. 230. Cf. SATÒ 1958, pp. 270-276, il quale però si fonda troppo sui dati delle tardissime *vaṃśavalī* nepalesi.

[193] B. LAUFER, *Ein tibetisches Geschichtswerk der Bon-po*, in *T'oung Pao*, 2 (1901), p. 262.

[194] *TLTD*, III, *Vocabulary*, s.v.

[195] A.H. FRANCKE, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, Calcutta 1929, p. 30 l. 28.

c) ll. 24-25: *da rgyal mań po rjes žiń gyi p'yin rol bgyis | ra sań rje'i blon rid stag rhya dań žiń gyi ts'oń c'en sbyard |*

Da-rgyal, titolo abbastanza comune, è rimasto finora inspiegato ed è misterioso anche a me. Faccio tuttavia osservare che esso ricorda *mda'-dpon* («signore della freccia»), che nel XVIII secolo indicherà i comandanti provinciali delle truppe.

P'yiń-rol è termine molto discusso. Secondo il Bogoslovskij, pp. 75-78, sarebbe da intendere come «rotoli [avvolti in] feltro» e indicherebbe documenti fiscali. Pur ammettendo la esattezza sostanziale di questa interpretazione, osservo che le varie menzioni negli *Annali* sembrano giustificare una traduzione più precisa, e cioè qualcosa come «registri catastali».

Ra-sań rJe ricorre nei documenti nell'Asia Centrale [196], ma sembra difficile che *ra-sańs* significhi «spazzino dell'accampamento», come vorrebbe il Thomas [197]. Più logicamente, lo Stein compara i nomi Ra-sań Dar-pa del *La-dvags rgyal-rabs* e K'yuń-po Ra-sań rJe, che è elencato nel ms. Pelliot Tib. 1286 (già 249) come uno dei due consiglieri del re di Žań-žuń [198]. In complesso Ra-sań sembra nome di clan o di feudo.

Problema centrale è il significato di *ts'oń-c'en*. Nei documenti d'Asia Centrale *ts'oń* sembra indicare piuttosto «merce» che non «commercio», come vorrebbe il Bacot. Ma credo che la spiegazione sia da ricercare altrove. Il termine *ts'oń-c'en* facilmente può essere abbreviazione di *ts'oń-dpon c'en-po*, «grande mercante» (sanscr. *mahāśreṣṭhin*). Nei documenti di Lou-lan *ṣoṭhaṃga, ṣoṭhaga* ecc., assieme al karashahri *ṣoṣtänk-* corrispondono al sanscrito *śreṣṭhin* e quindi al tib. *ts'oń-dpon*; ed il contesto, specialmente nei documenti di Karashahr, dà a questa espressione il significato non solo di «mercante», ma anche di «banchiere», «esattore delle imposte» [199]. La corrispondenza sembra abbastanza chiara, e il significato del termine tibetano dovrebbe essere qualcosa come «capo-esattore».

In conclusione propongo la seguente traduzione: «Il *da-rgyal* Mań-po-rje determinò i registri catastali dei campi, e si unì (*sbyard*) con Rid sTag-rgya, ministro [200] Ran-sań rJe, [quale] (?) capo-esattore [delle imposte] dei campi».

[196] *TLTD*, III, *Vocabulary*, s.v.

[197] *TLTD*, II, p. 17.

[198] STEIN, *Tribus*, p. 14. Cf. A.H. FRANCKE, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, p. 26 l. 2; *DTH*, p. 80, ll. 4-5. Utile lista in M. LALOU, *Catalogue des principautés du Tibet ancien*, in *J.As.* 1965, p. 204.

[199] H.W. BAILEY, *Irano-Indica* II, in *BSOAS* 13 (1949/50), pp. 123-124.

[200] Il segno del genitivo dopo *ra sań rje* non implica alcun rapporto di dipendenza, e ricorre altre volte in posizioni analoghe nella lista di M. LALOU (vedi indice).

d) ll. 25-26: *mdo smadu kam k'ri bzaṅ bye 'da' t'oṅ myis bkum ste śa gñard* |

l. 47: *zrid mda'r t'oṅ myig byuṅ* |

Un parallelismo fra i due passi mi sembra innegabile. Le oscurità dei due ne riescono reciprocamente illuminate. Intenderei quindi *bye-'da'* come toponimo, rettificandone la grafia in Bye-mda' [201]. Formazioni toponomastiche di tale tipo, in cui *mda'* significa «parte bassa della valle», sono comunissime (Śaṅs-mda', Groṅ-mda', rGya-mda' ecc.).

La voce *bkum* non può qui avere il significato più frequente di «uccidere», ma l'altro più raro di «eseguire» (dalla radice *'k'ums*) [202] In un passo essa può anche significare «confrontare» [203].

La voce *t'oṅ-myis* va corretta nel *t'oṅ-myig* del secondo passo, il cui significato di «ispezione» è attestato anche altrove [204].

È difficile dare un significato soddisfacente a *śa-gñard*; non si comprende, tuttavia, come il Bacot sia arrivato al significato di «vendetta». Io penserei a *śa* = *śva* «cervo».

In conclusione le traduzioni sarebbero: «Nel mDo-smad, Kam K'ri-bzaṅ eseguì l'ispezione di Bye-mda' e si occupò dei cervi [della caccia regia?]». – «Ebbe luogo un'ispezione dello Zrid-mda'».

e) ll. 31-32: *gtsam gyi yul mar du' śa liṅs c'en p'o btab* |

È evidente che *śa* (non tradotto dal Bacot) sta per *śva* «cervo». La traduzione è: [il ministro] tenne una grande caccia ai cervi a Yul-mar del gTsam».

f) ll. 93: *snom bu pas dug ma maṅ po bzuṅ nas bkum* |

La frase è estremamente oscura, ma la traduzione del Bacot sembra comunque impossibile. sNom-bu-pa pare nome di famiglia, ma non saprei suggerire un significato plausibile per *dug-ma*. L'unica cosa chiara è la costruzione della frase, che deve essere la seguente: «sNom-bu-pa, avendo presi molti *dug-ma*, li uccise».

g) ll. 102-103: *btsan mo k'ri baṅs* | *'a ža rje la bag mar gśegs* |

Il significato è chiaro: «la principessa reale K'ri-baṅs andò in moglie al principe degli 'A-ža». Richiamo questo semplice passo solamente per

[201] Un'altro Bye-mda' esisteva nello gTsaṅ; G. TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. IV, p. 1, Roma 1941, pp. 56, 62.

[202] *TLTD*, III, *Vocabulary*, s.v. *gñer-bkum*; F.W. THOMAS, *Nam*, Londra 1948, p. 137.

[203] *TLTD*, II, p. 17.

[204] *TLTD*, II, p. 403 in fine.

ricordare che qui si tratta della stessa principessa K'ri-bańs a cui si riferisce il lungo documento pubblicato dal Thomas con una cronologia certamente erronea [205]. Come ho dimostrato vari anni fa, le date contenute nel documento vanno dal 706 al 714 [206].

h) ll. 124: *btsan mo mań mo rje las myi mań po bkug* |

Frase fraintesa dal Bacot. Senza bisogno di una specifica dimostrazione, mi sembra evidente che il significato è: «La principessa Mań-morje ottenne [in assegnazione dall'assemblea allora tenuta] molti artigiani (*las-mi*)».

i) ll. 150-152: *ldeg ren pa' mnon snań grags dań* | *k'e rgad mdo snań las stsogs pa logste bon mo na la tser ldeg ren pa log pa rnams bkum* |

Lo hapax *ldeg-ren-pa* ha tutto l'aspetto di un titolo. *mNon*, che il ms. divide dalla sillaba seguente mediante un doppio punto, è nome di clan, che ricorre anche altrove [207]. Pure K'e-rgad è nome di clan [208], sebbene sia supponibile una parentela originaria con K'e-rged, che nel ms. Pelliot Tib. 1283, l. 36 [209], trascrive l'etnonimo Qiryiz. Bon-mo Na-la-tse è chiaramente un toponimo.

La traduzione è la seguente: «I *ldeg-ren-pa* mNon sNań-grags, K'e-rgad mDo-snań ed altri ancora si ribellarono; i *ldeg-ren-pa* ribelli furono messi a morte a Bon-mo Na-la-tse».

l) l. 155: *se rib log* |

l. 173: *se rib gyi rgyal p'o bzuń* |

Come era già stato riconosciuto dal Pelliot, Se-rib corrisponde al Hsi-li 悉立 (*siĕt-liep*) dei testi cinesi [210], situato a sud-ovest del Tibet. [Si tratta di un piccolo territorio nell'alta valle della Kali Gandaki nel Nepal,

[205] *TLTD*, II, pp. 8-16. Anche SATŌ 1958, p. 347, non si è accorto dell'errore.

[206] *Nugae Tibeticae*, in *RSO*, 31 (1956), pp. 291-293.

[207] *DTH*, pp. 135-138.

[208] *BA*, p. 403 e (nella forma corrotta K'e'u-gań) 983. S. CH. DAS, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 149*b*.

[209] J. BACOT, *Reconnaissance en Haute Asie septentrionale per cinq envoyés ouigours au VIII^e siècle*, in *J.As.* 1956, p. 146.

[210] *T'ung-tien*, ch. 190, p. 1024*c*; *T'ang-hui-yao*, ch. 100, p. 1781; *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü-chi*, ch. 185, f. 12*a* (p. 583). Menzionato di passaggio anche in *TS*, ch. 221*a*, f. 13*a*, e in *TFYK*, ch. 958, f. 21*b*; ch. 960, f. 6*a*; ch. 970, f. 10*a*. Vedi anche P. PELLIOT, *Autour d'une traduction sanscrite du Tao-tö-king*, in *T'oung Pao*, 13 (1912), pp. 357-358 n, che naturalmente non conosceva ancora gli *Annali* di Tun-huang.

che porta ancora oggi il nome Se-rib] [211]. Sembra essere identico a Sribs-[yul], menzionato in vari testi [212].

m) ll. 225-226: *k'ab soe t'ugs ñen kyi lhag cad brtsis* |

La frase è oscura, ma la traduzione del Bacot è impossibile a priori. Per *k'ab-so*, l'interpretazione del Bogoslovskij («funzionari regi subalterni») [213] è preferibile a quella di Róna-Tas («soldati feudali») [214]. Il termine decisivo è *t'ugs-ñen*, che secondo il Bacot vuol dire «parente, amico»; ma in un documento d'Asia Centrale *ñen tu gyur* vuol dire «mancare, essere insufficiente» [215]. *Lhag-cad* (il ms. non lascia dubbi sulla lezione) deve significare qualcosa come «sovrappiù» o «resto». *rTsis* «contare, calcolare» è un termine tecnico frequente negli *Annali*; e siccome si fa *rtsis* anche di atti quali la nomina e la revoca di funzionari, è chiaro che il significato si avvicina a quello di «registrare». Infatti negli editti del periodo monarchico *rtsis rdo-riṅ* in pratica equivale a *gtsig rdo riṅ* «stele contenente un editto» [216], e da ciò il Róna-Tas ha giustamente dedotto il significato di *rtsis* = «iscrive mediante incisione» [217]. Un tentativo di traduzione potrebbe essere il seguente: «Furono registrati i sovrappiù dei *t'ugs-ñen* (?) dei funzionari subalterni».

n) ll. 240-241: *mṅan mc'ed brgyad las bžir bcos pa'i zlugs gyi riṅ lugs bkye'* |

Essendo stato il fatto cui si allude delucidato sufficientemente dall'Uray e dal Bogoslovskij [218], l'unica seria difficoltà è rappresentata dalle ultime tre parole. Bacot, Uray e Bogoslovskij traducono *riṅ lugs bkye* come «promulgare un decreto» [219]. Ma nei documenti d'Asia Centrale i signifi-

[211] [Vedi D. P. JACKSON, *Notes on the history of Se-rib and nearby places in the upper Kali Gandaki*, in *Kailash*, 6 (1978), 195-228].

[212] M. LALOU, *Catalogue des principautés du Tibet ancien*, p. 202.

[213] BOGOSLOVSKIJ, pp. 100-101. Da confrontare *k'ab so naṅ pa'i k'rims*, che è una delle leggi di Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po; *PT*, f. 18*b*.

[214] A. RÓNA-TAS, *Tally-stick and divination-dice in the iconography of Lha-mo*, in *AOH* 6 (1956), p. 166.

[215] *TLTD*, II, p. 17.

[216] *TTK*, p. 36.

[217] A. RÓNA-TAS, *op. cit.*, p. 169 n.

[218] G. URAY, *The offices of the bruṅ-pas and Great mṅans and the territorial division of Central Tibet in the early 8th century*, in *AOH*, 15 (1962), pp. 358-360; BOGOSLOVSKIJ, pp. 100-101.

[219] *DTH*, p. 47; G. URAY, *The four horns of Tibet according to the Royal Annals*, in *AOH*, 10 (1960), p. 49 n; id., *The offices of the bruṅ-pas* ecc., pp. 358-359; BOGOSLOVSKIJ, pp. 160.

cati di *riṅ-lugs* sembrano essere: 1) costume antico (è anche il significato moderno del termine; ma qui non pare applicabile); 2) corriere o commissario [220]. La seconda interpretazione è confortata dal fatto che nelle più antiche traduzioni tibetane di testi buddhisti *riṅ-lugs* significa «trasmettitore, rappresentante» [221].

La frase va quindi tradotta: «Furono inviati commissari con l'annunzio della riduzione dei grandi intendenti (*mṅan-c'ed*) da otto a quattro».

o) ll. 244-245: *dgun btsan p'oe p'o braṅ jor goṅ sna na' bžugste | 'bon 'a ža rje daṅ žaṅ dpon gdan ts'om |.*

Trattandosi di avvenimenti dell'anno della lepre 727, non è improbabile che 'Bon 'A-ža rJe sia lo stesso personaggio menzionato in un documento dell'Asia Centrale negli anni 707-719 come Ma-ga T'o-gon K'a-gan [222]. Lo stesso titolo (Ma-ga T'o-yo-gon K'a-gan) ricorre nell'editto di K'ri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan circa ottant'anni dopo [223]. È molto verosimile che Maga T'ogon Qaγan sia la trascrizione tibetana della trascrizione cinese (*mo-ho T'u-*[*yü*]*-hun k'o-han*) del titolo in lingua 'A-ža che i Tibetani avevano anche tradotto direttamente come 'Bon 'A-ža rJe. Ne deriverebbe che *'bon* = *maga*, qualunque sia il suo significato [224].

L'espressione *žaṅ-dbon* «zio e nipote» è calcata evidentemente sull'analoga formula cinese *chiu-shêng* 舅甥, indicante precedenza o seniorità *inter pares*; essa ricorre frequentemente nel trattato sulla stele di Lhasa, con riferimento ai rapporti tra Cina e Tibet [225], ed è espressamente attestata in un testo cinese per le relazioni tra i T'u-yü-hun / 'A-ža e il Tibet agli inizi del VII secolo [226].

La traduzione è: «D'inverno la corte del re risiedendo a Jor-goṅ-sna, [il re] scambiò il seggio con il principe dei 'Bon 'A-ža [in segno di mutuo onore, come tra] zio e nipote».

[220] *MBT*, pp. 56-57 n. Cf. Z. YAMAGUCHI, in *Tōyō Gakuhō*, 47 (1964-65), p. 591.

[221] Questo è anche il significato dell'espressione *riṅ lugs kyi 'dun sa*, «riunione dei trasmettitori», citata da N. SIMONSSON, *Indo-tibetische Studien*, I, Uppsala 1957, p. 260; ma la sua traduzione «Versammlung für die alte Lehre» è inadeguata.

[222] *TLTD*, II, pp. 8-12.

[223] *TTK*, p. 54, cf. p. 63.

[224] *TLTD*, III, pp. 87-88, e STEIN, *Tribus*, p. 67, intendono *'bon* come un etnonimo; *TTK*, passim, comprende come «nipote» (ossia = *dbon*). Da notare che P. PELLIOT, in *T'oung Pao*, 20 (1920), p. 329, collegava *maga* col mongolo *abaγa*, «zio materno».

[225] Lato Ovest, ll. 4, 38, 47; lato Est, ll. 28, 33, 39, 46, 54. LI FANG-KUEI, *Treaty*, Index s.v. (p. 89).

[226] *TS*, ch. 216*a*, f. 4*a* (= PELLIOT, p. 87).

p) ll. 305-307: *btsan po bkas | stoṅ sde'i gle'u t'ogsla | k'ral pa gu du spags | blon c'en po man c'as bro stsalte | bka' nan cen p'o mdzad nas | 'baṅs mgo nag poe k'ral t'ud scuṅs |*

È una frase particolarmente difficile per il suo carattere tecnico-fiscale. La traduzione del Bogoslovskij rappresenta un progresso su quella del Bacot [227], tuttavia ha bisogno di rettifica in qualche punto.

sToṅ-sde è una suddivisione territoriale, «chiliarchia» [228].

Gle'u «campo rozzo» deve significare «campo non irriguo».

T'ogsla va interpretato come *t'ogs-sla*, e non come *t'og-las*; si confrontino le abbrevazioni analoghe *rnamsu* = *rnams-su*, *gśegste* = *gśegs-ste*, ecc. Non è chiaro però nel contesto il significato di *sla*, che può stare per *slad-na* «dopo», *sla-du* «per», *sla-ba* «facile».

K'ral-pa per sè significa «contribuente»; ma qui dovrebbe essere abbreviazione della frase *K'ral-p'ab-pa* «imposte riscosse», che si trova nelle breve frase con cui lo stesso fatto viene raccontato nel ms. Br. Mus., l. 9 [229].

Gu-du equivale a *gud-du*, che secondo il Bacot significa «diminuzione». Ma *gu-du* ricorre anche nel *Li-yul c'os-kyi lo-rgyus*, dove significa «a parte, via da» [230]. E l'analoga espressione *gud-na* ricorre nelle iscrizioni antiche di bSam-yas e del ponte di 'P'yoṅs-rgyas [231] col significato certo di «altrove».

sPog/spags significa piuttosto «trasportare» che non «mandare».

mGo nag-po «teste nere» come epiteto dei tibetani ricorre anche nel trattato della stele di Lhasa.

K'ral-t'ud non può significare altro che «imposte addizionali»; in questo punto ha ragione il Bacot contro il Bogoslovskij.

La lezione *scuṅs* sembra sicura, il che rende inevitabile il significato di «diminuzione»; anche qui si può concordare col Bacot contro il Bogoslovskij. Ma se fosse un errore dello scriba per *stsugs* = *btsugs*, il significato della frase diverrebbe molto più chiaro.

[227] *DTH*, p. 52; BOGOSLOVSKIJ, pp. 98-99.
[228] Su cui vedi BOGOSLOVSKIJ, pp. 125-133.
[229] *DTH*, p. 54.
[230] EMMERICK, p. 113.
[231] *TTK*, p. 95 (ultima linea dell'iscrizione). H.E. RICHARDSON, *A new inscription of Khri srong lde brtsan*, in *JRAS* 1964, p. 6 (ll. 14-15 dell'iscrizione).

Suggerisco con molti dubbi la traduzione seguente: «Per decreto del re, dopo (?) il raccolto dei campi non irrigui delle chiliarchie, le tasse furono trasportate altrove. E perfino il grande ministro prestando giuramento, fu fatto un grande severo decreto; e quindi furono diminuite (?) le imposte addizionali dei sudditi teste-nere».

ABBREVIAZIONI

AOH = *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*.
BA = G.N. ROERICH, *The Blue Annals*, 2 voll., Calcutta 1949-1953; (traduzione del *Deb-t'er sñon-po* di 'Gos Lotsawa).
BOGOSLOVSKIJ = V.A. BOGOSLOVSKIJ, *Očerk istorii tibetskogo naroda*, Mosca 1962.
CAJ = *Central Asiatic Journal*.
CHAVANNES, *Documents* = E. CHAVANNES, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, Pietroburgo 1903.
CTS = *Chiu T'ang-shu* 舊唐書, ed. Po-na-pên.
CTW = [*Ch'ing-ting*] *Ch'üan T'ang-wên* 欽定全唐文.
DEMIÉVILLE, *Concile* = P. DEMIÉVILLE, *Le concile de Lhasa*, I, Parigi 1952.
DES ROTOURS = R. DES ROTOURS, *Traité des fonctionnaires et traité de l'armée*, 2 voll., Leiden 1947-48.
DTH = J. BACOT, F.W. THOMAS, CH. TOUSSAINT, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Parigi 1940 (1946).
EMMERICK = R.E. EMMERICK, *Tibetan texts concerning Khotan*, Londra 1967.
FERRARI = A. FERRARI, *mK'yen brtse's guide to the holy places of Central Tibet* (SOR XVI), Roma 1958.
LI FAN-KUEI, *Treaty* = LI FAN-KUEI, *The inscription of the Sino-Tibetan treaty of 821-822*, in *T'oung Pao*, 44 (1956), pp. 1-99.
LIU MAU-TSAI = LIU MAU-TSAI, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)*, 2 voll., Wiesbaden 1958.
MBT = G. TUCCI, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, II (SOR IX, 2), Roma 1958.
PELLIOT = P. PELLIOT, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, Pargi 1961.
PT = dPa-bo gTsug-lag, *mK'as pa'i dga' ston*, vol. Ja, riprod. fotogr. a cura di Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi, 1962.
SATÔ 1958 = H. SATÔ 佐藤長, *Kodai Chibetto shi kenkyû*, 2 voll., Kyoto 1958-59.
SATÔ 1978 = H. SATÔ, *Chibetto rekishi chiri kenkyū*, Tokyo 1978.
STEIN, *Tribus* = R.A. STEIN, *Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines*, Parigi 1961.
TCTC = *Tzŭ-chih-t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, ed. Pechino 1957.
TFYK = *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜 riprod. fotogr. Pechino 1960.

TLTD = F.W. THOMAS, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, 4 voll., Londra 1935-1963.

TS = [*Hsin*] *T'ang-shu* [新] 唐書, ed. Po-na-pên.

TTK = G. TUCCI, *The tombs of the Tibetan kings* (SOR, I), Roma 1950.

Validity = G. TUCCI, *The validity of Tibetan historical tradition*, in *India Antiqua, a volume of Oriental studies presented by his friends and pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel*, Leiden 1947, pp. 309-322.

WU T'ING-HSIEH = WU T'ING-HSIEH 吳廷燮, *T'ang fang-chên nien-piao* 唐方鎮年表 in *Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien*, VI, pp. 7283-7570.

ON HUANG-CHIH [1]

In 1912 Paul Pelliot drew attention to a text of the *Han-shu*, which contains an itinerary from South China to some countries beyond the seas and represents the first account of oversea trade in Chinese history [2]. At once this text drew a great amount of attention and of controversy; and indeed its interpretation is beset with serious difficulties.

I shall give once more its translation below [3]. By internal evidence it can be divided into five paragraphs, whose import will be discussed later.

I. «From Hsü-wên 徐聞 and Ho-p'u 合浦 [which are] fron-«tier posts in Jih-nan 日南, traveling by ship for about five months, «there is the kingdom of Tu-yüan 都元 (anc. *tuo ngiwan*, arch. *to «ngiwan*). Going again by ship for about four months, there is the king-«dom of I-lu-mo 黍 鄰 㖨 (anc. *iep luo muet*, arch. *iep lo muet*). «Going again by ship for over twenty days, there is the kingdom of Shên-«li 諶離 (anc. *dẓ'iem ljie*, arch. *dẓ'iem lia* [4]. Going by land for over «ten days, there are the kingdoms of Fu-kan 夫甘 (anc. *b'iu kâm*, «*b'iwo kâm*) [5] and Tu-lu 都盧 (anc. *tuo luo*, arch. *to lo*) [6]. From the

[1] A first draft of this paper was submitted to the Asian History Congress held at Delhi in 1961. It is published here in a revised and enlarged form.

[2] P. PELLIOT, «Review of Hirth and Rockhill's *Chau Ju-kua*», *TP*, XIII, 1912, pp. 457-459.

[3] The text is found in *Han-shu*, ch. 28b, 37a 38b (Po-na-pên edition). It has been translated many times: by P. PELLIOT, *loc. cit.*; G.H. LUCE, «Countries Neighbouring Burma», *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, XIV, 1924, 2, pp. 97-99; H. IKEUCHI, «A Study of Shu-shên», *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, V, 1930, pp. 141-143; J.J.L. DUYVENDAK, *China's Discovery of Africa*, London, 1949, pp. 9-11; WANG GUNGWU, «The Nanhai Trade», *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JMalBrRAS)*, XXXI, 2, 1958, pp. 20-22.

[4] Yen Shih-ku glosses the first character as *shih/dẓi/dẓ'ieg* + *lin/lien/gliem* = *shên/dẓ'iem/dẓ'iem*.

[5] Yen Shih-ku glosses the first character as *fu/b'ıu/b'ıwo*.

[6] Fu-kan-tu-lu is usually taken as the name of one country. But Yen Shih-ku, com-

«kingdoms of Fu-kan and Tu-lu going by ship for over two months, there «is the kingdom of Huang-chih 黃支 (anc. *γwâng tśie*, arch. *g'wâng «ʔɻeg*). The customs of the people resemble about those of Chu-yai « 珠厓 . They have many strange products».

II. «Beginning with the emperor Wu-ti (141-87 B.C), all offered tri-«bute. There are chief interpreters attached to the Yellow Gate (the De-«partment of Eunuchs); together with volunteers they sail away and go to «buy brilliant pearls, glass, rare stones, strange produce; they give gold «and various kinds of silk in exchange. In the countries where they arrive «[the inhabitants] give them food and keep them company. The trading «ships of the barbarians transport them one after the other, in order to «make them reach [their destination. They] too profit from this trade and «[sometimes] loot and kill people; besides, [the travellers] must fear the «tempests which may drown them. If nothing happens, they employ sev-«eral years for going and returning. The big pearls have a circumference «of as much as two inches».

III. «In the years between 1 and 6 A.D. Wang Mang, assisting the «government, desired to manifest a majestic virtue. He sent rich presents «to the king of Huang-chih, commanding him to send an embassy to offer «in tribute a living rhinoceros».

IV. «From the kingdom of Huang-chih going by ship for about eight «months one arrives at P'i-tsung 皮宗 (anc. *b'jiɐ̯ tsuong*, arch. *b'ia «tsông*). Going by ship for about two months, one arrives at the frontier «of Hsiang-lin 象林 of Jih-nan. So it is said».

V. «To the south of Huang-chih there is the kingdom of I-ch'eng-pu « 已程不 (anc. *i: d'ɻäng puet*, arch. *zɻeg d'ɻĕng pwet*). It is from «there that the envoys-interpreters of Han returned».

Already Pelliot and Ikeuchi had remarked that this text is made up from at least two sets of information. But we must go one step further, and distinguish three sets. To the first set (A) belongs para I and IV; it is

menting on this passage, mentions the strength and nimbleness of the people of the Tu-lu kingdom. He also quotes a passage from the *Hsi-ching fu* of Chang Heng (78-139 A.D.) to the effect that the people of Tu-lu are very clever at climbing on poles. It seems therefore clear that Fu-kan and Tu-lu are two different countries. This was first noticed, as a mere possibility, by P. WHEATLEY, *The Golden Khersonese*, Kuala Lumpur, 1961, p. 8, note.

evidently taken from a dry and precise itinerary, giving the names of the main stages on the route to and from Huang-chih. The second set (B) consists of para II and V and belongs to an account (probably a *mirabilia* tale) of the journeys of the Han eunuchs in search of luxury objects for the harem and the court. It gives no geographical names, but apparently takes for granted that the goal of the journey is Huang-chih. The retour follows another route, or at least includes a substantial deviation to the south. The third set (C) consists of para III and belongs to the cycle of tales which grew around the activity of Wang Mang, so decried by the Confucian historians.

The first two sets are closely connected, but (A) might be somewhat earlier than (B), for the following reason. The itinerary starts from Hsü-wên and Ho-p'u, «that are frontier posts of Jih-nan». In the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. Jih-nan was a rather vague term indicating the countries not yet sinicized in Southern China. With the administrative reorganization carried out by Wu-ti in 112 B.C. the name Jih-nan was applied to the southenmost territorial subdivision of the empire, in central Vietnam [7]. Now, since Hsü-wên and Ho-p'u were both situated on the Lei-chou peninsula, in front of the island Hainan, the indications of our text can be understood only if we take Jih-nan in its earlier meaning; because only before 112 B.C. two places in modern Kuang-tung province could be reckoned as frontier posts of Jih-nan [8]. Therefore, set (A) goes back to the years between 141 and 112 B.C. On the other side, the journeys of the eunuchs could hardly start in earnest before Wu-ti annexed the far south to the empire. And thus I would place set (B) in the years about 100 B.C. Set (C) of course is much later and belongs to the very first years of our era.

There are some additional texts, but they contribute very little to the subject. Thus another passage of the *Han-shu* gives the date of the tribute from Huang-chih as the spring of 2 A.D. [9]. Commenting on this text, Ying Shao (fl. end of the 2nd cent. A.D.) says that Huang-chih is to the south of Jih-nan, 30.000 *li* from the Chinese capital. Also the *Hou Han-*

[7] H.H. DUBS, *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, II, Baltimore, 1944, p. 82. On the geographical implications of this shift of an administrative term see R.A. STEIN, «Le Lin-yi», *Han-hiue*, II, 1947, pp. 144-145, note.

[8] A faint echo of this notion might perhaps be preserved in the *T'ung-tien*, ch. 188, p. 1007b; it places Huang-chih to the south of Nan-hai and Jih-nan; Nan-hai under the Han dynasty was the official name of Canton.

[9] *Han-shu*, ch. 12, 4b. P. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 459, note; H.H. DUBS, *op. cit.*, III, Baltimore, 1955, p. 71.

shu (5th cent. A.D.) places Huang-chih to the south of Jih-nan [10]. Three passages of the lost *Kuang-chih* 廣志 of Kuo I-kung 郭義恭, who wrote probably in the 4th cent., refer to the large pearls, glass and crystal coming to Huang-chih [11].

The importance of this ancient itinerary has been recognized long ago, but the identification of the place names is rendered almost impossible by its very antiquity and the ensuing lack of terms of comparison.

Huang-chih and the other countries mentioned along with it appear on the geographic horizon of China only for about one century, and then vanish (like so many other geographic terms) either because contact had definitely ceased, or because after a more or less long break the same region or people reappears with a new, different name.

The terminus and the most important name of the itinerary is Huang-chih. Few names of the Chinese geography of foreign countries have been localized in so widely different regions. In 1913 Herrmann, basing himself solely on the distance indications of the main text, placed Huang-chih in Ethiopia [12]. In 1914 Fujita was the first scholar to suggest the identification with Kañcī (Kanchipuram in South India) [13]. This was repeated in 1919 by Ferrand [14] and accepted in 1936 by Fêng Ch'êng-chün [15] and later, with some doubts, by Indian and Chinese scholars [16]. In 1914 Laufer placed Huang-chih in the Malayan peninsula [17]. In 1928 van Eerde put it in Atjeh (North Sumatra) [18] and in the same year Lamster, starting

[10] *Hou Han-shu*, ch. 116, 9a.

[11] The fragments of the *Kuang-chih* were collected by Ma Kuo-han (1794-1857) in his *Yü-han-shan-fang-chi-i-shu*. The three quotations concern the *mo-nan* pearls (ch. A, 4b; cf. K. SHIRATORI, «The *Mu-nan-chu* of Ta-ch'in and the *Cintāmani* of India», *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, XI, 1939, pp. 1-53); glass (ch. A, 5a; also in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, ch. 808, 4b); and crystal (ch. A, 5a).

[12] A. HERRMANN, «Ein alter Seeverkehr zwischen Abessynien und Südchina bis zum Beginn unserer Zeitrechnung», *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, 1913, pp. 553-564.

[13] T. FUJITA, «Zen-Kan ni okeru Sainankai-jō kōtsū no kiroku», *Geibun*, V, 11, 1914, pp. 41-45; reprinted in his *Tōzai Kōshōshi no kenkyū, Nankaihen*, Tokyo, 1932, pp. 124-132.

[14] G. FERRAND, «Le K'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations interocéaniques dans les mers du sud», *JA*, 1919, 1, pp. 451-455, and 1919, 2, pp. 45-46.

[15] FÊNG CH'ÊNG-CHÜN, *Chung-kuo nan-hai chiao t'ung-shih*, Shanghai, 1937, pp. 1-3.

[16] *E.g.* K.A. NILAKANTA SHASTRI, «The Beginning of Intercourse between China and India», *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIV, 1938, pp. 380-387; ID., *A History of South India* [3], Madras, 1966, p. 26; WANG GUNGWU, «The Nan-hai Trade», *cit.*, pp. 20-22.

[17] B. LAUFER, *Chinese Clay Figures*, I: *Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armour* (Field Museum Publ. 177), Chicago, 1914, p. 80, note.

[18] J.C. VAN EERDE, «De oudste berichten omtrent den Indischen Archipel»,

from van Eerde's findings, studied the whole itinerary from a purely geographical point of view [19]; his conclusions were accepted by Krom in 1931 [20] and by Delbrück in 1955 [21]. In 1949 Duyvendak took up the question again, giving a more accurate translation of the main text, but refusing to express a definite opinion, although he ruled out Herrmann's Ethiopian theory and had some objections to Laufer's location in Malaya [22]. The latest studies on the subjects are those by Wheatley, who leaves the question of Huang-chih open, although he would place it on the shore of the Indian Ocean [23]. An isolated position is taken by V.M. Stein, who looks for Huang-chih somewhere in Panjab or Kashmir [24].

The general direction in which to look for Huang-chih seems to be fairly sure. The main text gives no information, but Ying Shao, Kuo I-kung and the *Hou Han-shu*, whose sources are not so far from the events, place Huang-chih to the south of Jih-nan. It is true that this might mean only the general direction on which to start from the Chinese ports; this was Duyvendak's opinion. But the fact remains that in all the great Chinese encyclopedias and historical works of the Tang and Sung periods, such as the *T'ung-tien* (completed 801), *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* (983), *Tzŭ-chih t'ung-chien* (1084), *T'ung-chih* (middle of the 12th cent.), *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao* (end of the 13th cent.), Huang-chih is listed among the «Barbarians of the South» [25]. By that time Huang-chih had become a mere literary souvenir without reality; and yet it means that Chinese tradition consistently placed Huang-chih in South-East Asia. And this excludes *a-priori* Ethiopia and India.

Tijdschrift van het koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, XLV, 1929, pp. 589-590.

[19] J.C. LAMSTER, «Handelsreizen in Oost Indië vóór 2000 jaar», *Tijdschrift, cit.*, pp. 991-998.

[20] N.J. KROM, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 's-Gravenhage, 1931, pp. 56-57.

[21] R. DELBRÜCK, «Südasiatische Seefahrten im Altertum», *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 155/6, 1955/6, p. 56, n. 175.

[22] J.J.L. DUYVENDAK, *China's Discovery of Africa, cit.*, pp. 9-11.

[23] P. WHEATLEY, «Probable References to the Malay Peninsula in the Annals of the Former Han», *JMalBrRAS*, XXX, 1, 1957, pp. 79-85; ID., *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 8-13; ID., «Geographical Notes on Some Commodities Involved in Sung Maritime Trade», *JMalBrRAS*, XXXII, 2, 1961, p. 19.

[24] V.M. STEIN, *Ekonomičeskie i kulturnye svjazi meždu Kitaem i Indej v drevnosti*, Moskva, 1960, pp. 78-83.

[25] *T'ung-tien*, ch. 188, p. 1007b; *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, ch. 785, 2b; *Tzŭ-chih t'ung-chien*, ch. 35, p. 237a; *T'ung-chih*, ch. 193, p. 3172a; *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, ch. 331, p. 2600a.

Another fact allows us to get a further approximation. In this wholly maritime itinerary there is only one stretch of land travel, of ten days or so, which sharply contrasts with months of navigation. It can only represent the crossing of an isthmus. And the only isthmus of any commercial importance south of Jih-nan is the neck of the Malayan peninsula, not so much at Kra, where the width is at a minimum but the coast is of difficult access and the passage would be too short for ten days; but farther north or south. Wheatley suggests a choice between the Rajburi-Tavoy route by the Three Chedis pass, and a Patani-Kedah route [26]. In any case, almost three centuries later Ptolemy too seems to imply that the great commercial route between the West and Indochina included a portage through the isthmus.

It is a hopeless task to try to identify the names of the itinerary. The earliest layer of Malayan and Indonesian names we can reach goes back to the first centuries of our era and is already influenced by the Indian penetration, and thus by Indian languages. But the itinerary of the *Han-shu* reflects a stage anterior, on the whole, to that influence; and all means of comparison fail. So I do not think we can accept the set of identifications with names mentioned by Ptolemy or in the *Niddesa*, suggested by P.C. Bagchi [27].

As to Huang-chih, there is a small element which might help to locate it somewhere on the coast of Sumatra or even of the peninsula. Commenting on the passage of the *Han-shu* concerning the tribute of a rhinoceros, Yen Shih-ku (581-645) says: «The aspect of the rhinoceros is that of a water buffalo. His head resembles that of a pig and his four feet are like those of the elephant. They are black in colour. A horn stands out from their front, on the nose they have another small horn». This description refers clearly to the *Rhinocerus sumatrensis*, the two-horned rhino of Sumatra and of the peninsula. In Java the animal belongs to the one-horned species (*Rhinocerus sondaicus*), which «was formerly as plentiful as the *sumatrensis* in the peninsula, and probably the commoner of the two forms of it» [28]. And the Indian form has always been the one-horned one (*Rhinoceros unicornis*). Thus the description of Ying Shao seems to point toward Sumatra.

Of course we cannot overstretch this evidence. In order to be valid it would require two conditions: 1) that Yen Shih-ku, writing in the 7th

[26] P.WHEATLEY, *The Golden Khersonese*, *cit.*, p. 10.

[27] P.C. BAGCHI, *ap.* K.A. NILAKANTA SHASTRI, *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, Calcutta, 1957, p. 772.

[28] P. WHEATLEY, «Geographical Notes on Some Commodities», *cit.*, p. 77.

cent., referred really to the rhinoceros of Huang-chih and not to the rhinoceros in general, that is, he reproduced data contemporary with the embassy of Huang-chih to Wang Mang; 2) that the habitat of the rhinoceros in Southern Asia has not substantially changed during the last two thousand years. Therefore, I prefer not to insist on this element of proof [29].

In any case, the transit trade with pearl and glass would point to the region of the straits, and the present of the rhinoceros, as it has been rightly pointed out by Lamster, is a typically Indonesian princely gift. Also the comparison with the customs of the primitive people of Chu-yai, *i.e.* of the island Hainan, is by no means contrary to our identification.

We have proceeded so far without taking into account the distances indicated in the itinerary. They cannot be trusted in absolute terms, because experience shows that the distances given in the Chinese texts for countries beyond the seas are usually much exaggerated; Ferrand quotes an extreme instance: the 411.400 *li* (more than 100.000 km.) given by Chao Ju-kua (13th cent.) as the distance between Southern India and the Chinese coast. But we may at least pay some attention to the relative distances.

The first stage starts from Hsü-wên and Ho-p'u on the coast of the Lei-chou peninsula in western Kuang-tung province. It carries us to Tu-yüan, which might be looked for at the mouth of the Mekong; it is a most important stage in a purely coastal navigation. The next stage is somewhat shorter, and I would expect for I-lu-mu to be situated somewhere in the Gulf of Siam. Another short stage brings us to Shên-li, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Rajburi or of Patani, at the start of a short portage to the twin kingdoms of Fu-kan and Tu-lu on the opposite shore of the peninsula. A further moderately long navigation carries us to Sumatra, on the north-western tip of which I place Huang-chih, agreeing thus with Laufer's opinion. I-ch'êng-pu, to the south of Huang-chih, may have been situated in Southern Sumatra or in Java.

The return journey is almost impossible to reconstruct. It consists of an enormously long stage to P'i-tsung, which Lamster placed somewhere in the Moluccas; this absurd detour, in his opinion, was rendered necessary by the play of the monsoons. The monsoons, of course, were of paramount importance in ancient navigation; but the length of the journey is

[29] It seems that both the one-horned and the two-horned rhinoceros existed in South Cina and Indochina in ancient times. On this subject see also H. IMBERT, «Les rhinoceros de la Chine et de l'Indochine d'après des anciens textes», *Revue Indochinoise*, XXIV, 1921, pp. 217-230. I could not see H.A. GILES, «Mr. Laufer and the Rhinoceros», *Adversaria Sinica*, II, 1, Shangai, 1915.

better accounted for by a compulsory stay in port, as suggested by Wheatley [30].

On the other side, P'i-tsung, in early Han times pronouced about *b'ia-tsong*, reminds us of Vesuṅga of the *Mahāniddesa* and of Besynga of Ptolemy. But these are to be looked for in South-Eastern Burma, and this identification would require a land-crossing of the peninsula in order to return to South China. The itinerary, on the contrary, gives only a moderately long journey by sea from P'i-tsung to Hsiang-lin, which was the southernmost district of the Han empire in modern Central Vietnam. Duyvendak [31] suggested an identification with Pi-sung 毘 宋 mentioned in the *Sui-shu*, which was most probably in the Malay peninsula or on a neighbouring island [32]. There is of course also the striking similarity of P'i-tsung with the Malay word *pisang*, which was noticed by most writers on the subject. However, *pisang* is the same of several islands in the Malay archipelago; and this hardly leads us anywhere. On the whole, I think the evidence is insufficient for reconstructing the itinerary of the return journey.

In conclusion, the text seems to refer to an itinerary due south of China, along the coasts of South-Eastern Asia into Western Indonesia. It also shows that about 100 B.C. the Malay and Indonesian seamen were the carriers of the Chinese trade, and that no Chinese ships penetrated to the Southern Seas, — a state of affairs that was to last for several centuries to come.

[30] P. WHEATLEY, *The Golden Khersonese*, *cit.*, pp. 12-13.
[31] J.J.L. DUYVENDAK, *China's Discovery of Africa*, *cit.*, p. 11.
[32] P. WHEATLEY, *The Golden Khersonese*, *cit.*, pp. 22.

LA STRUTTURA DEL MS. TIB. PELLIOT 1287

Il ms. Tb. Pelliot 1287 (già 250) della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi fu reso accessibile dal Bacot e dal Toussaint in *DTH* [1] (testo, pp. 97-122; traduzione, pp. 123-170). Il contenuto fu da essi diviso in dieci capitoli. Della loro traduzione non dobbiamo occuparci ora. Ma ciò che decisamente non è sostenibile, è la loro interpretazione storica del testo.

Di fronte a certe apparenti incongruenze, per cui a passi riguardanti K'ri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan (755-797) seguono altri il cui protagonista è Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po (?-649), i traduttori diedero la strana spiegazione che il testo attribuisce a K'ri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan a titolo d'onore i nomi ed i fatti del suo illustre antenato [2]. Questa interpretazione sembra essere stata tacitamente accettata.

Lo scopo di questa mia nota del tutto liminare non è già di riprendere l'interpretazione del testo, ma di rettificare l'ordine in cui il suo contenuto si presenta.

Il ms. si compone di due porzioni, la prima (ll. 1-327) su carta sottile e la seconda (ll. 328-535) su carta spessa. La scrittura sembra dovuta ad un solo copista, con delle variazioni di mano dovute a fretta ed incuria alla fine di alcuni paragrafi; la paleografia non ci è quindi di alcun aiuto nel caso presente.

Lo scriba stesso ha diviso il testo in sedici paragrafi lasciando spazi bianchi tra l'uno e l'altro. Questi paragrafi sono omogenei come contenuto, ma la loro sequenza è evidentemente in disordine. Tuttavia un breve esame porta facilmente alla seguente ridistribuzione, basata sul criterio cronologico

§ 1. – ll. 1-62 (*DTH* p. 97 l. 1-p. 100 l.7). Fatti del re Dri-gum e dei suoi figli Śa-k'yi e Ña-k'yi.

[1] *DTH* = J. BACOT, F.W. THOMAS, CH. TOUSSAINT, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Parigi 1940 (1946).

[2] *DTH*, pp. 159 n, 160 n, 161 n.

§ 2. – ll. 63-117 (*DTH* 100, 8-102, 21). Lista dei ministri, dalle origini alla fine dell'VIII secolo.

§ 3. – ll. 118-172 (*DTH* 102, 22-105, 4). Storia del ministro Ziṅ-po-rje all'epoca del re sTag-bu-sña-gzigs.

§ 4. – ll. 173-246 (*DTH* 105, 5-108, 23). Storia del re gNam-ri-sroṅ-btsan e fine di Ziṅ-po-rje. Con un certo distacco di concatenazione (che però non ha il minimo riflesso nel ms.) seguono le storie di Zu-tse (*alias* sPuṅ-sad), Myi-c'en e sNaṅ, sotto il re gNam-ri-sroṅ-btsan.

§ 5. – ll. 247-298 (*DTH* 108, 24-110 fine). Giuramenti e canzoni del ministro dBa's, sotto il re gNam-ri-sroṅ-btsan.

§ 6. – ll. 299-314 (*DTH* 111, 1-24). Accessione di Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po e rivolte che seguono.

§ 7. – ll. 315-327 (*DTH* 111, 25-112, 17). Fine di sPuṅ-sad Zu-tse.

§ 8. – ll. 398-432 (*DTH* 115, 26-117, 14). Storia della principessa tibetana Sad-mar-kar, sposata al re vassallo di Žaṅ-žuṅ. Il ministro sPug Gyim-brtsan rmaṅ-cuṅ inviato dal re tibetano a riconciliare i coniugi in rotta. Canto indirizzatogli dalla principessa. Guerra contro il re di Žaṅ-žuṅ e sua distruzione. – Che la conquista di Žaṅ-žuṅ avvenisse ancora sotto Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, è dimostrato dal § 9. sPug è menzionato nuovamente nel 653 in un passo degli *Annali*, l .24 (*DTH*, p. 13), da cui risulta che egli fu nominato intendente (*mṅan*) del paese di Žaṅ-žuṅ [3]. Evidentemente egli veniva ritenuto un esperto in questioni di quella regione.

§ 9. – ll. 433-455 (*DTH* 117, 15-118, 24). Vittoria e conquista di Žaṅ-žuṅ e scambio di canti fra il re K'ri-sroṅ-brtsan, cui i suoi sudditi attribuiscono il titolo di Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, e il ministro [mGar] sToṅ-brtsan. Da notare che i versi a ll. 436-438 sono identici a quelli a ll. 266-270 nel § 5 [4].

§ 10. – ll. 495-525 (*DTH* 120, 29-122, 18). Discorsi di sfida tra il ministro mGar K'ri-'briṅ e il comandante cinese Voṅ-ker Žaṅ-śe (Wang Hsiao-chih *shang-shu* 王孝傑尙書. L'avvenimento, datato dai testi cinesi al 696, è invece posto dagli *Annali* nel 695.

[3] Per la traduzione di questa frase e in generale per i *mṅan* si veda G. URAY, The offices of the *bruṅ-pas* and great *mṅans* and the territorial divisions of Central Tibet in the early 8th century, in *AOHu* 15 (1962), p. 358; e V.A. BOGOSLOVSKIJ, *Očerk istorii tibetskogo naroda*, Mosca 1962, pp. 159-162.

[4] A. RÓNA-TAS, in *AOHu* 8 (1958), p. 323, si era accorto della corrispondenza.

§ 11. – ll. 529-536 (*DTH* 122, 19-31). È il passo frammentario alla fine del ms., che mantengo qui con qualche dubbio. Dei due personaggi ivi menzionati, e ambedue fuggiti in Cina, Pa-ts'ab rGyal-to-re potrebbe essere identico al Pa-tsab rGyal-tsan mt'on-po, menzionato sotto la data del 690 negli *Annali*, l. 107 (*DTH* 17, 14-15). L'altro, mGar Mañ-po-rje sTag-rtsan, va identificato con [mGar] Mañ-po-rje (Lun Kung-jên 論弓仁 dei cinesi, 658-723), figlio di K'ri-'briṅ, rifugiatosi in Cina alla catastrofe della sua famiglia nel 698 [5].

§ 12. – ll. 456-481 (*DTH* 118, 25-120, 3). Canto del re K'ri-'du-sroṅ in occasione della caduta del ministro mGar [K'ri-'briṅ]. L'avvenimento ebbe luogo nel 698.

§ 13. – ll. 482-494 (*DTH* 120, 4-28). Canto satirico di K'e-rgad rGyal-to-re mDo-snañ sull'unione del re K'ri-'du-sroṅ con la principessa di Cog-ro, e risposta della principessa. – Si tratta evidentemente di K'e-rgad mDo-snañ, la cui rivolta è menzionata negli *Annali*, l. 151 (*DTH*, p. 19), sotto la data del 705. Questo canto deve essere stato composto subito dopo la morte del re; il Mañ-po-rje ivi menzionato alla fine potrebbe essere identico al mGar Mañ-po-rje sopra citato.

§ 14. – ll. 328-337 (*DTH* 112, 18-fine). Riassunto delle gesta del re K'ri-'du-sroṅ (676-705).

§ 15. – ll. 338-365 (*DTH* 113, 1-114, 9). Fatti del regno di K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtsan (705-755) e canto in occasione dell'arrivo di Dvan-cuṅ-kog, ministro di Kag-la-boṅ (Ko-lo-fêng 閣羅鳳), re di Myva (Nan Chao). Si tratta di Tuan Chien-wei 段儉魏, grande funzionario del Nan Chao, a cui il suo re aveva conferito nel 755 il titolo di *chung-kuo* 忠國 [6]. Dvan-cuṅ-kog trascrive Tuan *chung-kuo* (antico *d'wân ṭ'ụung kwek*) [7]. La cronologia presenta qualche difficoltà, dato che Tuan ebbe il nuovo titolo esattamente nell'anno della morte del re tibetano; ma forse il ms. lo adopera per anticipazione.

§ 16. – ll. 366-397 (*DTH* 114, 10-115, 26). Fatti del regno di K'ri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan. – A ll. 378-380 si parla di una sconfitta inflitta al genera-

[5] *Chiu T'ang-shu*, ch. 196a, f. 5a, e *T'ang-shu*, ch. 216a, f. 7a (= P. PELLIOT, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, Parigi 1961, pp. 11 e 94). Biografia in *Chêng Yen-kung chi*, ch. 17, ff. 8a-11a. Vedi anche P. DEMIÉVILLE, *Le concile de Lhasa*, I, Parigi 1952, p. 380.

[6] C. SAINSON, *Nan-tchao ye-che, histoire particulière du Nan-tchao*, Parigi 1904, p. 46.

[7] Identificazione dovuta a R. A. STEIN, in *J.As* 1952, p. 84.

le cinese Hon-dze-sańs a 'Gu 'log. Si tratta del generale Hun Chên 渾瑊, battuto nel 773 a I-lu 'i' liuk (*ngjie luk*) [8]. Come al solito il nome personale del funzionario cinese deve essere stato sostituito dal suo titolo, in questo caso *fêng-chiang* 鋒將 (*p'ɨwong tsɨang*). Come si vede, le equivalenze fonetiche non sono molto soddisfacenti.

Da questa lista risulta chiaramente che la prima porzione del ms., quella su carta sottile, costituisce un tutto unico, il cui ordine non sembra suscettibile di mutamenti.

Invece la seconda porzione, su carta spessa, ha l'aspetto di un centone, composto con brani dell'archetipo, riuniti in un apparente disordine, sulle cui cause si può tuttavia azzardare un'ipotesi. L'ordine presente dei paragrafi della seconda parte è come segue: 14, 15, 8, 9, 12, 13, 10, 11. Ciò dà l'impressione che lo scriba eseguisse la sua copia su un originale che consisteva di quattro fogli separati, di cui egli non fu capace di ricostruire l'ordine esatto.

Ristabilita così la sequenza dei paragrafi nell'archetipo, mi auguro che altri voglia darci una traduzione aggiornata di questo interessante testo, tenendo conto del lavoro critico nei dettagli finora svolto dagli studiosi occidentali.

[8] *Chiu T'ang-shu*, ch. 196b, f. 1 b (P. PELLIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 38). Biografia in *Chiu T'ang-shu*, ch. 134, ff. 9 b-14 a; *T'ang-shu*, ch. 155, ff. 6a-8a.

ALCUNI DATI DI CHIH SÊNG-TSAI SULL'INDIA

Chih Sêng-Tsai 支僧載 era un monaco di lontana origine Yüeh-chih vissuto all'epoca dei Chin (265-420), secondo ogni probabilità verso la fine della dinastia e cioè nel primo ventennio del V secolo [1]. A parte ciò, nulla si sa della sua vita, né risulta che abbia viaggiato in India. Scrisse un'opera intitolata *Wai-kuo-shih* 外國事 (Cose dei Paesi Esterni), che andò perduta per tempo; ne rimangono pochi frammenti citati in enciclopedie ed opere analoghe [2]. Verosimilmente essa trattava soltanto dei santuari buddhistici in India e a Ceylon, poichè nessun frammento riguardante l'Asia Centrale ci è pervenuto. L'opera è contemporanea di quella molto più famosa di Fa-hsien, e come tale si presta a raffronti spesso interessanti.

Non è mia intenzione presentare qui tutti i frammenti, soprattutto perchè molti anni fa ha dato la traduzione (parziale perchè fatta su citazioni da un'opera sola) di tre dei più lunghi [3]. Altrove ho tradotto (sempre da una fonte sola) quattro frammentini riguardanti Ceylon [4]. Mi limito quindi a presentare i frammenti più interessanti, come piccolo tributo al mio maestro Giuseppe Tucci.

[1] Cf. HSIANG TA 向達, *Han T'ang chien Hsi-yü chi Hai-nan chu-kuo ku ti-li shu hsü-lu* 漢唐間西域及海南諸國古地理書敘錄, nel suo *T'ang-tai Ch'ang-an yü Hsi-yü wên-ming* 唐代長安與西域文明, Pechino 1957, p. 577.

[2] I frammenti sono stati raccolti da TS'EN CHUNG-MIEN 岑仲勉, *Chin Sung chien wai-kuo ti-li i-shu chi-lüeh* 晉宋間外國地理佚書輯略, in *Shêng-hsin* 聖心, 2, 1933; ristampato nel suo *Chung-wai shih ti k'ao chêng* 中外史地考證 Hong Kong 1966, I, pp. 164-171.

[3] L. PETECH, *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, Roma 1950, pp. 25-27, 28-30, 33-40. Queste versioni andrebbero rivedute in alcuni punti.

[4] *Some Chinese texts concerning Ceylon*, in «Ceylon Hist. Journal», 3, 1954, pp. 219-221.

I. *La ciotola del Buddha*

«Il *Wai-kuo-shih* di Chih Sêng-tsai dice che la ciotola da elemosine del Buddha sta nel regno dei Grandi Yüeh-chih 大月氏, con altro nome regno di Fo-lü-p'o-yüeh 佛律婆越; è la capitale del Figlio del Cielo 天子. Vi è stato eretto uno *stūpa* (*fou-t'u* 浮圖). Lo *stūpa* è alto quattro *chang* 丈 ed ha sette piani. Si dice che all'interno del muro c'è un'immagine del Buddha fatta d'oro e d'argento. L'immagine è assolutamente dell'altezza di un uomo. Il centro del sito della ciotola è al secondo piano. Di sopra è stata fatta una rete d'oro che avvolge la ciotola; essa incatena e tiene sospesa la ciotola. La ciotola è di pietra e il suo colore è verde» [5].

La ciotola del Buddha fu oggetto di venerazione in vari paesi successivamente, e i testi buddhisti forniscono diversi dati sui suoi spostamenti [6]. Chih Sêng-tsai la vide nell'antico regno dei Kuṣāṇa (Yüeh-chih), che ai suoi tempi era probabilmente dominato dai Kidariti, L'altro nome del regno è corrotto, ma è facile emendarlo. *Fo* 佛, dovuto all'attrazione del nome del Buddha, va corretto in *fu* 弗, e *p'o* 婆 è un comunissimo errore per *so* 娑. Ammesse queste correzioni, la pronuncia antica sarebbe *piuet-liuet-sâ-jiwat*, che trascrive il pracrito Purusavati, ossia Puruṣapura, Peshawar. Sappiamo da Hsüan-tsang che la ciotola rimase per un certo tempo a Peshawar, ma che ai suoi tempi non si trovava più colà [7]; egli ci descrive lo *stūpa* vuota, lo stesso a cui si riferisce il nostro testo.

'Figlio del Cielo' traduce *devaputra*, un titolo dei Kuṣāṇa molto discusso, che S. Lévi ed altri pensavano modellato su quello dell'imperatore cinese [8], ma che invece sembra di origine iranica [9].

II. *Il Kashmir*

«(B) Il *Wai-kuo-shih* di Chih Sêng-tsai (A: Anche) (AB) dice che il regno di Chi-mi 罽賓(A: Chi-pin 罽賓) (B) è un piccolo regno. (AB) È

[5] *I-wên-lei-chü*, ch. 73, f. 3a. Non incluso nella raccolta di Ts'en.

[6] Cf. E. CHAVANNES, *Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra*, in *BEFEO*, 3, 1903, p. 433; S. LÉVI, *Notes chinoises sur l'Inde*, V, in *BEFEO*, 4, 1905, pp. 294-299.

[7] T. WATTERS, *On Yüan Chwang's travels in India*, London 1904-1905, I, p. 202.

[8] S. LÉVI, *Devaputra*, in *J.As*, 1934, pp. 1-21; P. PELLIOT, *Notes on Marco Polo*, II, Paris 1963, pp. 654-655. Sembra fallito il tentativo di F.W. THOMAS, *Devaputra*, in *B.C. Law Volume*, Poona 1946, II, pp. 305-320, di farne un titolo puramente indiano.

[9] E. BAZIN-FOUCHER, in *J.As*, 1938, p. 504; A. MARICQ, *La grande inscription de Kaniṣka et l'étéo-takharien*, in *J.As*, 1958, soprattutto pp. 378-783.

all'ovest (A) del regno di (AB) Shê-wei 舍衛. Il re e il popolo del regno tutti onorano il Buddha. (B) Il paese è freddo. Gli *arhat*, (AB) i religiosi perfino gli *śrāmaṇa* fino alla fine (B) dei mesi e giorni (AB) d'inverno bevono un po' di vino prima di mezzogiorno; passato il mezzogiorno, non (B) bevono più vino né (AB) mangiano (B) frutta. Il regno è soggetto a Ta-ch'in 大秦» [10].

Chi-mi (pron. antica: *kiai-miĕt*) è evidentemente una trascrizione incompleta di Ka[sh]mir, prima in ordine di tempo nei testi cinesi, i quali (almeno quelli buddhistici) avevano fino allora adoperato la forma Chi-pin. Dobbiamo poi attendere fino al 511 per trovare nei *pên-chi* del *Wei-shu* la trascrizione completa Chia-shih-mi 伽倕彌 (*ka-ṣi-miĕt*). In tali condizioni la variante Chi-pin di (A) è del tutto comprensibile. L'allusione al clima freddo corrobora l'identificazione. Sorprende invece la posizione indicata mediante riferimento alla lontanissima Śrāvastī (Shê-wei). Ancora più assurda può sembrare la dipendenza da Ta-ch'in, se questo nome indicasse come al solito l'impero romano; ma probabilmente si tratta in questo caso del paese himalayano indicato con i nomi di Cīna e Mahācīna [11].

III. *I luoghi di nascita dei Buddha degli evi cosmici precedenti*

Per ovvie ragioni pratiche, preferisco seguire l'ordine geografico anziché quello 'cronologico' dei Buddha.

a) Kāśyapa

«Il *Wai-kuo-shih* di Chih Sêng-tsai dice che il Buddha Chia-yeh 迦葉 (Kāśyapa) nacque nel regno di Tui 脽. Ora quel regno non esiste più; il suo antico sito è a ovest del regno di Shê-wei (Śrāvastī) alla distanza di 30 *li*» [12].

[10] A = *I-wen-lei-chü*, ch. 76, f. 1b; B = *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, ch. 797, f. 10b; Ts'en, § 12.

[11] Può trattarsi del Kanawar, come propone G. TUCCI, *Himalayan Cina*, in *Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la memorie de Marcelle Lalou*, Parigi 1971, pp. 548-551; ma probabilmente si tratta di una zona più estesa e meno ben definita. Vedi anche R.A. STEIN, *Remarques sur les mouvements du taoisme politico-réligieux au IIe siècle après J.-C.*, in *T'oung Pao*, 50, 1963, p. 20.

[12] *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, ch. 797, f. 10a. Ts'en, § 8.

Naturalmente in questo come nei passi seguenti 'regno' è sinonimo di 'capitale'.

Secondo il commento all'*Aṅguttaranikāya* Kāśyapa, il Buddha del terzo evo cosmico, nacque a Setavyā mentre il *Buddhavaṃsa* e il suo commento lo fanno nascere a Benares [13]; quest'ultima località è indicata anche dal *Mahāvadānasūtra* sanscrito e dai testi pāli e cinesi ad esso paralleli [14]. Ambedue i dati sono inconciliabili con la testimonianza unanime dei pellegrini cinesi: Benares è fuori questione, e Setavyā era la prima tappa sulla via da Śrāvastī a Kapilavastu, ossia si trovava a est e non a ovest di Śrāvastī. È chiaro perciò che i viaggiatori cinesi seguono una tradizione differente, i cui dati sono abbastanza precisi. Infatti Tui (pron. antica *tuąi*) corrisponde al Tu-wei 都維 (pron. antica: *two-iwi*) di Fa-hsien; ed ambedue i nomi trascrivono, con l'elisione del suffisso finale, Toyikā, nome di un villaggio dove, secondo il *Bhaiṣajyavastu* del Vinaya dei Mūlasarvāstivādin, si trovavano le reliquie di Kāśyapa [15]. Fa-hsien pone Tu-wei a cinquanta *li* a ovest di Śrāvastī [16]. Hsüan-tsang non dà nomi di località, ma situa il luogo di nascita del Buddha Kāśyapa a circa sessanta *li* a nord ovest di Śrāvastī [17]. Malgrado le distanze discordanti, v'è un accordo sostanziale. Si può quindi accettare senz'altro la teoria del Cunningham, che identifica il luogo di nascita di Kāśyapa con l'odierna Tandva, villaggio a circa 14,5 km a ovest di Saheth-Maheth (Śrāvastī) [18].

b) Kanakamuni

«Il *Wai-kuo-shih* di Chih Sêng-tsai dice che il regno, dove nacque il Buddha Chü-na-shê Mou-ni 拘那舍牟尼 è anch'esso chiamato Chü-

[13] G.P. MALALASEKERA, *Dictionary of Pali proper names*, London 1938, p. 1278.

[14] E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Das Mahāvadānasūtra* (Abhandl. Deutschen Akad. Wiss. Berlin, 1952, nr. 8 e 1954, nr. 3), II, Berlin 1956, p. 174. Cf. *Hōbōgirin*, p. 196.

[15] *Gilgit Manuscripts*, ediz. Nalinaksha Dutt, III, 1, Srinagar 1947, pp. 73-74. La traduzione cinese di I-ch'ing trascrive Tu-i-ka 都貳迦 ; T. XXIV, 1448 xii 53a 11-12. Cf. *Divyāvadāna*, ediz. E.B. Cowell e R.A. Neill, Cambridge 1886, pp. 76-77. Toyikā corrisponde al Todeyya del commento al *Dhammapada*, III, pp. 250 e sg.

[16] H. A. GILES, *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, Cambridge 1923, p. 36.

[17] Th. WATTERS, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, I, p. 400.

[18] *Archeological Survey Reports*, I, Simla 1871, pp. 348-350; XI, Calcutta 1880, pp. 70-78. A Tandva fu rivenuto un frammento d'iscrizione con le parole *sthahaṃva ārā[ma]*, probabilmente il nome del santuario. L'identificazione del Cunningham fu accettata tra l'altro nell'edizione commentata di Hsüan-tsang di K. ADACHI, *Daitō saiiki-ki no kenkyū*, Tokyo 1942, I, p. 449. L'articolo di W. VOST, *Setavyā or To-wai*, in *JRAS*, 1903, pp. 513-515, è inconcludente. Sugli aspetti artistici vedi J. Ph. VOGEL, *The Past Buddhas and Kaśyapa in Indian Art and Epigraphy*, in *Asiatica. Festschrift Weller*, Leipzig 1954, p. 813.

na-shê. Giace all'ovest di Chia-wei-lo-yüeh 迦維羅越 (Kapilavastu) alla distanza di circa 30 *li*» [19].

Nel nome del Buddha, la terza sillaba *shê* 舍 è un errore per *han* 含. Chü-na-han Mou-ni (pron. antica: *kiu-nâ-γâm-mieu-nji*) è una regolare trascrizione di Konāgam[ana] Muni, anche chiamato Kanakamuni, il Buddha del seconda evo cosmico. La località è menzionata anche da Fa-hsien, che non ne dà il nome e la pone a meno di un *yojana* a nord della città di Krakucchanda e a un *yojana* a ovest di Kapilavastu [20]. Ciò solleva la questione del rapporto tra *yojana* e *li*. In Fa-hsien le due misure alternano ed il rapporto è di 30 *li* per *yojana*. Le cose non sono tuttavia così semplici quando si raffrontano le distanze di Fa-hsien con quelle normali. La questione è stata studiata da Adachi, e possiamo accettare la sua conclusione che il *li* di Fa-hsien è di c. 350 m e che il suo *yojana* corrisponde a c. 10,5 km nelle pianure indiane, mentre è più breve (c. 7,5 km) tra le montagne del Nord-Ovest [21]. Quando a Chih Sêng-tsai, anch'egli adopera le due misure, e nel frammento su Vaiśālī tradotto più oltre il rapporto è di 30 *li* secondo una fonte e 40 secondo un'altra [22]. Credo che si possono senz'altro applicare a Chih Sêng-tsai gli stessi risultati che a Fa-hsien, e quindi le distanze dei due autori coincidono esattamente. Invece Hsüan-tsang dà la posizione a 30 *li* a nord-est della città di Krakucchanda, che a sua volta sarebbe a 50 *li* a sud di Kapilavastu. La differenza è inconciliabile con i dati dei due scrittori più antichi. Se Kapilavastu corrisponde grosso modo all'odierna Taulihava o Tauliya Kot [23], allora la città di Kanakamuni va cercata a Gutihava [24], dando così ragione a Fa-hsien e Chih Sêng-tsai. Un elemento che suffraga questa identificazione è dato dal pila-

[19] *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, ch. 797, f. 10a.

[20] GILES, *The travels of Fa-hsien*, cit., p. 36.

[21] K. ADACHI, *Hokkenden*, Tokyo 1936, pp. 68-79. Vedi anche F. WELLER, *Yojana und li bei Fa-hsien*, in *ZDMG*, 1920, pp. 225-237, che non tratta però del rapporto fra le due misure. Le complicate spiegazioni di W. VOST, *The Linear Measures of Fa-hian and Yuan Chwang*, in *JRAS*, 1903, pp. 65-107, non hanno trovato seguito. Da notare che la lunghezza media del *li* in Cina durante lo stesso periodo era di 400 m; R.A. STEIN, *Le Lin-yi*, in *Han-hiue*, 2, 1957, pp. 11-12.

[22] Il rapporto di 40:1 è quello più normale nei testi buddhistici. Vedi per es. *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi*, T. XLIX, 2035 xxxii 313a 13-14.

[23] Qualche dubbio è però causato dal fatto che la recente prospezione archeologica di Taulihava ha messo in luce avanzi a carattere quasi esclusivamente hindu; ciò condurrebbe a rimettere in campo la proposta di una identificazione con Piprawa. Ma in attesa della pubblicazione dei dati è meglio attenersi alla soluzione da me accettata.

[24] Questa era anche l'opinione di W. VOST, *Identifications in the region of Kapilavastu*, in *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 563-571, il quale però vi arriva attraverso una discussione per me inacettabile.

stro senza base che porta una breve iscrizione di Aśoka riguardante le reliquie di Konāgamana Buddha [25]; ora si trova a Nigali Sagar, ma non è in situ. Recentissimi rilevamenti fatti dal servizio archeologico nepalese hanno mostrato che la circonferenza inferiore del pilastro di Nigali Sagar è praticamente identica alla circonferenza superiore si un mozzicone di pilastro a Gutihava, il che sembra elemento sufficiente per concludere che Gutihava era la sede originaria del pilastro e quindi il luogo ritenuto dalla tradizione come patria del Buddha Kanakamuni.

Il vero nome della città deve essere stato Śobhavatī, come asserito concordemente dai testi pāli e cinesi [26]. Unica eccezione è il *Bhaiṣājyavastu* del Vinaya dei Mūlasarvāstivādin (T. XXXIV 1448 vii 32a-b), il quale fa nascere Kanakamuni nel borgo di Chü-na 俱那 presso Kapilavastu, concordando così con i racconti dei viaggiatori.

c) Krakucchanda

«(AB) Il *Wai-kuo-shih* di Chih Seng-tsai dice che (A) il Buddha Chiu-liu (Krakucchanda) chiamato Chia-yeh (Kāśyapa) nacque nel (AB) regno di Na-ho-wei 那訶維 ; (AB) il suo suolo è fertile e dà ogni sorta di prodotti. Si trova a 30 *li* a sud di Chia-wei-yüeh 迦維越 (Kapilavastu)» [27].

La menzione di Kāśyapa Buddha sembra dovuta a un errore. Na-ho-wei (pron. antica: *nâ-χâ-iwi*) corrisponde a Na-pi-chia 那毗伽 (pron. antica: *nâ-b'ji-g'ia*) di Fa-hsien, situata a dodici *yojana* a sud-est di Śrāvastī [28]: i due nomi trascrivono all'incirca le stesse sillabe dell'originale ignoto, ma scambiando la seconda e terza: *Nakhavi o *Nabhiga. Hsüan-tsang non dà nomi e pone la località a 50 *li* a sud di Kapilavastu [29]. I testi canonici pāli e cinesi, nonchè il *Mahāvadānasūtra*, fanno nascere Krakucchanda a Kṣemāvatī [30]. Un'identificazione sul terreno è ancora aleatoria [31].

[25] E. HULTZSCH, *Aśoka's Inscriptions* (*CII*, I), Oxford 1925, xxiii.

[26] *Hōbōgirin*, p. 196.

[27] A = *I-wên-lei-chü*, ch. 76, f. 1b; B = *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, ch. 797, f. 9b. Ts'en, § 6.

[28] GILES, *The travels of Fa-hsien*, cit., p. 36.

[29] WATTERS, *On Yüan Chwang's travels...*, cit., II, p. 5.

[30] MALALASEKERA, *op. cit.*, pp. 470-471; WALDSCHMIDT, loc. cit.; *Hōbōgirin*, p. 196.

[31] W. VOST, in *IRAS*, 1906, pp. 561-563, propone Sisanihava, che quadrerebbe benissimo con Gutihava luogo di nascita di Kanakamuni.

A conclusione di questa sezione va sottolineato ancora una volta che le indicazioni dei testi canonici non trovano riscontro né nei dati di carattere assolutamente pratico dei viaggiatori cinesi, né nell'epigrafia; quindi per quanto riguarda i tre Buddha si tratto di due filoni di tradizione distinti e indipendenti.

IV. *L'impero Gupta*

a) Śrāvastī

«Il *Wai-kuo-shih* di Chih Sêng-tsai dice che il regno di Shê-wei 舍衛 (Śrāvastī) non ha più un re; tutti [i suoi abitanti] sono sudditi del regno di Po-li-yüeh 波黎日 (Pāṭaliputra), il cui re manda suo figlio a governarli. Il popolo del regno non segue la Legge del Buddha» [32].

Nei secoli IV e V la regione di Śrāvastī [33] faceva parte dell'impero Gupta, la cui capitale era Pāṭaliputra. Il nostro testo ci dà un elemento nuovo: Śrāvastī era la sede di un principe-viceré Gupta [34].

b) Kauśāmbi

«Il *Wai-kuo-shih* di Chih Sêng-tsai dice che il regno di Chü-sung-po 拘宋婆 contiene quattro case, che sono il luogo dove i Quattro Buddha del passato abitavano. Il Buddha Chia-yeh (Kāśyapa) abitava in quella di mezzo e vi insegnò e convertì per quarant'anni. Il Buddha Śākyamuni vi stette per cinque anni. Degli altri due Buddha non si parla» [35].

Chü-sung-po (pron. antica: *kiu suong b'uâ*) trascrive Kusumba, nome del *ṛṣi* presso il cui eremo fu fondata, secondo i testi pāli, la città di Kauśāmbi [36]. Nessun'altra informazione abbiamo sulle residenze dei Quattro Buddha. Soltanto Hsüan-tsang allude a un sito in cui i Quattro Buddha camminarono e sedettero [37]; ma è un cliché che compare senza varianti in buona parte delle località dell'India settentrionale visitate da Hsüan-tsang.

[32] *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, ch. 797, f. 9b. Ts'en, §5.

[33] Per informazioni generali vedi B.C. LAW, *Śrāvastī in Indian Literature* (*MASI*, 50), Delhi 1935.

[34] Su questi principi-vicerè (*mahārājaputra devabhaṭṭāraka*) vedi R.C. MAJUMDAR e A.S. ALTEKAR, *The Vakaṭaka-Gupta Age*, Benares 1954, pp. 259-261; U.N. GHOSHAL in R.C. MAJUMDAR-A.D. PUSALKER, *The Classical Age* (*The History and Culture of the Indian People*, III), Bombay 1954, p. 344.

[35] *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, ch. 797, f. 10a. Ts'en. § 11.

[36] MALALASEKERA, *op. cit.*, p. 694.

[37] WATTERS, *On Yüan Chwang's travels...*, cit., I, pp. 369-370.

c) Vaiśāli

«(ABD) Il *Wai-kuo-shih* di Chih Sêng-tsai dice che (AC) il regno di Wei-yeh-li 維耶離 (B: regno di Wei-na 維那 (Vaiśāli) (ABC) è a 50 *yojana* dal regno di Śrāvastī (A: Rājagṛha); (B) lo *yojana* (BC) nella lingua dei Chin è 40 (C: 30) *li* (A) La città ha un perimetro di tre *yojana*. (ABC) La casa di Wei-mo-ch'ieh維摩詰(A: Wei-ch'ieh 維詰) (Vimalakīrti) è a sud del palazzo della grande cinta (BC: è dentro la città), (A) a 7 *li* dal palazzo. L'edificio è distrutto e si può vedere soltanto il sito dove sorgeva. (B) Le fondamenta esistono ancora. (C) Il popolo del regno non onora più il Buddha. In ogni cosa, acqua, fuoco, ecc., sono eterodossi» [38].

Questo frammento è stato discusso ripetutamente [39]. Per il rapporto tra *yojana* e *li* vedi sopra. Secondo le misure da noi accettate, il perimetro di Vaiśāli sarebbe di circa 31,5 km, che sembra alquanto esagerato. Secondo Hsüan-tsang la città aveva un perimetro di soli 60-70 *li*, e il palazzo o cittadella soltanto 4-5 *li*.

Il nostro testo è il primo a menzionare un edificio famoso, la casa di Vimalakīrti, che fu la scena della «Spiegazione di V.» (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*). La leggenda è di origine indiana, ma ha riscosso un interesse particolare tra i più tardi viaggiatori cinesi in India [40].

d) Pāṭaliputra

«Il *Wai-kuo-shih* di Chih Sêng-tsai dice che il regno di Po-li-yüeh 搥黎曰 (Pāṭaliputra) in antico era un piccolo regno. Ora è una capitale dei paesi stranieri, e al di là del deserto [d'Asia Centrale] tutti sono diventati schiavi e concubine [di questo regno]» [41].

Po-li-yüeh (pron. antica: *puâ-liei-ji^{w}at*) trascrive una forma Pālivatī che richiama la mente Palibothra o Palimbothra dei greci, Pa-lien-fu 巴連弗 di Fa-hsien [42], Po-li-fu 波離弗 del *Ta-pei-ching* 大悲經 [43] e Po-li-fu 波利弗 dello *Tsa-p'i-yü-ching* 雜譬喻經 [44], tutte forme

[38] A = *Shui-ching-chu*, ch. 1, ff. 7b-8a; B = *I-wên-lei-chü*, ch. 76, f. 1a; C = *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, ch. 797, f. 9b. Ts'en, § 2.

[39] P. PELLIOT, *Autour d'une traduction sanscrite du Tao-tö-king*, in *T'oung Pao*, 13, 1912, p. 382n; PETECH, *Northern India...*, cit., pp. 28-30.

[40] E. LAMOTTE, *L'enseignement de Vimalakīrti*, Louvain 1962, pp. 81-83.

[41] *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, ch. 797, f. 9b. Ts'en § 3.

[42] GILES, *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, cit., p. 45.

[43] T XII 380.

[44] T IV 204.

caratterizzate dalla perdita della sillaba *-ṭa-*. Il nostro testo sembra riferirsi alla rapida espansione dell'impero Gupta nella seconda metà del IV secolo, e dimostra che esso era conosciuto all'estero col nome della sua capitale Pāṭaliputra.

CHINA AND THE EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS TO TIBET, 1860-1880

A. First Attempts: The French Missionaries

The treaties concluded by China with France, England, the United States and Russia in 1858 and 1860 provided for free travel within the Chinese empire for the subjects of those powers; this article was later included in all the treaties of friendship and commerce signed with other European nations. An unexpected problem arose almost at once: the entry of Western travellers into Tibet, a region which the treaties did not distinguish from the territory of China proper.

As at first Western interests were almost exclusively limited to the coast, the question concerned essentially the missionaries only. The Roman Catholic church had not forgotten that a mission of the Capuchin order had existed in Lhasa between 1707 and 1745, with two interruptions. Pushed back to Nepal and thence (1768) to India, the Capuchins were hit hard by the events of the French revolution and the Napoleonic wars, and they vanished from the scene [1]. But in 1846 the Pope provided for the future by creating the Vicariate Apostolic of Tibet, for the time being a purely nominal one, entrusted to the Mission Étrangères (or Lazarists) of Paris.

Although the Sino-French treaty of 1844 forbade the missionaries to move outside the five treaty ports, the Lazarists lost no time in penetrating into Eastern K'ams. A first half-secret exploring journey was undertaken in 1847. Then in 1854 Charles Renou and Jean-Charles Fage founded a missionary station at Bonga, a remote village between the Salween and the Mekong, about 28°20'N [2]. In 1859 it was attacked by hostile elements

[1] On the Catholic missions in Tibet till the middle of the 18th century see L. Petech, *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, I, Rome 1952, XXXIV-LXVII.

[2] For descriptions of Bonga see C.-H. Desgodins, *La mission du Thibet de 1855 à 1870*, Verdun 1870; A. Launay, *Histoire de la mission du Thibet*, Lille-Paris n.d., I, 233-234.

and the missionaries retired to sMar-k'ams (Chin. Chiang-k'a), a Tibetan district headquarters farther north [3], and then back to Szechwan.

As soon as the convention of Peking (1860), confirming the Tientsin treaty of 1858, expressly stipulated the right of the missionaries to penetrate and to preach in the interior of China, the Missions Étrangères launched an energetic drive to render the title of their Vicariate effective. In 1861 Renou and Fage received passports covering Tibet, signed by baron Gros, French representative in Peking, and by prince Kung, president of the newly-established *tsung-li ya-men*; and when on the 4th June of that year they arrived at sMar-k'ams, these documents were accepted and recognized by the local authorities [4].

It goes without saying that the sMar-k'ams governor at once informed the Tibetan government. The Lamaist clergy became alarmed; and indeed in that same year 1861 the court of the minor Paṇ-c'en at Tashilhunpo was informed that the English had beaten the imperial army and that, in accordance with an edict obtained from the emperor, the French «lords of the Catholic Church» (*T'an-kru sbyar-bo = T'ien-chu chiao?*) had arrived to sMar-k'ams, bent on travelling further and spreading their religion; not only the people of K'ams, a Buddhist country, but specially that of Central Tibet, where the sect of Tsoṅ-k'a-pa was flourishing, requested that the missionaries should be prevented from entering Tibet. Some time later special rites were held for this purpose[5].

The stand of the Lhasa government, i.e. of regent Rva-sgreṅ Qutuqtu (1856-1862) [6] was not different; it was made unmistakably clear when the

[3] C.-H. DESGODINS, 119-120; A. LAUNAY, I, 318-319, 322.

[4] C.-H. DESGODINS, 122; A. LAUNAY, I, 329.

[5] *De'i skabs su goṅ ma bdag po c'en po daṅ rgol ṅan p'yi gliṅ pa'i dmag skor gyis c'ab srid la ñen c'a c'e tsam yod par ma zad | gnam bskos mc'og nas bka' bžes t'ob don bžin P'e reṅ gi T'an kru sbyar bo'i dpon po a ma rje sogs maṅ tsam rim bžin sa bskor daṅ k'o pa raṅ gi c'os lugs spel bar sṅon ma sMar k'ams su 'byor ciṅ | k'o pa'i c'os lugs lta spyod sogs ni log pa'i lam du bkri ba 'ba' žig yod stabs | spyir Bod daṅ K'am Sog rGya roṅ sogs saṅs rgyas kyi bstan pa dar ba'i gnas daṅ | lhag par rje rgyal ba gñis pa'i bstan pa śin tu dar ba'i gnas Bod yul dBus gTsaṅ k'oṅs rnams kyi skye bo spyi mgrin gcig nas k'o pa rnams bkag sdoms kyi las don ts'ugs rgyu'i skor la brtag žu mdzad pa'i bka' lan stsol ba daṅ de mts'uṅs mc'og gsum dam can rgya mts'or t'ugs smon 'p'rin 'c'ol yaṅ dag mdzad.* Life of the Fifth Paṇ-c'en, 129b.—And again: *K'yad par de skabs na Yin c'i li rgogs daṅ | T'an kru sbyar bo žes pa dpuṅ bsgril gyis goṅ ma c'en po'i c'ab srid la log brgol daṅ Bod yul sogs su c'os log spel rgyu'i grags ṅan c'e sgaṅ yin stabs | de dag rmeg med du ži nas | rgyal bstan spyi daṅ k'yad par dGe ldan riṅ lugs bzaṅ po 'di ñid dar rgyas yun gnas yod pa'i skyabs 'jug gsol 'debs žus par bka' bžes daṅ p'yag byin mdud bcas stsal.* Op. cit., 131a.

[6] On this regent see L. PETECH, *The Dalai-Lamas and regents of Tibet*, in *TP* 47 (1959), 389-391.

missionaries repeatedly tried to reach Lhasa. The driving force in the attempts was Auguste Desgodins (1826-1913). On the 5th August 1861 he, together with the Vicar Apostolic Thomine-Desmazures, started from sMar-k'ams for C'ab-mdo (Chamdo), en route for Lhasa. They obtained from the acting governor-general of Szechwan a passport for Tibet, dated 15. VII, Hsien-fêng 11th (20th August, 1861), as well as a general order to the frontier officials to permit their passage and to afford them protection. But at the same time (on August 27) the C'ab-mdo authorities received an official communication from the Regent and the representatives of the three great monasteries of dGa'-ldan, Se-ra and 'Bras-spuṅs, which strictly forbade their entry into Tibet. The orders from Lhasa were swiftly and sternly complied with; the two Frenchmen were overtaken at a short distance from C'ab-mdo and brought back to that town [7].

This abortive attempt revealed the existence of an opposition, which the French missionaries never succeeded in overcoming. But they did not desist on this account. Early in 1862 Thomine-Desmazures went to Peking to lay the matter before the French minister and the Chinese government. «Par un acte authentique le chargé d'affaires français lui promit la possession à perpétuité de la vallée de Bonga, le libre exercise de la religion chrétienne au Thibet et la liberté de s'établir à Lhasa. Enfin, on l'assura que des ordres pressants seraint envoyés à Chiang-k'a (sMar-k'ams) pour terminer le procés [for the damages suffered at Bonga in 1859]. Le prince K'ung n'avait pas apposé son cachet sur l'écrit, mais il en approuvait le contenu que le chargé d'affaires lui avait soumis» [8]. Unluckily, the missionaries based their further action on this document, the validity of which was debatable, to say the least.

After re-establishing the Bonga mission, Renou joined Desgodins at sMar-k'ams, and in June 1862 the two renewed the attempt, only to be stopped at Lagong by officials expressly sent down from Lhasa; they had to return to Bonga, where Renou died on 18th October, 1863 [9].

Another failure was the attempt to secure a base in Lhasa itself by means of Chinese Christians. We know very little about this interesting story. In a letter of 3rd January 1860 the Vicar Apostolic Thomine-Des-

[7] A. LAUNAY, I, 333-347; C.-H. DESGODINS, 80-84. It is a pity that the Tibetan or Chinese original of this document is not available; we must be content with the short summary given by the Lazarists.

[8] C.-H. DESGODINS, 124. Cf. A. LAUNAY, I, 378.

[9] A. LAUNAY, I, 368-373. For the death of Renou see C.-H. DESGODINS, 95-96, and A. LAUNAY, I, 405-406.

mazures mentions in passing that he had sent the Christian silk merchant Lieou, accompanied by the catechist Yang, to rent a shop in Lhasa. But in 1862 or 1863 the two were expelled from the Tibetan capital [10]. A hint about these facts is found in a Chinese document. In November 1863 the commissariat officer (*liang-yüan*) Yen Ch'ing-yung was subjected to an official enquiry because, among other things, he had given hospitality in his official residence at rGya-mda' in Koṅ-po to Christians from Kiangsu who were prevented from returning from Lhasa to Szechwan, apparently on account of the Ñag-roṅ war [11]. In all likelihood these Christians were Liu and Yang.

The situation, already unpromising after so many setbacks, was further complicated by the Ñag-roṅ (Chan-tui) war. For many year, the chief mGon-po-rnam-rgyal had extended his power to the detriment of the neighbouring principalities and eventually in open conflict with the imperial government. The struggle grew acute in 1863 with the intervention of a Tibetan expeditionary corps, and ended in 1865 with the defeat and death of the rebel chief; the region passed under the administration of the Dalai-Lama [12].

These events placed the missionaries, suspected of connivance with the rebels, in an awkward position. The Chinese authorities, already suspicious on their own account, were subjected to pressure by the Tibetan government, as the official documents reveal.

In autumn 1863 an imperial circular had guaranteed to the French mission in Tibet all the privileges provided for by the treaty of Tientsin; but a few days later a second circular annulled the first [13]. At least this is the version given by the Lazarists. The Chinese documents tell another tale:

«*Chia-shên* X (=21st November, 1863). The *amban* resident in Tibet Man-ch'ing 滿慶 and the junior *amban* Ên-ch'ing 恩慶 [14] report as fol-

[10] A. LAUNAY, I, 371 and 378.

[11] *Mu-tsung Shih-lu*, 82.5b.

[12] On the Ñag-roṅ war see L. PETECH, *Aristocracy and government in Tibet 1728-1959*. Rome 1973, 120-121 and 178-179. For the local oral tradition see R. KASCHEWSKI and P. TSERING, *Die Niederschlagung des Empörers von Ñag-roṅ und andere Reminiszenzen des dPal-sprul Rin-po-čhe*, in *Zentralasiatischen Studien*, 7 (1973), 443-474.

[13] C.-H. DESGODINS, 126-127.

[14] Man-ch'ing was appointed junior *amban* about 1855, promoted senior *amban* in 1857 and recalled in 1859; but on account of the Ñag-roṅ war he was able to hand over charge and to leave Lhasa in 1865 only.—Ên-ch'ing was appointed junior *amban* in 1857; he was recalled at an unknown date, and left Tibet in 1866.

lows. dBaṅ-p'yug-rgyal-po [15] requests us to submit on his behalf the following memorial. On the Eastern route near the Tibetan border the Frenchmen Lo Lê-nu 羅勒努 and Hsiao Fa-jih 蕭法日 (Renou and Fage) show themselves hostile to the Tibetan officials, who do not allow them to go to Tibet. They are joined in a common endeavour with the Ñag-roṅ (Chantui) rebel mGon-po-rnam-rgyal. During the last spring Lo Lê-nu sent from [Ta-chien-] lu a certain Liu 劉 [16], who brought with him tea bales for distribution to the Chinese soldiers in the Batang and Litang zone, his purpose being to captivate the hearts of those men. Besides, they spread rumours in favour of mGon-po-rnam-rgyal of Ñag-roṅ. They consider the native people (Man) of Anterior Tibet as enemies; still, they dare not offend Chinese officials and Chinese troops. Besides, [there is] a writing according to which the governor-general of Szechwan no longer fights against Ñag-roṅ; this is a forged imperial edict to the Chinese and Tibetan officials in Tibet. It is necessary to eliminate the Ñag-roṅ rebels; you absolutely cannot wait for further orders. Thus far [the memorial].

The chief and second *t'u-ssŭ* of Batang have yielded to their incitements and have joined the Ñag-roṅ rebels. Lo Lê-nu has also betaken himself to sMar-k'ams (Chiang-k'a) and declared that the office of His Excellency Ching[-wên] 瑛 [玟] [17] had received an imperial edict [according to which] the Bonga (Po-mu-ka) region in Ts'a-ba-roṅ (Ts'a-wa), belonging to Anterior Tibet, is assigned to Lo Lê-nu for permanent administration, and wherever there are Christians intending to enter Tibet, absolutely no obstacle should be placed in their way. Besides, he sent again a certain Liu to [Ta-chien-]lu to carry tea in order to captivate the hearts of men. According to a report by the *rdzoṅ-dpon* (*ying-kuan*, district governor) of sMar-k'ams received here, the minds of the people are not at rest, and this represents a violation of the treaties by Lo Lê-nu. He conspires to make himself master of Anterior Tibet, and we have documentary evidence for this.

Moreover, it is known that in 1846 Lo Lê-nu unlawfully entered [Tibet] from Hsi-ning. The *amban* resident in Tibet Ch'i [-shan] sent him

[15] bŚad-sgra dBaṅ-p'yug-rgyal-po, regent of Tibet 1862-1864; see L. PETECH, *Aristocracy and government*, 165-180.

[16] This man may be the Joachim Lieou who in 1868 was a dishonest and untrustworthy interpreter to the missionaries; A. Launay, II, 34. He can hardly be identical with the merchant Liu sent to Lhasa in 1859-60, because the letter seems to have a Kiangsu man, while Liu was, as stated a few lines after, a Szechwanese.

[17] Ching-wên, appointed *amban* in 1861, arrived at Lhasa in 1865 only, after a long

from Lhasa to Szechwan, whence he was expelled to Canton with the order to return to his own country [18]. Unexpectedly, Lo Lê-nu made again a detour from Canton through Yünnan and secretely entered Men-kung, which belongs to Tibet, to establish himself there.

Later on, the said nation (France) concluded a treaty with our dynasty. Although it allows [the French] to preach their religion everywhere, it does not permit them to meddle in pubblic affairs. [In spite of this,] the above-mentioned Lo [Lê-nu) and Hsiao [Fa-jih] carry on spying activity from Men-kung, and in the Batang, sMar-k'ams and C'ab-mdo regions they have arrogated to themselves the title of Excellency (*ta-jên*). Besides, they have with them a good-for-nothing disciple, one Liu from Szechwan, who pretends to be an official and assists them in acting the tyrant. Under many pretexts they deceive the natives (Man). They even presume to give orders to Chinese officials and to bring the native to subjection.

Therefore, the lay and monk officials of Tibet have ascertained that Lo [Lê-nu] and Hsiao [Fa-jih], presuming in this way upon their position, behave outrageously. If they are permitted to enter Tibet, of course they will bribe Chinese and natives to follow their religion. Tibet was alway a country in which our dynasty caused the Yellow Church to flourish widely. On the contrary, 'Bras-mo-ljoṅs (Sikkim) and La-dvags (Ladakh), which are to the south-west of the Tibetan border, belong to the P'yi-gliṅ (P'i-lêng 披楞); and P'yi-gliṅ is another name for the English [19]. Since the French missionaries showed their intention to enter Tibet from Szechwan, the P'yi-gliṅ posted their troops in all the places of 'Bras-mo-ljoṅs and insisted upon entering Tibet for commercial purposes. They will wait till the French enter Tibet from the east, and then the P'yi-gliṅ too will enter from the south-west.

We have carefully investigated Lo [Lê-nu] and Hsiao [Fa-jih]. The purpose for which they want to enter Tibet is ostensibly to preach their religion; their veritable intention, however, is to get a good hold of Tibet. As to these two nations which try to get hold of Tibet, their aims rest not with Tibet [alone]. For the others (i.e. the British) to reach Tibet, mountains and rivers as far as [Ta-chien-] lu for ten thousand *li* belong to other people. But these (i.e. the French) have already reached the border of

[18] This is an absurd identification of Renou and Fage with Gabet and Huc, the two Lazarists who in 1846 had actually reached Lhasa.

[19] Tibetan P'yi-gliṅ transcribes Urdu and Persian Feringī, derived at the time of the Crusades from the name Frank. In Tibet it indicated the Europeans in general, and later the British in particular.

Szechwan; if one tolerates them on the Szechwan frontier, we fear that there will be not a single day of peace and quiet.

Therefore, the officials and people of Tibet pledge themselves till death to the main task not to allow them to enter Tibet. They do not presume [thereby] to violate knowingly the treaties. Truly our State preserves intact their territory; and they still hope to be allowed to find means to block [the entry of the foreigners]. They will not allow one thousand men of the type of Lo [Lê-nu] to enter Tibet; this would entail disastrous consequences.

Besides, the *amban* resident in Tibet has already reported on the subject of the entry of the French into Tibet to spread their religion and has received an imperial rescript [commanding] not to allow them to enter Tibet. The governor-general of Szechwan too has sent a circular to his subordinate officials [telling them that] if there are some Frenchmen entering Tibet, it is absolutely necessary to stop them with good words and invite them to go back. On this account they beg with the same words the Dalai-Lama to supplicate the heavenly favour, to condescend to remember the laymen and monks of Tibet, who are dull and ignorant.

Let a mandate to be transmitted to the governor-general of Szechwan, to issue orders according to instructions to the civil and military officials of the sub-prefecture (*t'ing*) of [Ta-chien-]lu. Should there be in the future Chinese subjects who receive documents for a journey to Tibet, and also military personnel entering Tibet for service reasons, a secret control is absolutely necessary; if [among them] there are men who have been converted to Christianity, it is not permitted to grant passports to all such people for exit from the [frontier] passes" [20].

This memorial is clear enough. On the one side it gives expression to the absolute opposition of the Tibetan regent (and of the great monasteries behind him) to the entry of Christian missionaries; on the other hand voices the misgivings and suspicions of the Chinese officialdom about the role they played in local politics. The ensuing imperial rescript, of the same date 21st November, 1863, accepted both positions:

«Rescript to the Prince Counselor (*i-chêng wang*; prince Kung) and to the Grand Council. Concerning the information submitted by Mach'ing on the Frenchmen Lo Lê-nu and Hsiao Fa-jih on the Eastern route. During the last spring they sent the good-for-nothing Liu to bring bales of tea from [Ta-chien-]lu for distribution among the Chinese soldiers in the Batang and Litang region, in order to captivate the hearts of the people.

[20] *Ch'ou-pan-i-wu shih-mo*, T'ung-chih, 21.23a-24b.

They also spread false rumours and enticed the senior and junior *t'u-ssŭ* of Batang into joining the Ñag-roṅ rebels. We command Ch'ung-shih and Lo Ping-chang [21] to investigate and report whether this information is correct or not.

Again; Lo Lê-nu declared that Ching-wên has received an imperial edict [according to which] the Bonga region in Ts'a-ba-roṅ, belonging to Anterior Tibet, is assigned to him for permanent administration, and if Christians go to Tibet, it is not permitted to hinder them. If this [information] is true, then the missionaries have spread the false rumour of an imperial rescript (*chao-yü*); and this is a truly heinous offence. Besides ordering the *tsung-li ya-mên* to lodge a regular protest with the French minister residing in Peking, we charge Ch'ung-shih and Lo Ping-chang to issue strict orders to all our subjects on the frontier to carry out painstaking investigations. If there are missionaries from the inner regions who enter Tibet secretly, they should be stopped and turned back. They should not be allowed to pass stealthily, exploiting the negligence [of the officials].

As the French intend to enter Tibet to spread their religion, the P'yi-gliṅ in their turn wish to come to Tibet for commercial purposes; their mind is truly unfathomable. Last winter the Gorkhas have sent envoys to Tibet to renew their old friendship. To the north-west of them, all the smaller tribes too desire to form forever a bulwark for Tibet. Let Fu-chi [22] be given orders to carry out his instructions with energy. We enjoin on the Gorkhas always to appreciate the old friendship. Secret defence measures should be taken to prevent the P'yi-gliṅ to carry out their spying designs» [23].

This rescript made short work of the unofficial «agreement» of 1862, which merely recognized the purchase of landed estates at Bonga, but which the missionaries seem to have (or were believed to have) construed as a grant of administrative powers in the whole valley.

Under the same date another, short rescript replied to the memorial of the *ambans* in similar words:

[21] In 1863 Ch'ung-shih (1820-1876) and Lo Ping-chang (1793-1867) were respectively provincial commander and governor-general of Szechwan. On them see A.W. HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Washington 1943-44, 211-212 and 537-538.

[22] Fu-chi (d. 1875) had been sent as a special commissioner to Tibet, but in practice he had not yet crossed the border and had remained at Ch'êng-tu; L. PETECH, *Aristocracy*, 177.

[23] *Ch'ou-pan i-wu shih-mo*, T'ung-chih, 21.24b-25a. This rescript is included also in a long document in *Mu-tsung Shih-lu*, 82.4b-5a.

«Rescript. Man-ch'ing and Ên-ch'ing have reported on the desire of Lo Lê-nu and the others to enter Tibet to preach their religion. The Tibetan officials are decidedly opposed to their voyage and it is quite clear that [the officials] are sincere and loyal. Today we sent instructions (*yü-chih*) to Ch'ung-shih and Lo Ping-chang to find means to stop them, while still respecting the treaties. As for their information on the penetration of the P'yi-gliṅ from the west, it is only correct to be prepared in advance. Now, although the Gorkhas seek good relations [with Tibet] and all the smaller tribes to the north-west of them too wish to form an eternal barrier for Tibet, nonetheless the frontier ought to be prepared as before; let there be no negligence, not for a single day. We instruct Man-ch'ing and his colleagues to consult with dBaṅ-p'yug-rgyal-po about adequate defence measures, without allowing the slightest carelessness» [24].

Clouds were gathering over the heads of the missionaries; and at this very moment they lost also the support of their own government. On 15th March, 1864, the French minister in Peking Berthemy informed them that the Chinese cabinet, either because truly powerless or out of ill will, seemed decided not to intervene in the question and to decline all responsibility for it. He concluded by inviting them to retire to Chinese territory. To clinch the matter, the French minister of Foreign Affairs wrote to the Superior of the Lazarists requesting him to send no longer missionaries to Tibet [25].

Partly on account of the imprudent behaviour of the missionaries, who in their excessive reliance upon the support of the French government had showed themselves overbearing in their relations with the Chinese authorities, partly because of the consequences of the Ñag-roṅ war, their position in south-east Tibet had became indefensible. In April 1864 the Lazarists were compelled to leave sMar-k'ams and to return to Batang. Bonga, which was abandoned shortly after, was re-entered in May 1865, was attacked by local elements in September and October of that years and the missionaries succeeded with difficulty in escaping to Batang, to which places their activity was limited ever after [26].

Some attempts at obtaining admission by diplomatic means led to no result. In this context we may notice a letter of the two *amban* of Lhasa Ên-lin and Tê-t'ai dated 26th September 1869 and addressed to the Vicar Apostolic Mgr. Chauveau. The original text is not available and we have

[24] *Ch'ou-pan i-wu shih-mo*, 21.25b. The portion concerning the missionaries is included in another document in *Mu-tsung Shih-lu*, 82.8b.

[25] A. LAUNAY, I, 419-421.

[26] C.-H. DESGODINS, 97-106; A. LAUNAY, I, 425-432, 438-441, 446-451.

only the French translation included in a letter of Mgr. Chauveau. The two officials state categorically that Tibet was a country in which religion alone was paramount and that therefore it refused any contact with foreigners [27]. It is also interesting to note that when Bonga was attacked in 1865 the missionaries showed to the assailants copies of the treaties of 1858 and 1860 as well as their Chinese passports. But the leaders of the attacking party, four officials sent from Lhasa, declared coolly that they did not recognize the authority of the emperor, still less treaties and passports; only the will of the Dalai-Lama counted for them [28]. We are confronted here with a Leitmotiv which repeated itself constantly afterwards. Of the two assertions, the first («Tibet is a religious country») was regularly employed by the Lhasa authorities in their official communications to foreigners; the second («imperial authority not acknowledged») was made, in more or less explicit terms, by the Tibetan officials on the spot, charged with preventing the entry of foreign travellers into Tibetan territory.

B. The Tibetan Opposition to the Admittance of Foreigners

In the sixties of the 19th century no outstanding international interests were yet at stake in Eastern Tibet. France did not at that time (nor later) entertain territorial ambitions in that region; nor did it wish to exert itself in favour of the missions beyond a certain point, as shown by the declaration of 1864. But in the seventies other powers entered the arena, viz. Britain and Russia. This tended to complicate the problem, as too many factors were interplaying.

There was first of all the desire of Britain to secure a minimum of information (and later of influence) on what came to be called the glacis of the Indian fortress. Similar ambitions were entertained by Russia; its territories were relatively far away from the Tibetan borders, but the Tsar took into account the fact that the Dalai-Lama was the recognized spiritual leader of the Buriats, Lamaist subjects of the Russian empire. The Chinese government in its turn, although bound by the treaties, was obvi-

[27] C.-H. Desgodins, 130-131; A. Launay, II, 64.

[28] C.-H. Desgodins, 105-106. The names of the leaders are give in French phonetic transcription by A. Launay, I, 450-451. They were three representatives of the great monasteries: 'Jam-dbyaṅs-bsam-gtan (for dGa'-ldan), Yon-tan-rgya-mts'o (for Se-ra), bSam-gtan (for 'Bras-spuṅs); plus the lay official (*śod-druṅ*) 'Bras-k'ud *sras* (French: Tchrekeusé).

ously not looking with favour upon the entrance if foreigners in a country in which Chinese authority had entered into a slow but continuous decline. Last but not least, there was the government ot the Dalai-Lama, whose policy was fairly clear: on the one side it tried to reduce to a minimum the authority and the interference of the Manchu resident, and on the other it was committed to blocking any attempt at foreign penetration, upon which a theocratical regime could not but look with deep suspicion, both for religious and political reasons. This policy was already outlined, as we have seen, in the sixties of the century.

For England and Russia the first step had to be the geographical exploration of the Country of Snows. The British government of India, more directly interested in the problem, got around the obstacles by means of the secret journeys and cartographical work of the «Pundits» of the Survey of India (1865-1884); the two voyages of Sarat Chandra Das (1878 and 1881-2) denote both the climax and conclusion of this sort of activity, conceived and organized by the British-Indian authorities only.

In the meantime, however, the London government had intervened. By a «separate article» annexed to the Chefoo agreement of 13th September 1876 it secured the right of sending to Tibet an official mission, with the choice of the starting point (Peking or India); China agreed to grant the necessary passports and to order the imperial residents in Lhasa to supply en escort. As well known, there was a long delay and the mission was organized in 1886 only under the leadership of Colman Macaulay; but before it could leave India, Britain by the agreement of 24th July 1886 renounced this right, in exchange for Chinese recognition of the annexation of Upper Burma [29].

The clause of the most favoured nation covered also the separate article of Chefoo and extended it automatically to all the nations who had signed treaties with China. This removed the doubts arising from the vagueness of the stipulations in the treaty of 1860, which opened Chinese to foreigners without specifying whether this applied to Tibet as well. The imperial government could no longer refuse passports for Tibet to subjects of other powers, and in the same year 1876 it granted such passports to the Russian Prževal'skij (who made use of it three years later), in 1877 to the Englishman Gill and 1878 to the Hungarian Széchenyi.

At first China intended to execute loyally the engagements entered into. However, the problem was complicated at once by the alarmed and

[29] A. LAMB, *Britain and Chinese Central Asia, the road to Lhasa 1767 to 1905*, London 1960, 143-147 and 155-173.

shocked reaction of the Tibetan government, which in 1876 was committed (as it had been in 1863) to preventing by all possible means the entry of the Westerners. They had learnt at once from the *amban* of the Separate Article. In April 1877 the British Consular Officer E. C. Baber, stationed in Chungking, reported that «the Tibetans had convinced themselves that their independence, such as it was, was in danger and that they had no wish to replace Chinese control, to which they had long grown accustomed, by the influence of a European power; in Lhasa, so the French missionaries told Baber, it had been decided to resist by force any attempt to implement the Separate Article» [30]. The report was quite correct, and Tibetan opposition is the central theme in all the Chinese documents we are going to discuss.

The first to come up against it was the British captain W. J. Gill, who in 1877 travelled from Ch'êng-tu through Ta-chien-lu and Litang to Batang, the last town under direct Chinese control. There he was informed that the Tibetan lamas were preparing to oppose his entry in their territory. The imperial authorities, as he informs us, were sincerely concerned for his safety, which they were unable to guarantee; and thus he preferred to give up his project and continued his journey through Yünnan to Burma [31].

In the same year E.C. Baber was posted as British consular officer to Chungking and started at once to explore this remote part of China; in March 1878 he travelled over and mapped the route from Chungking to Chia-ting. His activity roused the governor-general of Szechwan Ting Pao-chên [32] to emulation. In May 1878 he proposed to his government to send an official, skilled in Western mathematics, map-making methods etc., through Tibet and Nepal to British India , to explore (and apparently to map) the routes in those countries, returning by way of Assam and the Brahmaputra. For this task he selected the senior licentiate (*kung-shêng*) Huang Mou-ts'ai 黃茂材 . The Peking government accepted both the project and the man and applied to the British chargé d'affaires Fraser for the necessary passports; the latter of course wrote to the government of India on the subject [33]. I did not follow up this subject and ignore the reply of

[30] A. LAMB, *op. cit.*, 148.

[31] W.J. GILL, *The River of Golden Sand*, London 1880, 197-198.

[32] On Ting Pao-chên (1820-1886; governor-general of Szechwan from 1876 to his death) see A.W. HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 723-725.

[33] *Ch'ing-chi ch'ou-Tsang tsou-tu*, Ting Pao-chên, 8; *Ch'ing-chi wai-chiao shih-liao*, 13.26a-28a.

the Indian government. What is relevant here is the fact the Tibetans opposed by force the entry of Huang Mou-ts'ai [34].

The repulse of Gill first and of Huang Mou-ts'ai later could not be passed over, and the Peking government was compelled to intervene, sending positive instructions to the authorities concerned to respect the stipulations of the treaties; these instructions are contained in a document dated 16th January, 1879.

«The *tsung-li ya-mên* submits a memorial. 'As Chinese and foreigners are receiving passports for passage through Tibet, we request to grant them adequate protection'. On the ground of a report on the senior licentiate Huang Mou-ts'ai, Ting Pao-chên had previously memorialized: '[Huang Mou-ts'ai intended to] pass through Tibet in order to travel in the Five Indies [35]; [but] the Tibetans sent [soldiers] to guard the frontier posts and did not permit his entry into Tibet. If in future travellers from Britain and other countries pass through Tibet in accordance with the clauses on the Yen-t'ai (i.e. Chefoo) agreement, it is certainly to be feared that disputes may arise and lead to incidents. I request that the *amban* resident in Tibet be instructed to give strict orders to the Tibetans not to raise obstacles'.

China has already articles of agreement with all nations and we must act in conformity with them. How can the Tibetans, acting without authority, dare to stop Chinese and foreigners who have received passports [permitting them] to pass through Tibet? We enjoin on Sung-kuei 松潍 to compel with severity the Tibetans to obedience, so that they should act in a peaceful and law-abiding manner. If in future there are Chinese or foreigners holding passports for crossing Tibet, all of them must be securely protected; they must not be stopped, thus causing incidents or acts of violence. If the Tibetans presume to make opposition and to disobey, we order to investigate the facts and to take severe action. We order that a copy of the original minute be given [to Ting Pao-chên] to peruse. [To

[34] *Ch'ing-chi wai-chiao shih-liao*, 63.15b-16a. As a result Huang Mou ts'ai had to go back to the Jun-yü 潤玉 region (?) and thence to Yünnan, returning in the end to Szechwan; *Ch'ing-chi ch'ou-Tsang tsou-tu*, Wên-shih, 1.16.

[35] The Five Indies (North, West, South, East, Centre) is an ancient term going back to the times of the Buddhist pilgrims.

[36] Sung-kuei was senior *amban* in Tibet from 1874 to 1880. Nothing else is known of him.

be transmitted] at the speed of 500 *li* [37]. [Thus far] the rescript. Take cognizance» [38].

As a matter of fact things took a turn different from what the document provided for. For the Peking government it was neither easy nor in the last instance convenient to use the mailed fist in dealing with the Tibetans. First, it was not realistic to try to impose its will against the unanimous opposition of the ruling classes of Tibet, without an expensive armed expedition. On the other hand the Chinese themselves were not happy about the voyages of the foreigners, and thus the disobedience of the Lhasa government served as convenient screen, i.e. as an adequate reason for dissuading and obstructing by every means the foreign travellers without going as far as an outright refusal. For these reasons Peking apparently did not pursue further the affair of Huang Mou-ts'ai, although it represented a serious affront to imperial authority.

This policy is already implied in another document of the 12th May 1879, concerning possible British attempts at penetration from Sikkim. Ting Pao-chên gave instructions to control the situation by posting a Chinese official at Gyantse, and insisted that «when foreign travellers want to enter Tibet we must contrive means to avoid it. If it cannot be avoided, then special attention must be paid to their protection. This question should not be taken lightly, so that it may not give rise to incidents» [39].

At a certain moment, however, tension increased sharply. On the 24th June, 1879, the Hungarian explorer count Béla Széchenyi arrived at Hsining from Central Asia. As above mentioned, he held a Chinese passport valid for Tibet, and on the 29th July of that year the *tsung-li yamên* instructed the *amban* Sung-kuei to supply him with an escort for the journey through Tibet; the *amban* replied reporting that he had sent twenty Chinese soldiers and forty men of Tibetan militia toward Tsaidam, from where Széchenyi was expected to start on the route to Lhasa [40].

[37] The degrees of urgency of government despatches were expressed by the distances in *li* which the courier was expected to cover daily. J.K. FAIRBANK and S.Y. TÊNG, *Ch'ing administration: three studies*, Cambridge Mass. 1960, 10-18.

[38] *Tê-tsung Shih-lu*, 84.11-12a. Same in *Ch'ing-chi wai-chiao shih-liao*, 14.36b-37a.

[39] *Tê-tsung Shih-lu*, 92.6b-7a.

[40] B. SZÉCHENYI *et al.*, *Die wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse der Reise des Grafen Béla Széchenyi in Ostasien 1877-1880*, Vienna 1893, I, XCL and CLIII.

[41] The rTa-ts'ag (for the Chinese: rJe-druṅ) Qutuqtu Ṅag-dbaṅ-dpal-ldan-c'os-kyi rgyal-mts'an (1855-1886) was the regent of Tibet from 1875 to his death during the minority of the XIII Dalai-Lama; L. PETECH, *The Dalai-Lamas and regents of Tibet*, in *TP*, 47 (1959) 393.

The news aroused a storm of protests in the Tibetan capital. The regent rTa-ts'ag Qutuqtu [41] and his ministers officially resolved to prevent the entry of foreigners and took a solemn pledge to that effect before the monks and the people. Acting in the correct prescribed way, they couched their decision in the terms of a petition to the emperor, forwarded through the *amban*. On the 17th October the Peking government dealt with this memorial:

«Rescript to the Grand Council. Sung-kuei reports: 'The Tibetan government (*shang-shang* 商上) presents a petition to prevent and not to allow foreigners to enter Tibet. I request to deal severely with the T'ung-shan 通善 rJe-druń Qutuqtu, who directs the affairs of the Tibetan government; and personally I suggest to punish him with the utmost rigour'.

Travel of foreigners in Tibet is authorized by the treaties. [And yet] the Tibetan laymen and monks stick to their own ideas and disobey, presenting officially a petition not to allow the frontier to be crossed. Sung-kuei has been unable to make them understand the situation clearly; his behaviour is not at all correct. We order to refer him to the proper Ministry for determination of his punishment. The T'ung-shan rJe-druń Qutuqtu should at first be treated with severity, and after some time be pardoned. We order Sung-kuei and Sê-lêng-ê 色楞額 [42] to lay upon the Qutuqtu the responsibility for making all the monks and laymen to see reason; they should be reminded, in the matter of the entry of foreigners into Tibet, that some of them, not many, have travelled there in the past without any question of oppression arising [43]. They should not worry with unfounded suspicions and hereby create occasions for incidents. When foreigners arrive in Tibet, the Tibetan government should despatch Chinese and Tibetan subalterns and privates to take proper care of them and to escort them. In case that [the officials] disobey and oppose as before, we intend that the *ambans* resident in Tibet and the Qutuqtu be severely punished. The responsibilities for this affair are very serious. Sung-kuei and Sê-lêng-ê must give the utmost attention to it and provide in the best possible manner. Not the slightest negligence will be allowed; they must give a good example in the public interest. The Tibetan government in this matter should conform to the circumstances of the case.

[42] Sê-lêng-ê (d. 1890) was appointed junior *amban* in the 2nd month of 1879 and senior *amban* in the 11th month of the same year. He was recalled in 1885, but handed over office in 1887 only. Two short biographies of him are included in *Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan*, 59.52b-53a, and in *Pei-chuan chi-pu*, 29.25a-b.

[43] This is apparently an allusion to Gabet and Huc.

We order the *tsung-li ya-mên* to communicate [this document] to the minister plenipotentiary of the said nation (Austria-Hungary), so that he may be informed of the question. At the same time we order Heng-hsün 恒訓 [44] and Ting Pao-chên to give to the foreigners, when they arrive in Szechwan, information about the Tibetan situation and to contrive to dissuade them and hold them back, advising them to desist from the voyage; this would be much better. As before, Sung-kuei and Sê-lêng-ê should take appropriate measures in their sphere and act [accordingly]; let them not delay intentionally. Communicate this to the *tsung-li ya-mên* and at the same time let this rescript be made known to Hêng-hsün, Ting Pao-chên, Sung-kuei and Sê-lêng-ê at the speed of 500 *li*. Perused [45].

A new element in the situation was introduced by the Tibetan «petition». Really it was not as innocent as it seemed to be; the regent had performed an act which bordered upon open challenge [46]. The Chinese government could be incensed as much as it liked; the fact was that Lhasa was decided to push its will through at any cost. The story of Széchenyi's attempt is evidence in the case.

Instead of starting from Hsining and heading straight for Lhasa, the Hungarian nobleman chose to continue his journey through Western China; on the 24th September he arrived at Ch'êng-tu [47]. There he obtained from Ting Pao-chên the promise of a military escort as far as Batang; but he also received a communication dated 9th October 1879, by which the *tsung-li ya-mên* informed him of the Tibetan «petition» and advised him against a prosecution of his journey to Lhasa [48]. Széchenyi nonetheless left for Batang, where he arrived on the 1st December, only to receive there the new that the Tibetans were preparing to prevent his entry by force if necessary [49]. The information was correct; the Tibetan

[44] Hêng-hsün, a member of the imperial clan, received the title of *fu-kuo chiang-chün* in 1844 and died in 1883; *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, Hong Kong edition, 616-A. No biography of him is extant. Since about 1877 he was provincial commander of Szechewan; *Tê-tsung Shih-lu*, 61.12a-b, 72.9a-b, 77.11a.

[45] *Tê-tsung Shih-lu*, 99.17a-b. This text is found, in an abridged form and addressed by the *tsung-li ya-men* to the Szechwan and Tibet authorities, also in *Ch'ing-chi wai-chiao shih-liao*, 16.24b-25a.

[46] Compare also the document cited at the end of this study.

[47] B. SZÉCHENYI, I, CXXXIII. It is not my intention to deal here with the journey of Széchenyi and the Chinese documents concerning it, [on which subject see D. GIULI TOZZI, *L'esplorazione del Tibet e le autorità cinesi (1876-1900)*, in *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, 36 (1976), 397-418.]

[48] B. SZÉCHENY, I, CLVIII-CLIX.

[49] B. SZÉCHENY, I, CLXXXII.

government had sent to the Batang region as a special commissioner the *p'ogs-dpon* (military paymaster) Śan-k'a-pa, who was making preparations to oppose the entry of the traveller [50]. Eventually count Széchenyi thought it expedient to give up the attempt and, like Gill, left for Yünnan and Burma [51].

C. The Journey of N. M. Prževal'skij

In this setting, already marred by the developments of the Széchenyi affair and marked by stiff Tibetan opposition, by the impotence (if not ill-will) of the *amban*, and by the lukewarm support of the Peking government, Prževal'skij's attempt to reach Lhasa took place.

Russia, more remote from the Tibetan plateau than the British in India, had first to solve the problem of the exploration of Central Asia. This was done to a large extent through the voyages of A.V. Kaulbars (1872) and A.N. Kuropatkin (1876-77) and the second Prževal'skij expedition (1876-77), which explored the Tarim basin and the adjacent portions of Mongolia. Then came the turn of Tibet. The easiest way of access for the Russians was from the north, parallel to the ancient caravan track from Hsining by which Huc and Gabet had gone to Lhasa in 1846. This was the route closen by the third Prževal'skij expedition.

On the 2nd April (New Style) 1879 General Nikolaj Mihailovič Prževal'skij (1839-1888) left the Russian frontier post on the Zajsannor in the Semipalatinsk province, accompanied by the ensigns Fedor Leont'evič Eklon and Vsevolod Ivanovič Roborovskij and by an escort of ten men, partly Cossacks and partly soldiers. After having traversed and surveyed a large part of Central Asia, he reached Hami, from where he moved due south in the direction of Lhasa. Actually the conditions under which he started on his journey were worse than those which had caused the failure of Széchenyi, who had the advantage of belonging to a nation which could not be suspected of imperialistic aims in Asia, and who was to a certain extent supported by the Chinese government. Prževal'skij, a Russian officer accompanied by Russian soldiers, coming from the north with a three-years old passport, unsupported by the *tsung-li ya-mên* (which apparently ignored his movements) was to come up against almost insurmountable difficulties.

[50] *Ch'ing-chi ch'ou-Tsang tsou-tu*, Ting Pao-chên, 15; *Tê-tsung Shih-lu*, 112.12a-b. For the title *p'ogs-dpon* see L. Petech, *Aristocracy and government in Tibet*, 11 and 237.

[51] B. Széchenyi, I, CLXXXVIII.

His approaching march was not devoid of obstacles. In the zone of the sources of the Yangtzekiang he had trouble with the local nomads, accustomed for centuries to attack the trade caravans; Prževal'skij gives them the names Golyk and Jegrai [52]. The latter followed the expedition from a distance, until in the Tangla (gDaṅs-la) pass they rushed to the attack, only to be trown back with losses by the musketry of the Cossacks (19th November) [53].

Not far from the Tangla, the Russians met two Tibetan officials, who requested them to stop and wait for instructions from Lhasa. Prževal'skij complied, encamping on a stream at the foot of mount Bumza, in a region under the authority of the governors (*'go-pa*) of Nag-c'u (Napču of Prževal'skij) [54]. After a long wait of three weeks he eventually received the visit of a delegate of the Tibetan regent, accompanied by lesser officials and by representatives of the three great monasteries of dGa'-ldan, Se-ra and 'Bras-spuṅs. Courteously but very firmly, they vetoed the continuation of the journey; to give greater weight to their words, cavalry forces were hovering in the neighbourhood. A reference to the Chinese passport was brushed aside by the brusque declaration that the delegates had nothing to do with the Chinese and obeyed the Tibetan government alone [55]. Confronted with this unbending opposition, nothing was left for the Russian explorer but to place it on record in an official document bearing the seals of the Tibetan officials (15th December, 1879), after which he started back for Tsaidam [56].

[52] N.M. PRŽEVAL'SKIJ, *Tret'e putešestvie v central'noj Azii: iz Zajsani čerez Hami v Tibet i na verhov'ja Želtoj Reki*, St. Peterburg 1883, 236.—The Golyks are the famous Ngolok (No-log), of whom and their predatory activities all the Western travellers in that region have something to say. Jegrai are the brigand clans in the Yagra (g·Yag-ra?) region, mentioned by Kishen Singh. See *Report of Pandit Kishen Singh's explorarations in Great Tibet and Mongolia 1879-1882*, in *Records of the Survey of India*, VIII, 2, Dehra Dun 1915, 223.

[53] N.M. PRŽEVAL'SKJI, 241. The Old Style dates of the Russian text have been reduced to New Style chronology.

[54] N.M. PRŽEVAL'SKJI, 248-252. On the twin *'go-pa* of the Nag-c'u district see L. PETECH, *Aristocracy and government in Tibet*, 13.

[55] N.M. PRŽEVAL'SKJI, 273. Already before that, the officials of Nag-c'u-k'a had told him that the Lhasa *amban* had repeatedly advised the Tibetan government to receive the foreigners honourably, but his requests and explanations had remained unheeded.

[56] N.M. PRŽEVAL'SKJI, 273-276. A hazy recollection of these facts had persisted till recent years in the official circles of Lhasa. «In 1880 reports reached Lhasa from the district offer of Nag-c'u-k'a that a party of British travellers was in the region; however, there is no certainty that they were British, because any Caucasian seen in Tibet at that time was taken for a Britisher. The Tibetan government sent officials to ask the travellers

The attempt of Prževal'skij was hardly noticed in Peking. The Tibetan authorities had dealt with the case almost arbitrarily, passing over the competence of the *amban* and only informing them when everything was over; and thus no document *of the central Chinese government* concerning the question was ever published, as far as I know. But by a stroke of luck we get detailed information preserved in the provincial archives of Szechwan. At the end of 1886 the Manchu official Wên-shih 文碩 [57], posted as *amban* to Lhasa, was passing through the capital of Szechwan; the governor-general supplied him, for his information, with copies of a group of four documents dated in the year 1879. The first and the second of these concern the Prževal'skij affair, the third refers to local questions of Batang, and the fourth to the voyage of Széchenyi. We shall give here the traslation of the first two.

«The authors of this respectful report, we humble non-commissioned officers, took leave and started, confiding in our good fortune. On the 7th (19th December, 1879) we arrived at the Nag-c'u (Qara-usu). En route we succeeded in ascertaining that the Russians were encamped in the Meng-ch'iung 蒙穹 region, which is still more than 50 *li* beyond the Ts'ang-na 倉納 pass [58]. The Tibetan monk and lay officials have moved and concentrated more than 300 men cavalry to occupy it. The Ts'ang-na pass in its turn is at two stages from the Nag-c'u. After having gone where they expected to, the Tibetan official Chu-chieh 竹結 *mk'anpo* [59] and the representatives of the three grand monasteries returned to the Nag-c'u. Now we non-commissioned officers have arrived there and proceeded to their residence to talk with them. They told us that the Russians have already turned back and have gone away. We asked them detailed questions

to leave, and they turned back». W.D. SHAKABPA, *Tibet, a political history*, New Haven and London 1967, 197.

[57] Of Wên-shih we know only that in 1869 he had been appointed *amban* of Bulun-tohai (in the farthest north of Dsungaria) and that in 1872 he had alleged illness and had been dismissed; *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, 99-B and 100-B. Appointed *amban* in Tibet on 27th December 1885 (*Tê-tsung Shih-lu*, 220. 7b), he took office only in the spring of 1887. He was recalled on the 3rd March 1888 and left Lhasa in the middle of that year; *Tê-tsung Shih-lu*, 251.9a.

[58] Mêng-ch'iung could transcribe something like 'Bum-k'yuṅ; it is apparently the same as [Pom] Bum-čun of N.M. PRŽEVAL'SKJI. It should be the zone of mount Bumza (the Mondza of Kishen Singh?).—Ts'ang-na is the K'ra-ts'aṅ-la occurring in an itinerary of the Third Paṇ-c'en; Appendix to the *Life of the Third Paṇ-c'en*, 73a. It is also the Ta-tsang-la of Kishen Singh, which marks the border between the districts of Nag-c'u and rDza-mar; *Report of Pandit Kishen Singh's explorations*, 245.

[59] This in the head of the mission, the *mk'an-po* 'Jigs-med-c'os-'byor. But I cannot determine the Tibetan word transcribed as Chu-chieh.

about the circumstances. The Tibetan officials gave the following account.

We had received orders to come here. On the 29th day of the 10th Tibetan month (12th December) [60] we sent ahead the Mongol Lo-tsang-wa and the two *'go-pa (ying-kuan)* of Nag-c'u (Qara-usu) to precede us and to gather information. Among the names of the thirteen Russians arrived there, there are two which seem to be Mongolian [61]. On that occasion the three officials begged the Russians to kindly stop for a few days, till we representatives and officials could arrive there to meet them. They replied that for the moment they would have waited for one day, but if we delayed, they could not wait and certainly on the next morning they would continue their journey. Lo-tsang-wa and the others insisted to detain them, and they allowed a term of two days. Then Lo-tsang-wa and the others returned, to inform us monks and laymen.

On the 30th (13th December) we started with a cortège of about ten attendants. On the 1.IX (14th December) we arrived in the Mêng-ch'iung zone and had a personal talk, in courteous forms, with the Russians. [We enquired] of which nation they are subjects, for what purpose and from where they came here. Three men among them made the following statement: We are no Westerners (*yang-jên*); actually we are subjects and representatives of the Pa-ta Ts'a-k'ang Han 八達撒康罕 of Russia [62]. Russia had clearly informed the [Chinese] emperor [of our purpose], and by imperial decree we have been given permission to travel in the whole empire. Therefore, we wish to go to Tibet. Why do you prevent us? Among other things, a single imperial edict (i.e. passport) is valid in every province and permits us to travel there; how can you not respect it? Again, here is the «dragon-passport» (*lung-piao*); have a look at it.

We monks and laymen replied: We have repeatedly received imperial rescripts [on this subject]; they have been translated and now they are on record. We have also received repeated orders from the *ambans* residing in Tibet, that whenever foreigners arrive on the border, immediately an efficient protection should be afforded them; this too is on record. How-

[60] The Tibetan date (which in this instance coincides with the Chinese one) has been calculated according to the tables of D. SCHUH, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung*, Wiesbaden 1973.

[61] An allusion to the two Transbakalian Cossacks Dondok Irinčinov and Džambal Garmaev, who were Lamaist Buriats.

[62] The term underlying this transcription is Baatar Cagan Khan, «heroic white sovereign», the Mongol title of the emperor of Russia. Strictly speaking, the Chinese characters transcribe a form *Bada[r] Jaqan Khan.

ever, all the laymen and monks of this Tibet of ours have frequently had sad experiences when we extended kindness [to foreigners]. All together they have sworn a sealed [covenant] not to allow foreigners to enter Tibet, and have requested that a memorial [should be presented to the emperor] on their behalf; this is on record. We thought you knew it. Now we have come here to dissuade you and to prevent [your entry]. As actually you did not come to know about it during your voyage, therefore [now] we advise and counsel you to the contrary, in the hope that you will turn back.

The two parties discussed till sunset. Eventually the Russians said: If it is unavoidable that we turn back, you people who have come here must draw up a written agreement containing your names and surnames, so that tomorrow, returning to our country, we may report that our instructions have been carried out. We will not delay in any way [in this region]. If you do not draw up a written agreement, we certainly shall start tomorrow on the march for entering Tibet. Even if one thousand soldiers and ten thousand horses were [pitted againts us], we thirteen shall not be afraid. Give us at once a written reply whether this is possible or not.

We monks and laymen took counsel and examined the situation. If we did not draw up a written agreement, this would give occasion to incidents. There was nothing else to do but draw up this sealed agreement [written] in the barbarian (*i*) language. By then it was evening and everibody returned to their tents. On the 2nd (15 December) at sunrise the document of agreement was handed over to the Russians, who read and accepted it. After this they prepared their baggage and started on the march; [and thus the matter] was finished. We monks and laymen have already clearly examined the major part of the circumstances and have transmitted [our opinion] to the *bka'-śag* [63]; it stands on record. But there is also the popular feeling [to reckon with]; and thus we wait to be back in Lhasa to present an oral report on all this.

Now we non-commissioned officers, although all the [delegates], monks and laymen, have related to us the circumstances of these proceedings, did not feel quite happy about it. Over and above this, we have questioned people travelling in the neighbourhood, and all of them unanimously stated that it is true that the Russian turned back. Actually there were no causes of conflict with them, and thus there were no dangerous consequences. They say that the monk and lay [officials] now have sent the [two] *'go-pa (ying-kuan)* of this region, Lha-sdiṅs *sras* (La-ting-sê) [64]

[63] The *bka'-śag* is the Tibetan council of ministers, composed of four *bka'-blon*.

[64] On these two Tibetan officials see later p. 353.

and K'e-smad (K'e-mai) to follow and watch them. How did they cross the gDaṅs-la (Tang-la) pass? Have they passed the frontier? We cannot trust them. We shall wait here till we feel sure and the *'go-pa* are back, then at that moment we shall forward an urgent report. For the present, concerning our investigation of the return of the Russians and every detail, we have respectfully prepared a report [to be despatched] at the speed of 300 *li*. We humbly ask Your Excellencies to condescend to read it with attention and to examine it. Lastly, we inquire about your health. The supernumeraries Ma Lin 馬林 and Chên Pang-yen 鄭邦彥 respectfully report. On the 8.XI (20th December), about 4 p.m. Arrived from Nag-c'u (Qara-usu) to Lhasa on the 14th (26th December)» [65].

This document shows that the Tibetan government had acted on their own account, completely by-passing the *amban*, so that the latter was compelled to send two non-commissioned officers of his escort to gather a minimum of information; apparently the influence of Sung-kuei was at a rather low level, and it took him a whole month to obtain an official report from the *bka'-śag*, as we are going to see.

In the meantime the two Chinese officers, as promised, sent a second report, which eliminated any reasonable doubt on the actual departure of the Russians.

«The authors of this respectful report, the humble non-commissioned officers, had first submitted a summary report, begging to examine it with care. [To that we may add.] On the 9th (21st December) the Tibetan officials received a letter from Lha-sdiṅs *sras* [of the following content]: The Russians left Mêng-ch'iung and travelled for two great stages as far as the halting place in the Hsiang-têng 鄉登 region [66], where they tried to purchase horses from the Wa 娃 [67] encamped in the neighbourhood. On the 7th (19th December) they resumed the march and we followed to watch them. It is common knowledge that the Russians on their way [toward Lhasa] had suffered on the route an attack by the Yai-jê Wa 厓嘶娃 [68]; they did not succeed [in looting] anything from the Russians, and on the contrary the Yai-jê Wa lost several men killed or wounded. Now it is

[65] *Ch'ing-chi ch'ou-Tsang tsou-tu*, Wên-shih, 1.10-11.

[66] Hsiang-têng is hard to identify, as for geographical reasons it seems to be different from the Shiabden Gompa of Kishen Singh, *Report*, 245.

[67] Wa, or Wa-śul, is the name of nomadic tribes speaking a particular dialect (*Wa-skad*); they represent an ill-defined population now dispersed in the Ngolok country, Amdo and Minyak; R. STEIN, *Mi-ñag et Si-hia*, in *BEFEO* 44 (1951), 254; id., *Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines*, Paris 1959, 66.

[68] The Yai-jê Wa are the Jegrai of Prževal'skji; see above p. 340.

rumoured that the Yai-jê Wa want to join the Mêng-pa Wa 蒙巴娃 and the Kê-chieh Wa 格結娃 [69] to avenge themselves; they purpose to cut the route to the Russians. We ignore whether this is true or not, but special couriers have already gone out to investigate. We beg you to think on this and decide, and to send an answer quickly, so that adequate measures may be taken.

The lay and monk [officials], keeping with them this letter, took counsel with us non-commissioned officers, asking how to act in this matter and begging us to give them advice. Listening to their words we were overcome with surprise and greatly feared that inside this there was a [hidden] intention. We said: «You may send couriers with a letter for Lha-sdiṅ *sras* informing him that it is essential to be wary and to investigate carefully whether this is true or false. It is imperative to follow and watch them, accompanying them till outside the frontier. When the Russians have gone a long way, then [Lha-sdiṅ *sras*] may come back. As far as the Yai-jê Wa are concerned, special couriers should be sent to give them instructions. It would be important to present them with gifts and to order them officially to avoid whatever may be to the detriment of the Russians. Should they be killed, on whom the responsability will fall? In no case you should delay. After having consulted among themselves, the lay and monk Tibetan officials must reply, and the couriers should start at once with the copies of the letters». We non-commissioned officers too have sent a little Wa to investigate.

On the 13th (25 December) after noon the special couriers returned. They had followed [the Russians] day and night for seven stages as far as Hsia-jê-shui-t'ang 下熱水堂 [70]. They saw Lha-sdiṅs *sras* and handed the letter to him. At the same time they gave notice that the Russians were to be left in peace during their journey. Also a *brgya-dpon (chia-pêng)* [71] specially sent to the Yai-jê Wa country has already left for investigating; it is hoped that no occasion for incidents will arise. Is is our task to follow

[69] The Mêng-pa Wa may perhaps be localized in the region of the Dsanag mung bu la of Table 76 in A. HERRMANN, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, Cambridge Mass., 1935. The Kê-chih Wa are the herdsmen clans of the dGe-rgyas region, on which see T.V. WYLIE, *The geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad*, Rome 1962, 103.

[70] [Hsia-jê shui seems to be a half-transcription and half-translation of the Mongol name Śara-müren, the Yellow River (Huang-ho). The last syllable *t'aṅ*, «hall», is difficult to explain.

[71] *brGya-dpon*, literally commander of a hundred but actually little more than a sergeant; is a rank in the Tibetan army. See L. PETECH, *Aristocracy and government*, 12.

and watch them as far as the upper T'ung-t'ien-ho 通天河 [72], then we shall go back.

The Tibetan official Chu-chieh *mk'an-po* in his turn sent the representatives of dGa'-ldan etc., giving them [an escort of] about fifty cavalrymen. On the 14th (26th December) they left to explore. Coming out of the gDaṅs-la (Tang-la) pass, they travelled for eight or nine stages, until they were satisfied that the Russians had departed. Then they were allowed to return. We non-commissioned officers shall remain here for the moment. When the two Tibetan officials Lha-sdiṅ *sras* and K'e-smad come back after having personally ascertained the truth or falsehood about the footmarks of the Russians, we shall leave for Lhasa, to report that our instructions have been carried out. Now all this information is respectfully transmitted to you at the speed of 400 *li*. We humbly beg you to condescend to take cognizance. The supernumeraries Ma Lin and Chêng Pang-yen humbly report. Despatched on 21.XI (2nd January 1880) [73].

Besides these two reports, the governor-general of Szechwan gave to Wên-shih a copy of the official communication of the Tibetan cabinet (*bka'-śag)* to the *ambans*.

«Copy of the original report of the *bka'-śag*. Translated on the 9.XII (20th January, 1880); despatched for information on the 14th (25 January). The administrator of Tibetan affairs, Propagator of the Yellow Doctrine (*kuang-yen huang-fa*), T'ung-shan rJe-druṅ Qutuqtu writes the following letter to Their Excellencies the two Commissioners for the handling of Tibetan affairs.

There were some foreigners, thirteen in all including both masters and servants, who arrived in the Nag-c'u region belonging to Tibet, with the intention of penetrating into Tibet. When they arrived there, the *'go-pa (ying-kuan)*, chiefs *(t'ou-mu)* and prominent persons *(po-hsing)* of Nag-c'u gave them express notice of the prohibition. They not only took no notice of it, but absolutely wanted to enter Tibet. When a communication on this subject arrived [in Lhasa], at once the three grand monasteries of Se-ra, 'Bras-spuṅs and dGa'-ldan, as well as the monks and laymen of all Tibet [74], officially appointed their representatives, to proceed [to the Nag-c'u] to exhort them to return to their country. They have already sent [here] a letter, which is on record. Now the three grand monasteries Se-

[72] The T'ung-t'ien-ho is one of the source branches of the Murui-usu (Yangtze-kiang). See *Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta-tz'u-tien, sub voce.*

[73] *Ch'ing-chi ch'ou-Tsang tsou-tu*, Wên-shih, 1.11-12.

[74] In the Chinese documents this expression is used for indicating the Tibetan government as a whole.

ra, 'Bras-spuṅs and dGa'-ldan, the monk and lay officials and all the Tibetans together, through the channel of the *bka'-blon* and of the *spyi-k'yab mk'an-po (tsung k'an-pu* 總堪布 [75]) report the following.

We sent to the Nag-c'u region monks and laymen specially deputed in official mission, who collectively report that the above-mentioned officials arrived at the Nag-c'u and from there proceeded to the mTs'o-mo-ra (Ts'o-mu-jê 磋木熱) region [76]. On the 29.X (12th December) they sent the two *'go-pa (ying-kuan)* of Nag-c'u to persuade [the Russian]. Then on the 1.XI (13th December) the Tibetan monk and lay delegates themselves proceeded to the Pêng-ch'ing 蚌傾 region in rDza-mar (Tsa-ma-êrh 雜瑪爾) [77], where the foreigners were staying. They inquired about their health according to the rites and then asked the following questions: You gentlemen are subjects of which country? By which route did you arrive? For which purpose do you enter Tibet?

Upon this [they replied]: We are men from Russia. Our ruler is usually called Pa-ta-êrh Ts'a-k'ang Han [78]. As to our voyage, a prince of our dynasty has written a letter to the Ch'ing emperor, who granted us permission to travel in all the territories depending for the Ch'ing empire, visiting them for our pleasure. Moreover the Ch'ing emperor, as we believe, sent to the two Manchu *ambans* resident in Tibet several rescripts permitting our entry; did you hear or know something about this? I does not matter in what regions ruled by the Ch'ing emperor we penetrate; we have a general travelling permit and you must not prevent us. Here is the authentic document, which we invite you to read. How can you stop us?

To this we replied: These words [in the passport] are written in Chinese; we think it is certainly so [as you say]. Indeed this legal precedent goes back more or less to the times of the Hsien-fêng emperor (1851-1860), who permitted the Westerners from the P'yi-gliṅ country to enter Tibet. Not only some time ago several imperial edicts [on this subject] have been received, but also the officials of every rank residing in Tibet have been authorized, should P'yi-gliṅ Westerners enter Tibet, to give or-

[75] The *spyi-k'yab mk'an-po* was the head of the ecclesiastical establishment in Tibet and was directly responsible to the Dalai-Lama.

[76] This is the Tso-mora of Kishen Singh and of the Survey maps.

[77] It is difficult to identify Pêng-ch'ing; but geographically it should correspond to the site of the Nier-čungu source at the foot of the Bumza mountain; Prževal'skji, 249. We could suppose that Pêng transcribes Pon in Pon-bun-čun.—The rDza-mar-district, on which see T.V. WYLIE, *Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad*, 103, is the Zamyr of Prževal'skji, and Jâma of Kishen Singh.

[78] See above, n. 17.

ders to permit their entry and not to allow obstacles to be placed in their way; letters patent on this matter have been published repeatedly. But the Tibetan ruler and ministers together with their Tibetan subjects since the earliest generations have always considered religion as the main thing, and [put] human passions in the second place; this is an unfailing prescription. Both things together do not agree. From whatever country these foreigners may come, we will never allow a single one of them to enter Tibet. We are absolutely resolved, and together we have taken a pledge in this sense. According to the approved practice. through the *amban* resident in Tibet we have already in many ways according to circumstances explained the matter to the emperor. The orders are that for no reason whatsoever you gentlemen may enter Tibet. Therefore, the monks and laymen of Tibet gathered together have officially deputed us to go to discuss with you and to ask you instantly to turn back.

Upon this, [the Russians] said: We have spent more than seven or eight months for covering the route from Urumchi, Hami and Tsaidam just to [reach this place]. Up to this point more than one hundred camels have dropped dead [on the route] and we spent several thousand taels; and now you do not allow us to enter Tibet. Besides, the ruler of our nation, the Pa-ta-êrh Ts'a-k'ang Han, had a substantial exchange of letters with the Chinese emperor [about us], and as a result the Chinese emperor sent detailed information to the Manchu *ambans* resident in Tibet. Since you do not allow us to enter Tibet, we want the Manchu *ambans* resident in Tibet [themselves] to refuse our words.

Then we replied: Your Pa-ta-êrh Ts'a-k'ang Han may have sent many letters to the Chinese emperor, but we ignore whether the Manchu *ambans* resident in Tibet have these letters with them. Summing up, the prohibition for you to enter Tibet is valid and we must ask you to go back.

Upon this they said: But are you or are you not subjects of the Chinese emperor? Since you do not allow us to enter Tibet, then letters ought to be sent immediately to the *amban* of Hsining and to Kukunor, Tsaidam and other localities. We cannot come as far here by a long journey, and then decide [not] to enter Tibet.

To this we replied: Tibet is indeed under the sovereignty and the laws of the emperor of China, and normally abides reverently by the laws of the state. But as religion and human passions do not agree with each other, in the same way it is the rule for people of this sort that they shall not enter Tibet; and decidedly not a single one of them is permitted to enter Tibet. We are firmly resolute with full knowledge of the facts, and

the motives for this [are contained] in a petition presented [to the emperor] by the entire people of all Tibet through the *ambans* resident in Lhasa. Besides, you do not agree at all with our religious tenets; probably you gentlemen too are well aware of it. Now your gentlemen with your servants, thirteen men in all, have come here; again and again we beg you courteously to go back. We must repeat it: with all energy we insist, asking you to return by the way you have come. Nobody will do anything illegal against you gentlemen and your servants. Certainly you must think about in carefully.

Then we prepared at once a present according to local custom, [viz.] a package of *hui-mien* 灰面 (?) and a package of rice. When we sent them, [the Russians said]: As we have no mutual acquaintance, we do not accept them. And [the presents] were returned unaccepted; then we returned to our camp.

After some time we received a written reply, [as follows]: We have been in many countries, but apart from you nobody else has stopped us. Now you do not allow us to enter Tibet; but for what reason? You must by all means explain this. It is indispensable to write a document, in which you include singly the seals and names of you all. When it has been drawn up, then we shall turn back without waiting for the letter of the Manchu *amban*. If not, we thirteen shall not hesitate even if thirteen thousand came here, and we shall go on. We have waited for more than twenty days. Now we can [wait] no longer and tomorrow we shall resolutely enter Tibet.

Having received their communication, at once taking into account the conditions previously agreed upon by all those present, we drew up a document and affixed our seals to it. On the 2.XI (14th November) at sunrise it was handed over; to the thirteen men it became quite clear in their minds. There had been not the slightest damage to men, goods, animals or cattle; and we shall accompany them on their way back. Aside this, there were no further questions, such as matters of money or the like; these are the facts.

Thus it was received [by us ministers]. At the same time we prepared and despatched to you a copy of the sealed letter that has been given to the foreign Russian gentleman and to his servants, thirteen men in all. [We omit some sentences containing a communication from the sMar-k'ams *rdzoṅ-dpon* bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas to the *amban* concerning count Széchenyi and his departure from Batang for Yünnan on the 15th December]. We beg [the *amban*] to decide and to act quickly [in this matter]. In this way we shall create a precedent if later people from these or

other foreign lands are encountered. By whatever frontier they introduce themselves into Tibet, what is needed is to lay down once and for all that we should be on our watch and prevent [their entry]; nothing else matters. To spare them the fatigue of the double journey, we must beg you to grant us graciously the order to prevent [their passage]. They must not cross the Tibetan border because of negligence. Of all these matters, how can we submit a report to the emperor? And how can it be notified to the Grand Council, to the governor-general of Szechwan, to the governor-general of Shensi-Kansu, to the *amban* of Hsining, so that they take cognizance? We humbly wait for satisfactory arrangements to be made. Urgent request.

The request has been received. We note that on this occasion several Tibetan monks and laymen have been officially selected as representatives and have been sent to the Nag-c'u, where they have given to the foreigners a document under their seals, of which they have prepared copies and have transmitted them separately. They hope and pray that the two Excellencies may think how to prepare a report and at the same time how to make a general communication informing the Grand Council, so that in the aforesaid matter all the provinces should act accordingly. We also expect that satisfactory measures should be taken in detail. We beg you to take this thing at heart; therefore, we have drawn up this document» [79].

The statement sent by the *bka'-śag* to the Chinese authorities is highly interesting. It bears witness to the initiative taken by the Lhasa government to block everywhere and by every means the entry of Europeans, even at the cost (if need be) of defying imperial orders. From another point of view, we can observe an almost verbal coincidence between the report of the Tibetan delegation and the account of Prževal'skij, which confirms the absolute correctness of both.

Joined to the Tibetan report was the Chinese translation of the document given to Prževal'skij, which is known also from the Russian version prepared on the Tibetan text by Professor V.P. Vasil'ev and published in Prževal'skij's book [80]. The following translation is made on the Chinese text.

«Copy of the document of guarantee issued to the Russians. Tibet, a Buddhist country, has successively [seen] several P'yi-gliṅ foreigners, who arrogated to themselves many names, even illicit ones; and at various times there was talk of their penetrating into Tibet. [But] it is the rule that

[79] *Ch'ing-chi ch'ou-Tsang tsou-tu*, Wên-shih, 1.13-16.
[80] N.M. PRŻEVAL'SKJI, *op. cit.*, 276-277.

suchlike persons should never at all enter Tibet. And therefore the ruler and ministers of Tibet (Tangut) and all the people monks and laymen from the past generations till the present have taken and sworn a sincere voluntary covenant to prevent [the entry of the foreigners] at the risk of death. Upon this matter they are resolute with full knowledge of the facts. Through the *ambans* resident in Tibet this question has been presented to the ear of the emperor repeatedly and in detail.

Now in the site called Pêng-ch'ing belonging to rDza-mar near the Nag-c'u on the 13.X (26th November) it happened that an officer *(ta-jên)* of the Pa-ta-êh Tsa-k'ang Han [[by name] Li-ko-na Pi-hsia-pa-lê-ssŭ-kê (Nikolaj Prževal'skij), the *t'u-su-na-ch'i* [81] A-kê-lêng (Eklon), the *t'u-su-na-ch'i* Hsi-pei-kuo-ssŭ-kê (Švyjkovskij) [82] and a following of ten soldiers arrived there, stating their intention to enter Tibet. As a consequence, all the authorities of Tibet collectively received a report on this affair [from] the headmen of that district, i.e. the two *'go-pa (ying-kuan)* of Nag-c'u. As that place is far away, [the Russians] remained waiting twenty days there. Beginning with the great monasteries of Se-ra, 'Bras-spuṅs and dGa'-ldan and ending with all the monks and lay [officials] of Tibet, they have officially deputed monk and lay representatives to proceed there to exhort [the Russians] to return. Upon this, we have personally met them, at once [explaining them] the aforeisaid reasons. Repeatedly and in detail we have advised them to comply; it was imperative for us to ask them to return to their country. To this they replied that, if they were not allowed to enter Tibet, the aforesaid delegates ought to put into writing the reasons for the refusal to their entry into Tibet, in a document with their seals. As soon as it was received, they would immediately turn back. If not, on the following day they would at once enter into Tibet.

Now, you gentlemen have never before penetrated into dBus (Anterior Tibet) and it would not be accordance with our custom. Therefore, we kindly ask you to turn back.

[In witness] of this; the representative of the 'Bras-spuṅs monastery Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-dar (Lo-pu-tsang-tan-ta); the representative of the Se-ra monastery dGe-'dun-c'os-grags (Kên-têng-ch'ü-cha); the representative of the dGa'-ldan monastery Rin-c'en-bzaṅ-po (Jên-ch'ing-sang-pu); the offi-

[81] This is the Mongolian *tusalači*, attendant or subordinate.

[82] «The passport issued in 1876 by the *tsung-li ya-mên* for our journey to the Lop-nor contained the family name of the sub-lieutenant Švyjkovskij, who at that time accompanied me along with S.G. Eklon, but soon quitted the expedition on account of an illness». N.M. PRŽEVAL'SKJI, 276n.

cial delegates of all the monks and laymen (i.e. of the government) of Tibet, viz. *mk'an-cuṅ* 'Jigs-med-c'os-'byor (little [*hsiao*] *k'an-pu* Chi-kê-mei-ch'ü-chio-êrh); *rtse-druṅ* Byaṅ-c'ub-dge-legs (*tzŭ-chung* Chiang-ch'ü-kê-lê); *rtse-druṅ* Ye-śes-bstan-'dzin (*tzŭ-chung* I-hsi-tan-tseng); *druṅ-'k'or* rDo-rje-dgra-'dul (*tung-k'o-êrh* To-chi-chan-tui); *druṅ-'k'or* dBaṅ-rgyal-nor-bu (*tung-k'o-êrh* Wang-chieh-lo-pu); the [two] Nag-c'u *'go-pa*, i.e. *druṅ-'k'or* rNam-rgyal-rdo-rje (Ha-ta-wu-su *ying-kuan tung-k'o-êrh* Lang-chieh-to-chi) and *rtse-druṅ* rGyal-mts'an-dṅos-grub (*tzŭ-chung* Chien-ts'an-o-chu). Done on the 2.XI of the year *chi-mao* (14th December 1879)» [83].

The members of the Tibetan delegation can be identified, with the exception of the three Lamas representing the grand monateries [84], whose names seem not to occur in the Tibetan texts.

'Jigs-med-c'os-'byor was one of the foremost monk officials (*rtse-druṅ*) of the late 19th century. In 1861 he was already a *rtse-mgron* (chamberlain of the Dalai-Lama) and in that year he was appointed *mk'an-c'uṅ*, i.e. member of the supreme ecclesiastical administrative council (*yig-ts'aṅ*) [85]. No information on him is available for the following years, till the time of the Prževal'skij affair [86]. In 1880 he was still a *mk'an-c'uṅ* and came back to Lhasa from this assignment during the New Year's festival (*smon-lam*), which in that year took place between the 11th and the 25th February [87]. Later he was appointed *p'og-dpon*, i.e. paymaster of the troops; but he had already retired from that charge when on the 28.III (12th May) 1886 he was sent to P'ag-ri, entrusted with the task of stopping on the border the expected British mission of Colman Macaulay [88]. Apparently the Lhasa government attributed to him part of

[83] *Ch'ing-chi ch'ou-Tsang tsou-tu*, Wên-shih, 1.16-17. In the Russian translation the document is dated 3.XI (15th December).

[84] The inclusion of representatives (*spyi-'t'us*) of the three grand monasteries in all the delegations dealing with foreigners was a constant practice; they kept an eye on behalf of the clergy on the action of the government officials. Two examples may suffice: the Tibeto Nepalese treaty of 1856 and the Anglo-Tibetan treaty of 1904 bore the seals of the representatives of dGa'-ldan, Se-ra and 'Bras-spuṅs.

[85] *Life of the Twelfth Dalai-Lama*, 77a. On the *mk'an-c'uṅ* see L. PETECH, *Aristocracy and government in Tibet*, 8.

[86] The 'Jigs-med-c'os-'byor who in 1862 was political and commercial representative (*sgar-dpon*) at Hsining (*Life of the Twelfth Dalai-Lama*, 89a), must be another man.

[87] *Life of the Thirteenth Dalai-Lama*, Ka, 74b.

[88] *Op. cit.*, 138a. For the office of *p'og-dpon* see L. PETECH, *Aristocracy*, 11. On the Macaulay mission see back, n. 29.

the merit for the abandonment of the mission, because in 1887 he was granted the honorific title *darhan mk'an-po*, with which he appears in the following year as well [89]. In 1890 he received the half-Chinese title of *ta bla-ma*, in other words *mk'an-c'e*, president by seniority of the *yig-ts'aṅ*; normally this charge preceded retirement [90]. As *mk'an c'e darhan* he was in charge (1892) of the reconstruction of the images in the *mgom-k'aṅ* (chapel of terrific deities) of the sÑags-pa college of 'Bras-spuṅs [91]. Then in the 4th month (May-June) of the same years he accompanied the *bka'-blon bla-ma* Ye-śes-p'ul-'byuṅ, who was proceeding to the Chumbi valley to assist in the negotiations that led to the Anglo-Tibetan trade regulations of 1893; in the sixth month he was back in Lhasa [92]. In 1895 he was retired (*žabs-zur*) [93] and that is the last we hear of him.

sMon-groṅ-pa Byaṅ-c'ub-dge-legs was *rtse-gñer* (steward of the Potala palace) when during the New Year's festival of 1880 he came back to Lhasa with 'Jigs-med-c'os-'byor [94]. In 1891 he was *rtse-p'yag* (treasurer of the Dalai-Lama's treasury in the Potala) sent on a mission to Koṅ-po; we find him again as *rtse-p'yag* in 1894 and 1895 [95].

Lotsawa Ye-śes-bstan-'dzin occurs in the texts only on the occasion of his return to Lhasa during the *smon-lam* of 1880 [96].

The *druṅ-'k'or* (lay officials) rDo-rje-dgra-'dul and dBaṅ-rgyal-nor-bu are the *śod-druṅ* (same as *druṅ-'k'or*) K'e-smad and the *rtsis-pa* (finance accountant) K'o-naṅ, who were members of the delegation [97]; but as the Chinese document give the personal names only and the Tibetan text the family names alone, it is practically impossible to determine the coupling of the two series of names.

The *druṅ-'k'or* rNam-rgyal-rdo-rje, lay *'go-pa* of Nag-c'u, must be identical with the Lha-sdiṅs *sras* mentioned in the second Chinese document (see above, p. 346). He was the Lha-sdiṅs rNam-rgyal-rdo-rje,

[89] *Life of the Thirteenth Dalai-Lama*, Ka, 154a, 155b, 180a.

[90] *Ch'ing-chi ch'ou-Tsang tsou-tu*, Shêng-t'ai, 3.21. On the title see L. PETECH, *Aristocracy*, 8.

[91] *Life of the Thirteenth Dalai-Lama*, Ka, 222b.

[92] *Life of the Thirteenth Dalai-Lama*, Ka, 233a, 234b. On the negotiations for the trade agreement see A. LAMB, *Britain and Chinese Central Asia*, 196-204.

[93] *Life of the Thirteenth Dalai-Lama*, Ka, 259a.

[94] *Op. cit.*, 74b, 77b.

[95] *Op. cit.*, 212b, 237b, 262a.

[96] *Op. cit.*, 74b.

[97] *Op. cit.*, 74b. On the K'e-smad family see L. PETECH, *Aristocracy*, 92-95.

whose daughter married in 1882 the ruler of Sikkim mT'u-stobs-rnam-rgyal [98].

Lastly, the *rtse-druṅ* rGyal-mts'an-dṅos-grub, monk *'go-pa* of Nag-c'u, seems to be unknown to the texts.

As a conclusion to the present study, we may point out that the «petition» of 1879 represented an official statement of the Tibetan government on its policy towards the Western travellers. This declaration of principles was then communicated to the autonomous principalities of Eastern Tibet and to the monasteries under direct Chinese authority (i.e. not dependent from Lhasa) by a circular dated 20.I (29th February, 1880) bearing the seals of the Regent and of the three monasteries. The Tibetan text is not available; we have only a French translation, the correctness of which it is impossible to check. This document is aimed above all against the activity of the missionaries, but takes also position against the access of any European traveller. Although the Lhasa government had been informed by the *ambans* that the entrance of the foreigners was permitted, it protests against this imposition and declares that they cannot be allowed to enter. «Nous jurons, sous peine de mort pour les parjures, d'empêcher les Européens de parvenir même à nos frontières, et nous sommes prêts à subir la mort, s'il le faut, plutôt que de violer notre serment. Nous avons écrit ce serment solennel et nous l'avons livré au résident impérial à Lhasa, afin qu'il le communique à l'empereur". It concludes by giving the news of the successful action agains the entry of Count Széchenyi [99].

That the Lhasa government was in bitter earnest, is shown by the stern punishment meted out to the administrator (*skyabs-dbyiṅs*) of Tashilhunpo Seṅ-c'en Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-'dzin-dpal-'byor and to the P'a-lha *mda'-dpon* and his wife, who had befriended and helped S. Ch. Das in 1881-2. On the whole, the government of the Dalai-Lama stuck consistently to this policy till the end, merely allowing some exceptions in very special cases.

[98] S. Ch. DAS, *An introduction to be grammar of the Tibetan language*, Calcutta 1915, Appendix II, 2-3. Cf. L. PETECH, *Aristocracy*, 198.

[99] A. LAUNAY, *Histoire de la mission du Thibet*, II, 154-157.

THE 'BRI-GUṄ-PA SECT IN WESTERN TIBET AND LADAKH

I

The 'Bri-guṅ-pa sect is one of the four main branches of the bKa'-brgyud-pa school [1]. It is thus called from the monastery of the that name, which was built in 1157 by Mi-ñag sGom-riṅs, an illiterate ascetic, pupil of P'ag-mo-gru-pa. But the actual founder of the sect was 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (1143-1217), also called 'Bri-guṅ Dharmasvāmin. From the very beginning the 'Bri-guṅ pa received a solid organization, with an abbot as the supreme spiritual authority and a *sgom-pa* or *sgom-c'en* carrying on the secular administration and holding both civil and military powers; this structure was modelled on the highly successful one established at Sa-skya since 1073. In the historical texts the abbot is normally styled *gdan-rabs*, and the dignity was hereditary in the 'Brug-rgyal sKyu-ra clan, which claimed a fictitious descent from king Ral-pa-can; but there was no strict rule of succession within the family.

The 'Bri-guṅ-pa took a full share in the political life of Tibet during the 13th century and tried to contest the leadership of the country to the Sa-skya-pa abbots, till they were overcome by disaster; in 1290 their monastery was stormed, sacked and almost destroyed by the Sa-skya-pa and Mongol troops [2]. Slowly the sect recovered from the blow, and in the

[1] The following abbreviations will be used: — *BA* = G.N. ROERICH, *The Blue Annals* Calcutta 1949-1953 (translation of the *Deb-t'er sṅon-po*); — *PRN* = G. TUCCI, *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*. Rome 1956; — *Santi* = G. TUCCI, *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto*. Milan 1937; — *Ti-se* = 'Bri-guṅ-pa guide of the Kailāsa and Manasarovar (see below, note 5). — A first draft of the present paper was published (in Japanese) in *Tōyō Gakuhō* 59 (1977-8), 033-049; some hypotheses advanced there have been now abandoned.

[2] On 'Bri-guṅ and its history see G. TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. Rome 1949, pp. 16-17, 253; A. FERRARI, *mK'yen-brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*. Rome 1958, pp. 111-112.

15th century the Ming dynasty of China actually recognized its influence and prestige by the grant to the *gdan-rabs* of the title *ch'an-chiao-wang*, as one of the eight «religious princes», i.e. heads of important sects or monasteries [3]. However, they never again played a serious political role. In the early 16th century they experienced a short-lived recovery. The internal feuds weakened them again, and in 1581 a hard-fought civil war finally wrecked the secular power of the sect; at the same time its doctrinal position was modified by the penetration of strong rÑiṅ-ma-pa influences [4].

Here we are concerned only with the spread of the 'Bri-guṅ-pa sect in Western Tibet and Ladakh, where they played a not inconspicuous role. From the very beginning and until recent times their main centre was the zone around lake Manasarovar and mount Kailāsa, a region equally sacred to Hindus, Buddhists and Bon-po, and a goal of pilgrimage for all three persuasions [5]. Padmasambhava is said to have spent some time there; and unattached ascetics had lived and meditated in those cold caves and wild crags since Atīśa (d. 1054) started the second spread (*p'yi-dar*) of Buddhism. But the uniterrupted tradition begins only with Mi-la-ras-pa (1040-1123). There is a well-known legend according to which Mi-la-ras-pa fought a hard contest with the Bon-po magician Na-ro Bon-c'uṅ; he defeated his opponent, conquered the Kailāsa for Buddhism and meditated some time in one of its caves [6].

[3] See H. SATO, *On the eight priest-kings of the Tibet in the Ming period*, in *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 21 (1962), pp. 295-314, and 22 (1963), pp. 203-225, 488-503.

[4] On the 'Bri-guṅ-pa *gdan-rabs* down to the 16th century see H. SATO, *Lineage of the Ḥbri-guṅ-pa in Tibet during the Ming period*, in *Tōyō Gakuhō* 45 (1962/3), pp. 434-452.

[5] The Tibetan Buddhist lore on the Kailāsa and the lakes Manasarovar and Rakas Tal is digested in the guide (*gnas-bśad* or *gnas-yig*) to the holy places of that region compiled in 1896 by the 34th 'Bri-guṅ *gdan-rabs* under the title *Gaṅs c'en po Ti se daṅ mts'o c'en Ma dros pa bcas kyi sṅon byuṅ lo rgyus mdor bsdus su brjod pa'i rab byed śel dkar me loṅ* (henceforward quoted as *Ti-se*). It is a pity that sources drawn upon by the author are not available; they would be of great value for history of Gu-ge and of Pu-raṅ, as no chronicle of those countries appears to have survived. The 34th *gdan-rabs* also compiled in 1901 a guide of La-p'yi, the mountain hermitage of Mi-la-ras-pa not far from Mount Everest. — The Kailāsa, one of the most imposing and beautiful mountains of the world, was visited by several Western and Indian travellers; but the only description of its shrines from the religious and artistic point of view is that by G. TUCCI, *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, Milan 1937 (henceforward quoted as *Santi*). The two books of Swami Pranavananda, *Kailas-Manasarovar*, Calcutta 1949, and *Exploration in Tibet*, Calcutta 1950, are of little use for our purpose.

[6] The story is told in *Ti-se*, and at greater length in Ch. 22 of Mi-la-ras-pa's *mgur-*

In Mi-la-ras-pa's time and for many centuries afterwards political dominion and religious patronage over the mountain and the holy lake was vested in the kings of Gu-ge and of Pu-rań, both belonging to a branch of the old Tibetan dynasty, which had migrated westward in the early 10th century. The kingdom of Gu-ge (or Žań-žuń), situated to the West and North-West of the Manasarovar, was the craddle of the second introduction of Buddhism, thanks to the patronage of the kings (or rather retired kings) Lha Bla-ma Ye-šes-'od and Byań-c'ub-'od, supporting the cultural and religious activity of Rin-c'en-bzań-po (958-1055) [7]. The kingdom of Pu-rań to the south of the lake, seems to have been usually subordinate to, or at least less powerful than its neighbour, although the first king of Pu-rań was senior to the founder of Gu-ge.

After Mi-la-ras-pa, the hermitages around the Kailāsa were occupied almost exclusively by ascetics beloging to his school, the bKa'-brgyud-pa. When it split into several sub-sects, two of them, the 'Brug-pa and the 'Bri-guń-pa, took up the connection with the Kailāsa. According to tradition, P'ag-mo-gru-pa (1110-1170) laid upon the founders of the two schools, his disciples Gliń-ras-pa and 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, the task of sending out ascetics to meditate and practise penance in the Three Holy Places of the bKa'-brgyud-pa, viz. Tsa-ri, La-p'yi and Gańs-ri (Kailāsa). Both complied with the precept; and this resulted into a brisk influx of monks and hermits, causing a sort of spiritual colonization of the mountain first and of the lake shores soon after. Gliń-ras-pa- sent to the Kailāsa his pupil 'Brug-pa-ras-pa Ye-śes-rdo-rje; after him, his famous disciple rGod-ts'ań-pa mGon-po-rdo-rje (1189-1258) resided at the Kailāsa (mainly in the Go-zul cave) between 1213 and 1217 [8], creating thereby a permanent establishment of 'Brug-pa monks. He was followed in his turn by his pupil, the well-known traveller O-rgyan-pa Rin-c'en-dpal [9]. The 'Brug-pa presence lasted without interruption ever since [10].

'bum, translated by H. HOFFMANN, *Mi-la-ras-pa: Sieben Legenden*. München-Planegg 1950, pp. 65-77

[7] See G. TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica* II, Rome 1933, *passim*.

[8] For the dates of the life and journeys of rGod-ts'ań-pa see *BA*, 680-686, 700. His itinerary to Jalandhara has been edited by G. TUCCI, *Travels of Tibetan pilgrims in the Swat valley*, Calcutta 1940, text pp. 89-92, translation pp. 15-26 (= *Opera Minora*, Rome 1971, pp. 376-382). On Go-zul or mGo-ts'ugs see *Ti-se*, 58b-59a. *Santi*, p. 79. According to *Ti-se*, the existing monastery was built in the time of the 10th Dalai-Lama (1816-1837).

[9] For the details of the life of O-rgyan-pa see *BA*, pp. 696-702. The account of his journey to Uḍḍiyāna, which took place in the late fifties of the 13th century, has been edited by G. TUCCI, *Travels* etc., text pp. 92-103, translation pp. 41-64 (= *Opera Minora*, 396-406).

[10] *Ti-se*, 23a-b.

'Jig-rten-mgon-po likewise carried out the precept of his master and sent in succession three batches of hermits to the Kailāsa caves. The first had as its leader Naṅ-p'u-pa (d. 1206) and the second was headed by gÑos-c'en-po and Gar-pa Byaṅ-rdor; this happened probably during the very first years of the 13th century. The third expedition was the most important. It was sent out in the 73rd years of life of the master, i.e. in 1215, under the lead of dÑos C'os-rje P'un-ts'ogs-rgya-mts'o, usually called Ghu-ya-sgaṅ-pa from the name of his hermitage; this expedition is said to have consisted of the enormous number of 55,525 hermits (*ri-pa*). Ghu-ya-sgaṅ-pa and his followers laid the real foundations of 'Bri-guṅ-pa presence around the Kailāsa; meditation cells (*sgrub-k'aṅ*) were established at Śel-'dra, Ñan-ri, Dar-luṅ etc. [11].

Their work was protected and supported by the rulers of Western Tibet: the Gu-ge *c'os-rgyal* K'ri bKra-śis-lde-btsan, the Maṅ-yul (i.e. Ladakh) *rgyal-po* Lha-c'en dÑos-grub-mgon, the Pu-raṅ *rgyal-po* Bla-c'en sTag-ts'a-k'ri-'bar and his son gNam-mgon-lde [12]. This rather bald piece of information is invaluable, as it supplies a much-needed chronological pin-point for the dynastic history of Western Tibet in the early 13th century. I shall not deal here with Ladakh, as the problem has been discussed elsewhere [13]. What interests us in this case is the name and title of the king of Gu-ge.

A change had taken place in the Gu-ge kingdom shortly before that time. As shown by Tucci, the centre of power had shifted to Ya-ts'e or Ya-rtse, identified with Semjā, modern Sija not far from Jumla in Western Nepal. This is said to have happened under the rule of bTsan-p'yug-lde, called Cāpilla in the Dullu Sanskrit inscription of Pṛthivīmalla [14]. This was the origin of the Khasā kingdom, which extended over considerable portions of Western Nepal. We have two parallel royal lists, the king being given Sanskrit names in the Dullu inscription and Tibetan (or tibetanized Indian) names in the chronicles.

According to both lists, the successors of Cāpilla/bTsan-p'yug-lde were Krāśicalla/bKra-śis-lde, Krādhicalla/Grags-btsan-lde, Krācalla/

[11] *Ti-se*, 23-b-28a. On the Ghu-ya-sgaṅ hermitage see *Ti-se*, 39b-40a. The number of 55,525 is a traditional one with the 'Bri-guṅ-pa; for example, 'Jig-rten-mgon-po is said to have passed away in a full congregation of 55,525 monks.

[12] *Ti-se*, 28a.

[13] L. PETECH, *The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842*. Rome 1977, pp. 19-20.

[14] See the materials and discussion in *PRN*, pp. 46-66, 107-109, 112-116. Tucci's identification of Ya-ts'e with Sijja near Jumla is supported by the fact that *Ti-se* repeatedly employs the title Ya-rtse 'Dzum-laṅ *rgyal-po* for these rulers.

Grags-pa-lde. The latter is known from his Bāleśvar inscription, dated 1223 A.D., in his 16th year of reign [15]. Thus he ascended the throne in 1207, and this prevents any attempt at identifying his grandfather Krāśicalla with the K'ri bKra-śis-lde-btsan of 1215. The latter was apparently an independent ruler of Gu-ge, not belonging to the Ya-ts'e dynasty [16].

As to the two Pu-rań rulers, their names too occur in the *gnas-yig* of Khojarnath [17]. But this is of little help, and the history of Pu-rań, a kingdom as ancient as Ladakh and Gu-ge, is shrouded in deep darkness.

To return to the 'Bri-guń-pa: Ghu-ya-sgań-pa organized his hermits into a closely knitted body under the direction of a superior or dean styled *rdor-'dzin*, appointed by the 'Bri-guń abbot. As the residence of the *rdor-'dzin* and administrative centre, Ghu-ya-sgań-pa built the monastery of rGyań-grags in a valley on the southern side of the Kailāsa; it still remains the headquarters of the sect in that region. From this centre he supervised the spiritual life of his *ri-pa* during about 25 years [18].

Within a few years of what we many call the Great Expedition, other pupils of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po undertook the journey to the holy mountain. The first was gÑos Lha-nań-pa (1164-1224). He founded the hermitage of Lha-nań, from which he took his name, and the shrine of rDzu-'p'rul, to the east of the mountain, built upon the cell occupied by Mi-la-ras-pa during his contest with Na-ro Bon-c'uń [19].

Another pupil of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po was *grub-t'ob* Seń-ge-ye-śes, who meditated for three years at Śel-'dra, where he met rGod-ts'ań-pa. He imparted the religious vows to the Pu-rań king sTag-ts'a (apparently the same as sTag-ts'a-k'ri-'bar of 1215) and his son A-tig, receiving as reward sites for chapels and hermitages [20].

Somewhat later came sPyan-sña Śes-rab-'byuń-gnas (1187-1241), who remained at the Kailāsa from 1219 to 1225 and founded the monas-

[15] E.T. ATKINSON, *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*. Allahabad 1884, Vol. II, pp. 516-518.

[16] The working hypothesis about abdicated kings advanced in the Japanese version of the present paper cannot be upheld.

[17] *PRN*, pp. 62-63. But the text of the Khojarnath *gnas-yig* seems to be corrupted, as it telescopes together the rulers of Gu-ge and of Ladakh into one K'ri bKra-śis-dňos-grub-mgon. I could not consult the original text.

[18] *Ti-se*, 28b-29b. rGyań-grags and its images are described in *Santi*, 94-95.

[19] *Ti-se*, 29a, 54a-b. On gÑos Lha-nań-pa see *BA*, pp. 601-602. On rDzu-'p'rul see *Ti-se*, 47a, and *Santi*, pp. 110-112.

[20] *Ti-se*, 31a-b, 54b. Seń-ge-ye-śes was one of the teachers of Saňs-rgyas-ras-pa (1203-1280); *BA*, p. 975. On Śel-'dra (on a crag behind Se-ba-luń) see *Ti-se*, 40a-b.

teries of Bya-skyibs and Dar-luṅ. Like Ghu-ya-sgaṅ-pa, he paid attention to temporal matters as well. He conferred mystical powers and initiations upon the Pu-raṅ *rgyal-po* Jo-bo A-tig-sman, for which he was granted, among other sites, the K'o-c'ar *lha-k'aṅ* in Pu-raṅ. This is the famous Khojarnath shrine, till recent times one of the foremost objects of pilgrimage in Western Tibet. While sPyan-sṅa was staying at Khojarnath, *mṅa'-bdag* Grags-pa-lde, king of Mon Ya-rtse 'Dzum-laṅ (Jumla), came to the lake Manasarovar for the funeral rites of his mother. Grags-pa-lde, the Krācalla of the Dullu inscription, reigned from 1207 till after 1223, as seen above. He had religious discussions with sPyan-sṅa, took him as his *rtsa-ba'i-bla-ma* (*mūlaguru*) and pledged himself as the patron of the 'Bri-guṅ-pa. Incidentally, the talks between him and sPyan-sṅa took place through an interpreter, which means that the Ya-ts'e rulers did not speak Tibetan; and indeed, all their inscriptions are in Sanskrit. sPyan-sṅa was invited to the capital Ya-ts'e and some chapels were founded in its neighbourhood. Then he returned to the western side of lake Manasarovar and spent some time in meditation there, before going back to 'Bri-guṅ [21].

These visits, and the lively activity they entailed, helped to place 'Bri-guṅ-pa influence on a solid basis, from the temporal as well as from the spiritual point of view. It appears that the merit for this belonged in the main to Ghu-ya-sgaṅ-pa during his long tenure of 25 years. A further improvement was due to his successor, the *rdor-'dzin* Ñi-ma-guṅ-pa, who gave religious instruction to the Gu-ge *rgyal-po* K'ri bKra-śis-dbaṅ-p'yug and his son dPal-mgon-lde; he obtained from them vast estates (*c'os-gži*) for the support of the rGyaṅ-grags monastery, such as the P'u-g.yu cave of dKar-sdum in Pu-raṅ and other caves [21]. The two rulers here mentioned have nothing to do with Ya-ts'e, but were independent rulers of Gu-ge and Pu-raṅ, ruling in the second quarter of the 13th century [23].

The next *rdor-'dzin* Kun-dga'-rgyal-mts'an was invited to the castle of rGyal-di (rGyal-ti) in Pu-raṅ by the Gu-ge *rgyal-po* K'ri Grags-pa-lde

[21] *Ti-se*, 29b-30b. On Śes-rab-'byuṅ-gnas see *BA*, pp. 604-607. For Bya-skyibs see *Ti-se*, 59b-60a, and *Santi*, p. 64. Description of Khojarnath in *Santi*, pp. 38-43. — Actually *Ti-se* places the visit of sPyan-sṅa Śes-rab-'byuṅ-gnas before that of Seṅ-ge-ye-śes; but this is obviously incorrect, because Seṅ-ge-ye-śes stayed at the Kailāsa at the same time as aGod-ts'aṅ-pa in 1213-1217, while sPyan-sṅa's residence belongs to the years 1219-1226.

[22] *Ti-se*, 31b. On Kar-sdum (Kardam of the maps) see *Santi*, pp. 52-54.

[23] This question is treated in my article *Ya-ts'e, Gu-ge, Pu-raṅ: a new study*, in *Central Asiatic Journal*, 24 (1980).

and his queen bSam-grub-rgyal-mo, who presented him with upper and lower T'aṅ-yab in Pu-raṅ [24]. This king cannot be identical with the Grags-pa-lde of 1207-1223; in this case too we have to do with an independent ruler of Gu-ge and Pu-raṅ.

The *rdor-'dzin* Dar-ma-rgyal-mts'an was a contemporary of the 5th *gdan-rabs* gCuṅ Ri-bo-c'e (1211-1279; on the see since 1255). In this period the fortunes of the 'Bri-guṅ-pa reached their climax. The ravines of mÑa'-ris sKor-gsum teemed with their hermits. A list of the estates of the community (*dgon-lag*) at that time includes, besides rGyaṅ-grags, such well-known shrines as Ñan-ri, rDzu-'p'rul, Ri-bo-rtse-brgyad, Khojarnath and other places in Pu-raṅ, Gro-śod and Kunawar [25].

From this time till the period of the 11th *gdan-rabs* 'Dzam-gliṅ C'os-kyi-rgyal-po (1335-1400; on the see since 1351) the position the 'Bri-guṅ-pa remained unimpaired, thanks to the patronage of the rulers of mÑa'-ris sKor-gsum (i.e. Pu-raṅ and Gu-ge?), of Kunawar and of the kings of Ya-rtse 'Dzum-laṅ; the number of the monks never sank below 500 [26]. The allusion to the kings of Ya-rtse is confirmed by another text, according to which king Ānandamalla, who reigned at Seṃjā/Ya-ts'e about 1300, was a patron of the 'Bri-guṅ-pa [27].

But then decay set in. During the span of time between the 11th and the 16th *gdan-rabs*, i.e. in the 15th century, spiritual life and scholarship at 'Bri-guṅ sharply declined; and as a consequence not many hermits undertook the journey to the Kailāsa [28]. Sensible losses occurred, mainly because in that period the 'Bri-guṅ-pa monks in Western Tibet were so few, that they were unable to maintain all their convents and hermitages. Some, e.g. Ñan-ri, Bya-skyibs, rDzu-'p'rul etc., were provisionally lent to 'Brug-pa hermits, and with the lapse of time they finally remained in the hands of the 'Brug-pa sect [29].

This trend may have been influenced by political events. In the early 15th century A-me-dpal founded the kingdom of Glo (or Blo-bo) sMan-

[24] *Ti-se*, 31b.

[25] *Ti-se*, 31b-32a.

[26] *Ti-se*, 32a.

[27] dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, *mK'as pa'i dga' ston*, Ja, 142a. The approximate date of Ānandamalla can be inferred from those of his brother Jitārimalla (on the throne 1288 and 1290) and of his son Ripumalla (reigning in 1312 and 1313). See L. PETECH, *Mediaeval history of Nepal*. Rome 1984, pp. 102-103, 117.

[28] *Ti-se*, 32a-b. This is in striking contrast with the lasting international prestige of the 'Bri-guṅ sect, as evidence by the title granted to them by the Ming dynasty of China. See back, n. 3.

[29] *Ti-se*, 32b.

t'aṅ, now Mustang in Nepal, and introduced Buddhism in that region with the help of the famous Sa-skya-pa scholar Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po (1382-1457), the founder of the monastery and sub-sect of Ṅor. This meant an increased influence of the Sa-skya-pa in that region [30].

A-me-dpal's successor was A-mgon-bzaṅ-po. This king handed over Khojarnath to Ṅor Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po, taking it away from the 'Bri-guṅ-pa [31]; this may have happened during the second visit of the master to sMon-t'aṅ in 1436. In any case, this action can be explained only if the king of Glo-bo was master of Pu-raṅ as well.

A-mgon-bzaṅ-po was succeded by Ts'aṅs-pa bKra-śis-mgon. He is a figure of some relief, although the evidence on him is both scarce and scattered. In 1469 he acted as patron of the famous Sa-skya-pa logician Śākya-mc'og-ldan (1428-1507) [32]. About ten years later he welcomed to Glo-bo the «Mad-Saint» of gTsaṅ (gTsaṅ-smyon Heruka, 1452-1507) [33]. He also kept at his court, employing them as messengers on the route between Mar-yul (Ladakh) and Rin-spuṅs (then the seat of the rulers of Central Tibet), the father and grandfather of the Dol-po Lama bSod-nams-blo-gros (1456-1521). [He died in 1489 [34]]. The Ti-se *gnas-yig* too knows him, but with an incorrect title and in a wrong setting: he is said to be a king of Gu-ge, contemporary with the 16th *gdan-rabs* Kun-dga'-rin-c'en (1457-1527; on the see nominally since 1484, but in practice since 1518), whose patron he was.

The same divergence of title and date arises for the Gu-ge *rgyal-po* bSod-nams-lhun-grub, mentioned along with him in the *gnas-yig*. He was neither a king nor from Gu-ge, but the famous Ṅor-pa scholar rJe-btsun bSod-nams-lhun-grub (1456-1532), son of A-mgon-bzaṅ-po of Glo-bo; he is the Glo-bo *mk'an-c'en* of the Biography of Ṅor Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po [35].

Two other rulers are mentioned in the same context: the Gu-ge *c'os-*

[30] Biography of Ṅor Kun-dga-bzaṅ-po by dPal-ldan-don-grub, 37b-38a; Biography of the same by Mus-pa-c'en-po, 32a-b.

[31] *Ti-se*, 32b.

[32] *Ṅor C'os-'byuṅ*, 176b.

[33] *gTsaṅ-smyon He ru ka p'yogs t'ams cad las rnam par rgyal ba'i rnam t'ar* etc., 34a (reprinted as *The life of the Saint of gTsaṅ*. New Delhi 1969).

[34] [D.P. JACKSON, *The Mollas of Mustang*, Dharamsala 1984, 123].

[35] Z. YAMAGUCHI, *Catalogue of the Toyo Bunko collection of Tibetan works on history*. Tokyo 1970, p. 15; Biography of Ṅor by dPal-ldan-don-grub, 38b; Khojarnath *gnas-yig* ap. *PRN*, p. 62. For a letter of bSod-nams-lhun-grub *mi-dbaṅ* to bKra-śis-mgon see Z. YAMAGUCHI, *Op. cit.*, p. 16, n. 4.

rgyal Blo-bzaṅ-rab-brtan and the Pu-raṅ *sde-pa* (governor) Kun-bsam [36]. Of these, only Blo-bzaṅ-rab-brtan is known from other sources: he was the patron of Ṅag-dbaṅ-grags-pa, who was a pupil of Tsoṅ-k'a-pa and therefore lived in the first half of the 15th century [37]. As to Kun-bsam, he is utterly unknown. In any case all these persons, thrown together at haphazard and probably by mistake, lived somewhat earlier than the 16th *gdan-rabs* of 'Bri-guṅ.

bKra-śis-mgon of Glo-bo was succeeded by A-seṅ Do-rje-brtan-pa, who was again visited by the gTsaṅ-smyon; this took place soon after 1488, the year in which the saint published his edition of the life and songs of Mi-la-ras-pa [38].

A-seṅ Do-rje-brtan-pa in his turn was followed by bDe-legs-rgya-mts'o, during whose reign the third and last visit of the «Mad Saint» took place (about 1500). The Saint stayed for some time at rGyaṅ-grags as a guest of the 'Bri-guṅ *rdor-'dizin*, and was involved, not to his advantage, in the long conflict between bDe-legs-rgya-mts'o and the Pu-raṅ ecclesiastic ruler (*dpon-btsun*) sÑan-grags over the possession of rGyal-ti, the castle in Pu-raṅ already mentioned [39]. This war, which is related in some detail by the biographer of the «Mad Saint», is known also to the Ti-se *gnas-yig*, but once more in the wrong setting. The *gnas-yig* places it in the period of decay between the 11th and the 16th *gdan-rabs*, before the cession of Khojarnath to the 'Brug-pa [40]. We are compelled to conclude that the author of the *gnas-yig*, writing in 1896, has thrown into confusion the various elements, correct in themselves, supplied by his sources.

A serious effort at redressing the fallen fortunes of his sect was undertaken by the 16th *gdan-rabs* between 1518 and 1527. He restored descipline and study, sent out some 300 *ri-pa* and renewed the appointment of the *rdor-'dzin*, four being sent in succession [41].

At the time of rGyal-dbaṅ Ratna, i.e. of the 17th *gdan-rabs* Rin-c'en-p'un-ts'ogs (1509-1557, on the see 1529-1534), an outstanding personality came to the Kailāsa as *rdor-'dzin*. This was lDan-ma Kun-dga'-

[36] *Ti-se*, 32b-33a.

[37] *Vaiḍūrya-ser-po* (Lokesh Chandra edition), 221-222. Cf. G. TUCCI, *Tibetan Notes*, in *HJAS* 12 (1948) (= *Opera Minora*, pp. 478-479).

[38] *gTsaṅ-smyon Heruka* etc., 76a-77b, where this ruler is called simply A-seṅ. The full name is found in seven letters addressed to him by his uncle bSod-nams-lhun-grub; Z. YAMAGUCHI, *Op. cit.*, p. 16, nn. 7-13.

[39] *gTsaṅ-smyon Heruka* etc., 87b-98b; *Ti-se*, 59b.

[40] *Ti-se*, 32b.

[41] *Ti-se*, 32b-33a.

grags-pa. He was protected and supported by the Gu-ge king 'Jig-rten-dbaṅ-p'yug Pad-dkar-lde, who is known to have been on the throne between 1540 and 1555; another patron was the Pu-raṅ *sde-pa* bSod-nams-rab-brtan. lDan-ma became *rtsa-ba'i-bla-ma* to both rulers and obtained from then the restitution of several estates that had been lost. He restored and practically rebuilt rGyaṅ-grags and sent many Pu-raṅ pupils to study at 'Bri-guṅ. In a word, he gave a fresh impulse to the activity of his sect in mṄa'-ris. In the second half of his life he accepted an invitation by the king of Ladakh and migrated to that country [42]. We shall return presently to his work there. Of course we may surmise that his departure dealt a heavy blow to the prospects of the 'Bri-guṅ-pa in Gu-ge.

No further developments of consequence took place in the following years. Under the 18th *gdan-rabs* Rin-c'en-rnam-rgyal (1507-1565, on the see since 1536 or 1558) the *rdor-'dzin* are said to have enjoyed the support of the Ladakhi king 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal (c. 1590-1616), although the Kailāsa was outside his dominions. In this case too there is a chronological difference, for which no explanation can be found.

In the time of the 21st *gdan-rabs* C'os-rgyal-p'un-ts'ogs (1547-1602, on the see since 1583) the Gu-ge kings stood forth again as protectors of the sect. Their names are given as bKra-śis-mgom and K'ri Grags-pa-bkra-śis [43]. The former name is unknown to all sources. The latter looks like an inversion of the name of the last king of Gu-ge, K'ri bKra-śis-grags-pa-lde, the protector of Andrade's Jesuit mission, dethroned by the king of Ladakh in 1630. If the identification is accepted, then the chronology of the *gnas-yig* is once more incorrect, because bKra-śis-grags-pa-lde ascendend the throne after 1618.

A tiny flash of light on conditions at the beginning of the 17th century is supplied by the visit of the first Pan-c'en Blo-bzaṅ C'os-kyi-rgal-mts'an (1570-1662). It 1618, upon the invitation of the Gu-ge king K'ri rNam-rgyal-grags-pa-lde, he visited that country and performed the pilgrimage to the Kailāsa. On 23.IV (16th June) he arrived on the shores of the holy lake and was met there by the 'Bri-guṅ-pa *rdor-'dzin*, who professed his astonishment at the natural wonders which were happening on the Kailāsa thanks to the presence of the holy Paṇ-c'en [44]. It appears that

[42] *Ti-se*, 33a-b, 54b-55a.

[43] *Ti-se*, 33b.

[44] *Life of the First Paṇ-c'en*, 64a-65a; *Byaṅ c'ub lam rim gyi rim pa'i bla ma rnam pat t'ar pa*, Ca, 90b-91a (reprinted as *Biographies of eminent gurus in the trasmission of the graduated path*, Vol. II, New Delhi 1972).

the situation of the 'Bri-guṅ-pa establishments was not substantially impaired.

In 1630 the political constellation changed, for the first time after the 11th century. The Kailāsa region passed under the sway of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal (1616-1642), king of Ladakh; he continued support, but apparently in a half-hearted way. Because of the insufficient patronage, and probably also because of the general economic and social decline which followed the extinction of the Gu-ge kingdom, spiritual life in the hermitages declined. No ascetics were sent any longer from 'Bri-guṅ; discipline, meditation and yogic activities practically ceased [45].

A final change occured fifty years later. After the short-lived Ladakhi domination, in 1679-1680 Gu-ge was occupied by the Mongol general dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbaṅ on behalf of the Lhasa government, to which it was ceded by the peace treaty of 1684. The *rdor-'dzin* paid his respects to the Lhasa general and received back, as dependencies of rGyaṅ-grags, several shrines that had been lost in the preceeding years; he was granted also some estates to increase the endowment of the sect. Generally speaking, in the eighties of the 17th century the rGyaṅ-grags complex received some support from the 5th Dalai-Lama, the regent Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o and general dGa'-ldan-ts'e-dbaṅ [46]. But afterwards the Lhasa government ceased to care for the 'Bri-guṅ-pa shrines; at least, the *gnas-yig* limits itself to the statement that from the time of the 5th Dalai-Lama until the date of writing the series of the *rdor-'dzin* continued without interruption; but nothing is said about local conditions.

The other patron of the sect, the Khasa kingdom of Ya-ts'e, disintegrated in the second half the 14th century, and the fragments of the kingdom came more and more under Hindu influence [47]. For some time, however, the Sijāpati or Jumla rulers maintained religious relations with Tibet, the last to do so were in the late 17th century Vikrama Śāh and his son Narasiṃha, who protected and honoured Buddhism; king Narasiṃha repeatedly sent envoys to the Dalai-Lama between 1667 and 1679. But after him the kings Karañja and Viṣṇurāja, being orthodox Hindus, turned hostile toward Buddhism. And this lasted till the conquest and annexation of Jumla by the Gorkha rulers of Nepal in 1789 [48].

[45] *Ti-se*, 33b-34a.

[46] *Ti-se*, 34a-35a, 57a. [*Supplement to the*] *Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai-Lama*, Ca, 106b-107a.

[47] See the summary in *PRN*, pp. 129-130.

[48] *Ti-se*, 35a-b. For the dates of Narasiṃha's embassies to the Dalai-Lama see the passages of the *Autobiography of the Fifth Dalai-Lama* quoted by G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 74.

II

As we have seen, contacts between 'Bri-guṅ and Ladakh began rather early; they go back to 1215, when king Lha-c'en dNos-grub-mgon supported the activity of Ghu-ya-sgaṅ-pa. It was perhaps 'Bri-guṅ-pa influence that prompted the king to introduce the rule by which Ladakhi novices were obliged to go to Central Tibet for higher studies and ordination [49]. After this episode, no more mention is made of further exchanges, and we may infer that there was none for more than three centuries.

While the establishment of the 'Bri-guṅ-pa at the Kailāsa was due to the action of the leaders of the sect and remained under their control, in Ladakh it came about through private initiative and the 'Bri-guṅ abbots held no direct control over the monasteries there. As far as we can see, the introduction of the sect into Ladakh was the work of C'os-rje lDan-ma Kun-dga'-grags-pa, who quitted rGyaṅ-grags and came to Ladakh upon the invitation of king bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal (c. 1555-1575); accordingly, the event may be placed in the late fifties of the 16th century. He became the *rtsa-ba'i-bla-ma* of the king and founded the sGaṅ-sṅon bKra-śis-c'os-rdzoṅ monastery near P'yi-dbaṅ, to the north-west of Leh. It is a pity that no biography of lDan-ma is available, and indeed none was ever written, as I was informed while visiting that monastery [50].

It seems that 'Bri-guṅ-pa influence at court lasted for a short while, because in 1593 the 21st 'Bri-guṅ *gdan-rabs* sent an official letter to the king of Maṅ-yul (Ladakh) [51]. But afterwards the royal house fell under the influence of the 'Brug-pa sect, and 'Bri-guṅ-pa did not recover their former standing till almost the end of the kingdom.

In this picture we miss an element of primary importance. At present the other 'Bri-guṅ-pa centre in Ladakh, besides sGaṅ-sṅon, is g.Yuṅ-druṅ dgon-pa, usually but wrongly called Lamayuru. It was definitely a bKa'-gdams-pa foundation, being linked by tradition with Nāropā and Rin-c'en-bzaṅ-po. But we have no factual evidence for the date on which it became

[49] *La-dvags rgyal-rabs*, in A.H. FRANCKE, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Vol. II, Calcutta 1926, Tibetan text p. 36 l.9

[50] *Ti-se*; 33a-b; *La-dvags-rabs* in A. H. FRANCKE, *Op. cit.*, Tibetan text pp. 37-38: While both these texts place the coming of lDan-ma to Ladakh in the reign of bKra-śis-rnam-rgyal, present-day tradition in Ladakh attributes this to king 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal (c. 1590-1616), as a consequence of lDan-ma having cured him from a serious illness. Of course this tradition is chronologically untenable.

[51] Life of the 21st *gdan-rabs* P'un-ts'ogs-bkra-śis, 311a (reprinted in *Miscellaneous writings of 'Bri-guṅ Kun-dga'rin-c'en* etc., Leh 1972).

a 'Bri-guṅ-pa shrine. According to a recent Ladakhi author, who apparently relies on local tradition, the monastery belonged to the Žva-dmar-pa sect, till king'Jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal (*recte*: bKra-śis rnam-rgyal, c. 1555-1575) gave it to C'os-rje lDan-ma, who gave it the name g.Yuṅ-druṅ T'ar-pa-glin [52].

The languishing influence of the sect was renewed to a certain extent in the late 18th century. This was due to the activities of the 6th rTogs-ldan *sprul-sku*. The first of the series, P'un-ts'ogs-dar-rgyas, was born in Koṅ-po and was a pupil of the 17th *gdan-rabs* (1509-1557); he belongs thus to the middle of the 16th century. He had no connection with Ladakh and passed almost all of his life in Koṅ-po. The second incarnation, also born in Koṅ-po, was responsible for the diffusion of the 'Bri-guṅ-pa sect in Eastern Tibet. The 3rd, 4th and 5th *sprul-sku* shifted their field of activity to Central Tibet.

The 6th rTogs-ldan Rin-po-c'e bsTan-'dzin-c'os-grags, born in Central Tibet, headed for a time the convent of Śag-ram-dgon in gTsaṅ. Then migrated to Ladakh and became abbot of sGaṅ-sṅon. He was influential with the royal house, being spiritual teacher (*dbu-bla*) to the kings Ts'e-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal (c. 1760-1783) and Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal (1783-1802). Then he returned to Central Tibet, was appointed abbot of the wealthy Yaṅ-ri-sgar monastery near 'Bri-guṅ and acted as regent of the 'Bri-guṅ see after the demise of the *gdan-rabs*.

The 7th *sprul-sku* Ṅag-dbaṅ-dge-legs-dbaṅ-p'yug, also born in Central Tibet, came to sGaṅ-sṅon and was the teacher of the ill-fated prince 'Jigs-med-kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal, known also as mC'og-sprul, who acted as coregent of his father since about 1830, fled before the Dogra invaders and died in British territory in 1835 [53]. The *sprul-sku* then went in pilgrimage to India and died on the shore of the Padma-can lake in Mandi, at the age of 25.

The connection whit the royal house culminated with the 8th rTogs-ldan Rin-po-c'e Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an, who was born as the son of prince mC'og-sprul. He studied at Yaṅ-ri-sgar and took his vows there, becoming an accomplished scholar. Back in Ladakh, he carried out repairs both at Lamayuru and sGaṅ-sṅon.

After him the close relations with the former dynasty ceased. The 9th *sprul-sku*, born in Northern Ladakh from an undistinguished family, was installed on the see in 1881 and died at an unknown date. The present

[52] Thubstan Paldan (transl. by M. Aris), *A brief guide to the Buddhist monasteries and royal castles of Ladakh*, n. pl. 1976, 8.

[53] L. PETECH, *The kingdom of Ladakh*, Rome 1977, pp. 135-142.

10th rTogs-ldan Rin-po-c'e is one of the most learned and influential churchmen in Ladakh [54].

Thus the story of the 'Bri-guṅ-pa in Western Tibet is typical of the fortunes of a second-rank sect in medieval and modern times. Never to be compared with the brilliant careers of the Sa-skya-pa, dGe-lugs-pa, and even of the 'Brug-pa, it contributed a share, however modest, to spiritual life in Gu-ge and Ladakh, and still continues doing so at present, after the destruction of the parent monastery of 'Bri-guṅ and the flight of its leaders to India.

[54] As I am kindly informed by Dr. D. Schuh, there exists a biographical list (*gduṅ-rabs*) of the rTogs-ldan incarnates; but neither he nor I could get a glimpse of it. Lacking a better source, this short account of the rTogs-ldan *sprul-sku* is drawn from the little history of Ladakh by dGe-rgan bSod-nams, *La dvags rgyal rabs blo dman rna ba'i dga' ston*, Leh 1966, pp. 85-96.

YA-TS'E, GU-GE, PU-RAṅ: A NEW STUDY

The history of Western Tibet is known in its main outlines, thanks in the first instance to the fundamental studies of Professor G. Tucci [1]. The purpose of the present paper is to review the historical and chronological setting of the Khāsa kingdom of Ya-ts'e and to gather together whatever scanty material is available on Gu-ge proper and on the secondary state of Pu-raṅ.

The territory of the old kingdom of Žaṅ-žuṅ, annexed to Tibet in 653, was practically abandoned to itself after the collapse of the Tibetan monarchy in 842. In the early 10th century (in 929 according to the Sa-skya-pa tradition) [2] sKyid-lde Ñi-ma-mgon, a member of the old Tibetan dynasty, retired to Western Tibet and built up a new state there. His three sons dPal-gyi-mgon, bKra-śis-mgon and lDe-gtsug-mgon, called collectively the Three sTod-mgon, divided their paternal inheritance and founded the kingdoms of Ladakh, Gu-ge and Pu-raṅ [3].

Gu-ge, the country on the upper Satlej and to the West of lake Ma-

[1] G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, II: *Rin-c'en-bzaṅ-po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al Mille*, Rome, 1933; *A preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*, Romc, 1956 (here quoted as *PRN*).

[2] Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an (1147-1216), *Bod kyi rgyal rabs*, text in G. Tucci, *Deb t'er po gsar ma*, Rome 1971, 131; translation by G. Tucci, «The validity of Tibetan historical tradition», in *India Antiqua*, Leiden 1947, 315 (= *Opera Minora*, Rome 1971, 458); Ne'u Paṇḍita (early 14th century), *sÑon gyi gtam p'reṅ ba*, in Tsepal Taikhang ed., *Rare Tibetan historical and literary texts from the library of Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa*, I, New Delhi 1974, 13a.

[3] This is the usually accepted version. There is unanimity about the eldest brother founding Mar-yul, i.e. Ladakh. A small but early group of texts attributes to the second brother the foundation of Gu-ge *cum* Pu-raṅ, and to the youngest the origin of smaller Himalayan states (Mon principalities etc.); Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an, *loc. cit.*; 'P'ags-pa (1235-1280), *Bod kyi rgyal rabs*, text in G. Tucci, *Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma*, 136; Ne'u Paṇḍita, *Op. cit.*, 8b-9a. The *La-dvags rgyal rabs* attributes to the second brother Gu-ge and Pu-raṅ, and to the third brother Zaṅs-dkar and Spiti.

nasarowar, was greatly flourishing in the 11th century, when it became the starting point for the second introduction (*p'yi-dar*) of Buddhism from India into Tibet, thanks to the patronage extended by the Gu-ge rulers to Lotsawa Rin-c'en-bzaṅ-po (958-1055) and to Atīśa (983-1054). Their work was crowned in 1076 by the so-called council summoned by king rTse-lde to Ta-bo in Spiti. This is the last precise date available for a century and a half.

The name of rTse-lde's successor is variously given in the Tibetan chronicles as dBaṅ-lde, dBaṅ-p'yug-lde, 'Bar-lde. The full form, appearing in Bu-ston only, seems to be K'ri bKra-śis-dbaṅ-p'yug Nam-mk'a'-btsan. He supported rṄog Blo-ldan-śes-rab (1059-1109) during the latter's stay of seventeen years in Kashmir (c. 1077-1094) [4]. The list of the kings of Gu-ge in Bu-ston and in the *Ṅor C'os-'byuṅ* ends with this ruler. Other authors (*BA, KPGT, GR, DTMP*) at this point replace the usual series «his son was...» with the words «after him in succession...» (*de nas rim bžin*) and the names of the kings with no further remarks. It is also noteworthy that patronage to translators and translations comes to an end with dBaṅ-lde. All this seems to indicate a break in the royal list. Our material does not allow us to be more precise on this point. The break may imply a change of dynasty, or simply a disastrous weakening of the royal power.

Personally, I am under the impression that some sort of foreign invasion or imposition of political influence took place. dBaṅ-lde was succeeded by bKra-śis-lde, which is a good Tibetan form. But the name of his successor is uncertain, being handed down with many variants: Lha-lde, Bha-lde, Bha-e, Bha-re; and we may agree with Tucci that these were attempts at giving a Tibetan garb to a foreign word. The next king bears an outright Sanskrit name: Nāgadeva (clumsily tibetanized as Nāga-lde in *DTMP* and *GR*). The foreign imprint is by now unmistakable. However, there is no gainsaying that these last kings were rulers of Gu-ge.

At this point the kingdom, already under foreign influence, underwent a process of disruption. We are told that «it is agreed that the *btsan-po* of Gu-ge, Pu-raṅ and Maṅ-yul (i.e. Mar-yul, Ladakh) extended down

[4] *K'ri bKra-śis-dbaṅ-p'yug Nam-mk'a'-btsan gyis kyaṅ 'gyur gyi yon bdag 'byuṅ | K'a c'er lo bcu bdun bžugs | Bod du bcu bdun p'rag gñis bžugs;* Bu-ston, *C'os 'byuṅ*, in his Collected works (*gsuṅ-'bum*), Ya, 138b. In this case I prefer not to follow the excellent translation by E. OBERMILLER, *History of Buddhism by Bu-ston*, II, Heidelberg 1932, 216. The passage should be construed as follows: «K'ri etc. likewise became a patron of translations. [With his support, rṄog] lived 17 years in Kashmir and twice 17 years in Tibet». This is the tale related in similar words in the biography of rṄog in *BA*, 325; dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, Da, 40a-b (in Lokesh Chandra's edition: II, 337-338). Bu-ston is apparently mistaken in distinguishing dBaṅ-lde from K'ri bKra-śis-dbaṅ-p'yug Nam-mk'a'-btsan.

to this [king, viz. Nāgadeva]» [5]. The import of this sentence has hitherto passed almost unnoticed. *bTsan-po* was the title of the old Tibetan kings, and thus we may infer that the *btsan-po* of Gu-ge was the overlord of the principalities of Pu-raṅ and Mar-yul too [6]. The positive statement that this situation lasted down to the time of Nāgadeva can only mean that *after* Nāgadeva this was no longer the case. This kind of Western Tibetan confederation [7] was dissolved, and each of its three component parts went its own way. The date of the event is difficult to determine, but we may suppose it took place about the middle of the 12th century or slightly earlier. There is also some likelihood that this disruption was connected with the expansion (as far as Glo-bo) of Ladakh under its ruler Utpala, who too bore a Sanskrit name and probably was a foreigner [8].

Nāgadeva's son bTsan-p'yug-lde «went to Ya-ts'e», or «was lord of Ya-ts'e», or «went to Ya-ts'e and was king [there]» [9]. Ya-ts'e has been shown by Professor Tucci to be identical whith Seṃjā of the inscriptions, a name which survives to this day as that of the little village of Sija (or Lamathada) in Western Nepal [10].

The great inscription (*kīrtistambha*) of king Pṛthivīmalla at Dullu (Dailekh district, Western Nepal), dated 1354 and written in Sanskrit [11], gives a list of the Seṃjā rulers; this genealogy is supported by several inscriptions and copperplates from Seṃjā (the summer capital) and from

[5] *DTMP*, 20a 5. The words *'di man c'ad* usually mean «from this onward». But the meaning «down to this» is assured by the parallel statements in *GR*, 199, and in *KPGT*, 142a, in which no mistake is possible.

[6] An early overlordship of the Gu-ge kings over Ladakh is apparently supported by the fact that in a Mouse year (1042 or 1054) 'Od-lde, king of Gu-ge, founded the monastery of dPe-t'ub (Spituk) in Ladakh. L. PETECH, *The kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A.D.*, Rome 1977, 18.

[7] The term «confederation» has been very aptly suggested by D.L. SNELLGROVE, *The cultural heritage of Ladakh*, Warminster 1977, xii.

[8] *PRN*, 109. Cf L. PETECH, *The kingdom of Ladakh*, 18-19.

[9] *DTMP*, 20a 5; *GR*, 199; *KPGT*, 142a. — It is a common tradition that gTsaṅ-ma, the eldest brother of the last Tibetan kings Ral-pa-can and Glaṅ-dar-ma, was exiled to 'Bum-t'aṅ in Lho-brag, where he was murdered. This is also the version of Ne'u Paṇḍita, *Op. cit.*, 12a. But in another context (6a-b) the same author says that «he had heard that gTsaṅ-ma's descedants were kings of Ya-ts'e». This would attribute a completely different origin to the lineage of Ya-ts'e. But the passage remains utterly isolated and is apparently due to some mistake.

[10] *PRN*, 112-116. On Sija and its remains see *IP*, 81-85.

[11] The inscription was published in *PRN*, 46-49 (facsimile fig. 61), and independently by Yogi Narahari Nath in *IP*, 58-64, in *HS*, 40-41, and in *SPS*, 767-768. The passages not read by Tucci were restored by Yogi Narahari Nath; whether correctly or not, is difficult to tell.

Durlanghya (Dullu; the winter capital). The Dullu list coincides almost perfectly with parallel lists in the Tibetan chronicles. It begins with Nāgarāja, almost certainly identical wiht Nāgadeva of the Tibetan texts. Nothing is said of his ancestors. Hailing from the Khāri region (*Khāri-pradeśa-stho*), Nāgarāja reached the status of Lord of Jāva (*yo Jāveśvaratām agāt*) and built up a state centered upon Seṃjā (Dullu inscription, Front, 11.33-34). This passage of the inscription is much effaced. *Khāri* is the reading of Yogi Narahari Nath; Professor Tucci suggested doubtfully *khyāti*, but his facsimile of the inscription seems to support *khāri*. The localization of this place is uncertain. Yogi Narahari Nath first (*IP*) suggested the village of Khāri in the Kartām subdistrict (*dāra*), north-east of Sija. Later (*HS, SPS*), perhaps under the influence of Tucci, he equated it with Khār, i.e. sTag-la-mk'ar or Taklakot, the modern capital of Puraṅ. This may seem rather far-fetched: the real name of the place is sTag-la while *mk'ar* is merely a suffix meaning «castle». Still, I think Yogi Narahari Nath's second suggestion may be correct and that the word *khāri* may somehow indicate Gu-ge or Pu-raṅ. As to Jāva, it is the name of a small stream flowing into the Tīla river, itself a tributary of the Karnali, in the eastern outskirts of Jumla. «Country of the Lord of the Jāva [river]» (*Jāveśvara-deśa*) was a name of the Jumla region, as shown by an inscription of 1745 A.D. [12].

The Tibetan and Sanskrit versions are closely related. The absence of any indication of Nāgarāja's ancestors in the inscription seems to support the opinion that he was a foreigner in the Karnali basin. He was the non-Tibetan ruler of Western Tibet, and his hold in that country being weakened, he conquered a portion of Western Nepal as a haven of refuge for his descendants [13]. After his death, Western Tibet was lost to his family, and its three regions became independent under rulers of their own, unconnected with Seṃjā. The kingdom of Ladakh is relatively well known; and, as we shall see later, some of the kings of Gu-ge and of Puraṅ are mentioned in a hitherto unnoticed source.

Inspite of this, the major Tibetan chronicles continued to recognize the Nāgadeva dynasty (and the Gela family that followed it) as a true and uninterrupted continuation of the Gu-ge lineage of the ancient Tibetan kings. This was not only a matter of literary tradition: the kings Ripumalla

[12] Published in *IP*, 149.

[13] According to a local tradition in Kumaon, the Barahat trident bore an inscription mentioning *btsan-po Nāgarāja'i t'ub-pa(?)*. R. SANKRITYAYANA, *Kumaon* (in Hindi), Varanasi VS 2015 (1958 A.D.), 62.

and Pṛthivīmalla presented golden pinnacles to the holiest chapels of the Lhasa «cathedral», the Jo-bo-k'aṅ, and they would hardly done so if they did not reckon themselves as Tibetan rulers. The Guide of the Jo-bo-k'aṅ compiled by the 5th Dalai-Lama gives to the Ya-ts'e king Ripumalla the title «immaculate scion of the dynasty of the kings of Tibet» (*Bod c'os rgyal gyi gduṅ brgyud dri ma med pa Ya ts'e rgyal po Ril po mal*) [14]. And yet this family most probably was not of Tibetan origin and its hold on mÑa'-ris sKor-gsum was shortlived and partial, to say the least. Also, their claim over Western Tibet is never advanced in their inscription. The reason for such a long-lasting devoted attachment by the Tibetans remains obscure.

The kingdom of Seṃjā/Ya-ts'e was called Khāsa or Khasiyā in some inscriptions and in the Nepalese chronicles. The chronology of its rulers was in the main established by Professor Tucci [15]. But some amount of fresh information can now be added.

According to the Dullu inscription, Nāgarāja was succeeded by Cāpa, and the latter by Cāpilla. On the other side, the Tibetan chronicles know at this point only one ruler, viz. bTsan-p'yug-lde, the king who shifted his residence to Ya-ts'e; he seems to be identical with Cāpilla, although the names have little in common. The course of the events may have been on the following lines. Cāpa, who is unknown to the Tibetan texts, may have been a son of Nāgarāja ruling at Seṃjā. Then bTsan-p'yug-lde/Cāpilla, who had inherited Nāgarāja's holdings on the Gu-ge border, came south, ousted Cāpa and established himself at Seṃjā, practically ending all connection with Gu-ge.

He was followed by Krāśicalla/bKra-śis-lde, and the latter in his turn by Krādhicalla/Grags-btsan-lde; they are mere names to us.

The next king Krācalla, called Grags-pa-lde by Tibetans [16], can be identified with the ruler who issued the grant on a copper-plate in the Bāleśvar temple at Sui Bisung in the Almora discrict (Kumaon), confirming an earlier donation; the grant was issued from Dullu on Śaka 1145, Pauṣa *badi* 2, Monday, Puṣya *nakṣatra* (the date is verified for December 11th, 1223 A.D.), by king Krācalla, who had conquered Kartṛpura [17]. In-

[14] A. GRÜNWEDEL, *Die Tempel von Lhasa*, (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1919, n. 14), 55.

[15] Good summaries of the history of the Khasa kingdom are given in Vajracharya 1965 and Vajracharya 1971.

[16] He might be same as the *gnam-sa'i-dbaṅ-po* K'ri Grags-pa-lde of the colophon published by G. TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica*, III, 1, 178.

[17] The original Sanskrit text of this inscription was never published. An English

cidentally, Krācalla's invasion may have contributed, at least to same extent, to create the complete gap in the art tradition of Kumaon between 1223 and 1322 [18].

The inscription calls him a *paramasaugata*, i.e. a devout Buddhist. This is confirmed by an independent piece of the evidence: we are told that the Mon Ya-rtse 'Dzum-laṅ (Jumla) king Grags-pa-lde came to lake Manasarovar for the funeral rites of his mother and met there the master dBon Śes-rab-'byuṅ-gnas (1187-1241), whom he invited to Ya-ts'e and took as his religious teacher; with his help he established the Buddhist religion in the Mon country of the South, i.e. the Seṃjā kingdom and neighbouring regions, The stay of dBon Śes-rab-'byuṅ-gnas in the Manasarovar region lasted from 1219 to 1225 [19], and this gives us a welcome check for our chronology.

Krācalla may have been still on the throne when at some time between 1234 and 1241 the *mṅa'-bdag* Ya-tse-ba once more invited dBon Śes-rab-'byuṅ-gnas, meeting, however, with a refusal [20].

The Ya-ts'e dynasty, although devoted to Buddhism and in close contact with the religious life of Tibet, remained fundamentally non-Tibetan; this is what the Tibetan text means by the name Mon. There is another revealing piece of evidence; king Grags-pa-lde and dBon Śes-rab-'byuṅ-gnas had to converse through an interpreter, which means that the

translation is found in E.T. ATKINSON, *The Himalayan districts od the North-Western Provinces of India*. Allahabad 1884, II, 516-518. Kartṛpura is Kārttikeyapura of the Kumaon inscriptions, i.e. the Baijnath valley in the Almora district; K.P. NAUTIYAL, *The Archaeology of Kumaon*, Varanasi 1969, 29. According to R. SANKRITYAYANA, *Kumaon*, 63-65, this year Śaka 1145 was the sixteenth of the reign of Krācalla, which would imply that he ascended the throne in 1207. The same statement is found in R. SANKRITYAYANA, *Garhval*, 114-116, known to me only through the quotation in Vajracharya 1965, 19. Atkinson's translation does not contain the reference to the 16th year of reign, and we do not know whether Sankrityayana's Hindi version was actually made on the original inscription. Anyhow, it is advisable not to make use of this piece of evidence.

[18] On this gap see H. GOETZ, «The chronology of the Chand dynasty and the medieval monuments of Kumaon», in *Journal of Indian History*, 29 (1951), 47.

[19] *Ti-se*, 29a-b. The *Deb t'er sṅon po*, Ña, 89a, speaks of an initiation to the ruler *(mṅa'-bdag)* of Ya-tse, «although he was issued from a royal lineage» *(dpuṅ skyes nas 'byuṅ ba'aṅ*; on this expression see the Tibetan dictionaries of C'os-kyi-grags-pa and of L.S. Dagyab); these words are left untranslated in *BA*, 605-606; the name of the king is not given. Cf. also my article «The 'Bri-guṅ-pa sect in Western Tibet and Ladakh», in *Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium*, Budapest, 1978, 318; a Japanese translation (from an earlier draft) has appeared in *Tōyō Gakuhō*, 59 (1977/8), 033-049 (208-224).

[20] *BA*, 607.

king did not understand Tibetan. We might also suppose that the original language of the dynasty was not Aryan either, since the names of the rulers down to Krācalla have a non-Aryan look. However, being subjected to the contact with the great southern civilization and to the penetration of Aryan elements (now dominant in Western Nepal), the old tribal names and language eventually gave way. From about the middle of the 13th century the onomastic pattern undergoes a change, and the main portion of the name (i.e. that preceeding the suffix *-calla* corresponding to the Tibetan *-lde*) becomes a good Sanskrit word. The Tibetans, who hitherto had tried to render the Khāsa words with more os less homophonous Tibetan terms, now give up the attempt and transliterate the Sanskrit words. Thus Krācalla's son and successor, called Aśokacalla, became A-sog-lde or A-śo-ga-lde or A-so-lde for the Tibetans. It can also be noticed that starting from the early 14th century the inscriptions contain, after the usual protocollary formulae in Sanskrit, a main portion containing the orders of the king in an archaic form of Nepali.

Aśokacalla is known through three inscription from Bodh Gaya, one of which calls him king of the Khāsa country in the Sapādalakṣa hills. Two of these inscriptions are dated in the years 51 and 74, *Lakṣmaṇasena-atītarājye* [21]. The so-called Lakṣmaṇasena era has been the subject of long discussions and the issue was never finally settled; the dispute seems to have abated during the last years, chiefly for want of fresh arguments. Provisionally I would stick to the opinion I expressed in 1958: these dates refer to the downfall of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal about 1204, and thus correspond to c. 1255 and 1278 A.D. [22]. The third inscription is due to a king Puruṣottamasiṃha of the Kāma country, who mentions king Aśokalla of Sapādalakṣa as his overlord; it is dated in the

[21] Both inscriptions were finally published by Vinod Bihari, «Two inscriptions of Aśokacalla at Bodhgaya», in *Epigraphia Indica*, 12 (1913/4), 27-30.

[22] *MHN*, 197-198. In later times the Lakṣmaṇasena era was supposed to start in 1108 or 1119, which does not fit in our case. The starting point 1179, upheld by D.C. SIRCAR, «Lakṣmaṣena Samvat», in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 34 (1958), 21-28, and *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi 1965, 271-278, offers difficulties in our instance, as the year 51 would correspond to 1230 A.D., which creates a large gap between this inscription and the one of the same king dated 1270 A.D. On the general problem the most balanced opinion has been expressed by an Indian scholar. «The Lakṣmaṇa Era [of 1108-1119] has assumed the character of a national era in Mithila... [But] this era has nothing to do with the three inscription of the Gaya region which definitely speak of the *atītarājya*. Not a single date in the *atītarājya* reckoning has been so far discovered from Mithila»; R.K. CHOUDHARY, «A critical estimate of the Lakṣmaṇasamvat», in *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, 47 (1961), 110 and 113.

year 1813 of the Singhalese Nirvāṇa era, i.e. 1270 A.D. [23]. The special devotional connection with Bodh Gaya evidenced by these inscriptions is confirmed by the Tibetan texts [24].

Aśokacalla may have been the king of Ya-ts'e who at some time after 1235 sent presents to rGyal-ba Rin-po-c'e Grags-pa-brtson-'grus (1203-1267) at 'Bri-guṅ [25].

Aśokacalla's son Jitārimalla is known to the *Gopāla-vaṃśāvalī* of Nepal as Khasiyā *rāja* Jayatāri; he invaded Nepal, looting and burning, three times: at the end of 1287, on February 16th, 1288, and on February 2nd, 1290 [26]. We have also two badly preserved inscriptions bearing his name, which may have been dated 1293 A.D. [27]. Whether the change of the family name-ending from *-calla* to *-malla* was due to Nepalese influence [28], is a debatable point.

Jitārimalla was succeeded by his brother Ānandamalla. No epigraphical record of his has been found. The Tibetan texts give evidence of further connections with Bodh Gaya, where Ānandamalla caused repairs to be carried out; he also ordered a silver copy of the bKa'-'gyur, and

[23] Published by BHAGVANLAL INDRAJI, «An inscription at Gaya», in *Indian Antiquary* 10 (1881), 347-357. — An inscription from Gopeśvar in Kumaon gives the date Śaka 1113 (= 1191 A.D.) and a king's name variously read as Aṇekamalla, Aśokamalla, Aśokacalla; the same name occurs also on an undated inscription on a trident at Gopeśvar; E.T. ATKINSON, *The Himalayan districts* etc., 512n. Cf. A. FÜHRER, *North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, II: *Monumental antiquities and inscriptions*, Allahabad 1891, 44; R. SANKRITYAYANA, *Kumaon*, 61-62; P.K. NAUTIYAL, *The Archaeology of Kumaon*, 70. Whatever the reading, the date (if correctly read) and the descendance of the ruler from a Gauḍa dynasty preclude an identification with Aśokacalla of Seṃjā.

[24] According to *DTMP*, 20a 8-9, he bought back from the Sog-po (i.e. the Mamluk Sultans of Delhi or the governors of Bengal) forty-two villages that had been donated many centuries before by Aśoka Maurya, and gave them back to the Bodh Gaya shrine. He also sent every year twelve bars of silver (*dṅul-dkar*) to Bodh Gaya, concealing the fact from the Sog-po. Cf. also *KPGT*, 142a.

[25] *BA*, 580.

[26] *Gopāla-vaṃśāvalī*, 26b and 40a. This is the oldest Nepalese chronicle (end of the 14th century); its first section was printed in *MHN*, 219-224, and the whole was published first by Yogi Narahari Nath in *HS*, 19-25, and in *SPS*, 254-277, then by D.R. REGMI, *Medieval Nepal*, III, Calcutta 1966, 112-157. On this passage see *MHN*, 102; Vajracharya 1965, 22, 23; and Vajracharya 1971, 24-27.

[27] They were published in *IP*, 162-164, from copies found in the possession of private individuals in Dullu. Both are dated Śaka 1015; this must be an error of the copyist for 1215, because both documents mention king Jitārimalla of Seṃjā.

[28] P.R. SHARMA, *Preliminary study of the art and architecture of the Karnali basin*, Paris 1972, 42 n. 54.

acted as patron (*sbyin-bdag*) of 'Bri-guṅ [29], to help the recovery of that monastery after its sack and destruction by Sa-skya and Mongol troops in 1290.

Ānandamalla's son Ripumalla «seized several regions from India» [30]. In spite of these warlike activities, he was a devout Buddhist and undertook a pilgrimage to the birthplace of the Buddha, as shown by a graffito on the Aśoka pillar at Lumbini (Niglihava in the Nepalese Terai), bearing his name and the date Śaka 1234 (=1312 A.D.) [31]. From there he turned northward and on February 12th, 1313, he entered Nepal, where he stayed for 18 days, worshipping in the Hindu and Buddhist shrines as a peaceful devotee [32]. He supported also the Tibetan centres of Buddhism, causing a statue of Bhaiṣajyaguru with his accolytes to be made out of forty *dṅul-dkar*, and donating a golden pinnacle (*gser-t'og, rgya-p'ibs*) to the gTsaṅ-k'aṅ dbus-ma, i.e. the main chapel of the Jo-bo-k'aṅ in Lhasa [33]. His name appears also in the colophon of a *Abhisaṃayālaṃkāra* manuscript copied at Surkhet on Saturday, February 2nd, 1314 [34]. Two fragmentary inscriptions bearing his name were found at Dullu, but their dates are lost [35]

Ripumalla, apparently one of the greatest kings of the dynasty, had a son called Sangrāmamalla, whose name appears along with that of his father in another graffito at Niglihava, apparently written during the pilgrimage of 1312; [36] possibly he was associated to the throne. No other document of his is extant.

For some unstated reason, either because of lack of direct issue or by downright usurpation, the throne then passed to Jitārimalla's second son, called Ādityamalla in the Dullu *kīrtistambha*. As a matter of fact, it seems

[29] *DTMP*, 20a 9-20b 1; *KPGT*, 142a; *BA*, 583.

[30] *DTMP*, 20a 1; *KPGT*, 142a.

[31] *MHN*, 80-81.

[32] *Gopāla-vaṃśāvalī*, 43a Cf. *MHN*, 108; Vajracharya 1965, 22, 23, and Vajracharya 1971, 24-27.

[33] *DTMP*, 20b 1; *KPGT*, 142; *GR*, 199. This was the pinnacle (*rgya-p'ibs*) over the main shrine containing the Jo-bo image; see H.E. RICHARDSON, «The Jo Khang Cathedral of Lhasa», in A. Macdonald and Y. Imaeda (ed.), *Essais sur l'art du Tibet*, Paris 1977, 187.

[34] R. SANKRITYAYANA, «Search for Sanskrit Mss. in Tibet», in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 24 (1938), 163; for the date see *MHN* 108-109n.

[35] *IP*, 79-80.

[36] *Śrī-Ripumallaś-cirañjayatu; Sangrāma [ma]lla-mahārājā (?) jayaḥ; IP*, 81. The reading is uncertain and in 1958 I read the rubbing differently. But Narahari Nath's text makes better sense.

that he had tried to seize the throne already after the death of his brother Ānandamalla. The evidence may be summed up as follows. All the Tibetan chronicles call this king by the name A-'jid sMal, i.e. Ajitamalla; a small ill-written and misspelt inscription at Padukasthan near Dullu, due to one Śrīnāth Raut, praises a king Ājītamalla with his retinue; it is dated Śaka 1221 (= 1299 A.D.) [37]. It seems to imply that in 1299 a local baron tried to raise to the throne the brother of Ānandamalla, but failed. A-'jid sMal/Ajitamalla fled to Tibet; we are informed that «before he ascended the throne he had been a princely monk (*lha-btsun*) at Sa-skya» [38]. When he eventually became king he took, as it seems, the new name Ādityamalla.

This king maintained close relations with Tibet, where he caused an image of Tārā of 11 *gser-dkar* to be made [39]. A bilingual charter (copper-plate, ancient Nepali and Tibetan) issued by him in 1324 to the Taghbai monastery (on the border, since 1959 in Chinese territory) guaranteed to the monks the unhindered practice of their religion [40]. On the other side, he renewed hostilities against Nepal. The *Gopāla-vaṃśāvalī* informs us that on Caitra *śukla* 2, Newari Samvat 441 (= March 1st, 1321 A.D.) the Khaśiyā sacked the royal residence Tripura in Bhatgaon; however, the name of the invading king is not given [41]. In February 1328 Ādityamalla once more entered Nepal, burning and looting some towns; on March 25th he took the capital Patan [42].

No information is available on the next two rulers, Kalyānamalla and Pratāpamalla. They must have reigned for very short periods, as the last date of Āditymalla is 1328 and the first of Puṇyamalla is 1336. With Pratāpamalla the direct lineage of the Ya-ts'e kings died out [43].

[37] *IP*, 201; Vajracharya 1965, 23; Vajracharya 1971, 29.

[38] *DTMP*, 20b 2; *KPGT*, 142a-b; also the Chronicle of the 5th Dalai-Lama and Sum-pa mK'an-po.

[39] *DTMP*, 20b 2.

[40] Edited by Mohan Prasad KHANAL, «Vikrama Samvat 1387 ko Kamālī kā rājā Ādityamalla ko abhilekh», in *Samīkṣā*, July 24th, 1972. I owe many thanks to Fr. L. Stiller S.J. of Kathmandu for supplying me with a copy of this paper and of its continuation cited below (n. 47). The Tibetan portion of the copper-plate is phonetically transcribed in Devanagari and is not very easy to read. The date (found in the Tibetan only) is the Bird (*bya*) year, *sahun (? = sa-ga*, 4th) month, 10th day, corresponding to May 7th 1321.

[41] *Gopāla-vaṃsāvalī*, 44b. Cf. Vajracharya 1965, 25 and Vajracharya 1971, 32-33. This passage has been misunderstood in *MHN*, 108.

[42] *Gopāla-vaṃsāvalī*, 46a and 27b. Cf.MHN, 113; Vajracharya 1965, 25: Vajracharya 1971, 33-34.

[43] *KPGT*, 142b, omits the names of Kalyānamalla and Pratāpamalla and gathers them together under the vague expression «two generations» *(gduṅ rabs gñis)*. *DTMPM*, 20b 2,

According to the Dullu inscription, the succession fell upon Puṇyamalla, issued from a family called Gela or Gelā; all the members of its long genealogy bore names ending in *-pāla*. Puṇyamalla married Śakunamālā, who apparently was the heiress of Seṃjā. She may have been the daughter of the last kings. Gelā can be located with a fair amount of certainty; there are two villages of this name, lower (Aula-) and upper (Śikhara-) Gela, in the Bārabīs subdistrict (*darā*) of the Jumla district [44]; and the name Śrī-Gelā occurs in an inscription of Śaka 1309 (= 1387 A.D.) [45]. Thus we may assume that the Gelā family was a line of local barons in the Jumla region.

But the Tibetan chronicles tell another tale. According to them, Pratāmalla's successor was a member of the Pu-raṅ royal family called bSod-nams-lde, who came to Ya-ts'e and translated his name into Sanskrit as Pu-ni sMal (*bsod-nams = puṇya*).

In support to their version we have a solid piece of evidence. It is a letter sent by the greatest Tibetan scholar of that time, Bu-ston Rin-c'en-grub (1290-1364) to the «great king protector of the Law» (*dpal c'os skyoṅ ba'i rgyal po c'en po*), «great divine lord» (*lha mṅa' bdag c'en po*) bSod-nams-lde, dated on the 25th day of the *c'u-stod* (6th) month of the *sa-mo-yos* year, corresponding to July 3rd, 1339; the letter, containing a long religious instruction, was accompanied by a gift of a copy (*žabs-rjes*) of the statue of the Jo-bo in the Lhasa cathedral. Among other laudatory phrases, it mentions the election or appointment of bSod-nams-lde as king in Upper mṄa'ris (*mṄa' ris sTod du rgyal por bskos pa bžib | T'ugs rje c'en po lta bur 'gyur ba de'i spyan sṅar*) [46]. The biography of Bu-ston, written by his pupil sGra-ts'ad-pa, refers to the same event and completes the tale: «From India (rGya-gar) the *c'os-rgyal* Pu-ṇya-ma-la etc. sent presents and enquired about the health of Bu-ston... In return he himself sent letters accompanied by the gift of the precious *dharma*» [47]. This is contemporary evidence for the succession to the throne of bSod-nams-lde with the name Puṇyamalla.

The two versions, Indian and Tibetan, cannot be reconciled. It is hardly possible to identify Gelā with Pu-raṅ ; and even less possible is to accept the long list of Puṇyamalla's ancestors. We cannot suppose that the

couples Kalyānamalla with dPal-ldan-grags-pa, who is known to have been a minister of Pṛthivīmalla. Apparently he served under two kings.

[44] *IP*, 18.

[45] *IP*, 76.

[46] Collected works (*gsuṅ-'bum*) of Bu-ston, La, 90b-96a.

[47] D.S. RUEGG, *The life of Bu-ston Rin po che*, Rome 1966, 121.

Pu-rañ rulers for many generations bore names with the Sanskrit ending *-pāla*, or at least Tibetan names ending with its equivalent *skyoṅ* or *skyabs* or the like; there is not the slightest trace of this in any text. We might suppose that the Dullu *kīrtistambha* of Pṛthivīmalla invented an Indian lineage for Puṇyamalla, to make him more acceptable to his Indianized subjects. But this seems far-fetched, and the contradiction must be left as it is, to be solved (if ever) by fresh evidence coming to light.

Three documents of Puṇyamalla are extant, dated 1336 and 1337 (two), all of them issued in favour of Lama monasteries [48]. Together with the exchange of letters with Bu-ston, they go to show that the new ruler still felt himself a Tibetan, and that relations with the Tibetan religious world were lively. Less happy were the relations with Nepal. On September 6th, 1334, the Khasiyā once more entered Patan; this time they held the Nepalese capital for half a year, abandoning it only on March 10th, 1335. They put the Sankhu shrine to the torch as they marched away [49]. Although the chronicle does not give the name of the invading king, this can only be Puṇyamalla. It was the most destructive of the Khāsa raids into Nepal; but as far as our information goes, it was also the last. After that, the military forces of the Seṃjā kingdom declined.

Puṇyamalla's son Pṛthivīmalla is the outstanding figure of the new Gelā dynasty, if only because of the rich epigraphy he left to posterity, his seven dated inscriptions ranging from 1354 (or earlier?) to 1358 [50]. From

[48] 1. *Kanakapatra* from Jumla, dated Śaka 1258, Kārttika *śukla* Vijayadaśamī, *ravi*; published in *SPS*, 791. Vijayadaśamī is the popular Dasain festival, taking place on the 10th day Āśvinī, for which the Kārttika of the inscription must be a mistake; whith this correction, the date is verified for Sunday, September 15th, 1336.

2. Copper-plate from Jumla dated Śaka 1259, Vaiśākha *śukla* 13 *ravi*; published in *HS*, 34-35, and in *SPS*, 762. The date is verified for Sunday April 13th, 1337.

3. Bilingual (Nepali and Tibetan) copper-plate charter, published by Mohan Prasad KHANAL, «Vi. Sam. 1385 to Karnālī pradeś kā rājā Puṇyamalla ko abhilekh», in *Samikṣā*, July 31st, 1972. The same remarks apply as for the inscription quoted in note 40. The date is found in the Tibetan text only:...*glaṅ lo zla ba gsum pa'i*...(the number of the day is lost). It corresponds to April 1337. The editor gives the wrong equivalence 1385 V.S. = 1328 A.D.

[49] *Gopāla-vaṃśāvalī*, 48a. Cf. Vajracharya 1965, 26, and Vajracharya 1971, 37. In this case the date must be verified by the Bhāradvāja system, on which see *MHN*, 15-22.

[50] I give here the list of the dated inscription of Pṛthivīmalla:

1. Kalikot inscription dated Śaka 1260, first month, 13th day: published in *IP*, 45. The date corresponds to March 19th (or April 3rd), 1338. It can hardly be correct, because it is earlied than Bu-ston's letter of 1339 to bSod-nams-lde/Puṇyamalla. Perhaps it has been misread by the editor, and the true reading was 1280 = 1358 A.D.

2. Accham Kuncigaon inscription dated Śaka 1276 (= 1354 A.D.); published in *IP*, 46 and in *SPS*, fig. 23a.

the Tibetan texts we learn that this king together with his minister dPal-ldan-grags-pa donated the pulpit (*c'os-k'ri*) of Sa-skya and the golden pinnacle (*gser-t'og*) over the bCu-gcig-žal (i.e. Avalokiteśvara) chapel in the Jo-bo-k'aṅ at Lhasa [51]. This dPal-ldan-grags-pa (Skr. Śrīman Yaśas) may be the same person as the *mahāmātya* Yaśovarmadeva of the Dullu reservoir inscription of 1354. But the patronage of the king was impartial, as he extended it both to Buddhist monks (*bhikṣu*) and to Brahmans (*dvija*), as shown by the Dullu *kīrtistambha* (B, 1.22).

Pṛthvīmalla is the last ruler of the Khāsa kingdom known to the Tibetan texts; they seem to have drawn their information from some inscription or document of this king similar to the Dullu *kīrtistambha*. After him, relations with Tibet slackened and eventually ceased. We hear that the Ya-ts'e kings acted as patrons of the 'Bri-guṅ hermitages at the Kailāsa down to the times of the 11th 'Bri-guṅ abbot 'Dzam-gliṅ-c'os-kyi-rgyal-po (on the see 1351-1400) [52], which means that later they ceased to do so. Moreover, no further document of this dynasty has come to light, with the single exception of Dullu inscription of 1377 mentioning Śrīman Abhayamalla as a successor of Pṛthivīmalla; but he is given no royal title [53]. Probably the kingdom disintegrated after the death of

3. Dullu reservoir inscription dated Śaka 1276 Pauṣa *badi* 2 *śukravāsare*, in reign of Pṛthivīmalla and in the time of the *mahāmātya* Yaśovarmadeva; published in *Saṃskṛta-Sandeśa*, XXII, 54, in *IP*, 46-48, and in *PRN*, 45-46 and fig. 55. The date is verified for Friday, December 13th, 1354.

4. Sija *kanakapatra* dated Śaka 1278 Śrāvana *śudi* 10 *śukra*; published in *Itihās Prakās*, I, 113-114; *IP*, 49-56; *HS*, 36-37; *SPS*, 764 and fig. 39b. Discussion in *PRN*, 113-114, where the date has been misread as Śaka 1298. The date is verified for Friday, August 5th, 1356. The inscription mentions (v. 14) Āditymalla Rāi and Puṇyamalla Rāi.

5. Dullu *kīrtistambha* dated Śaka 1279 Jyeṣṭha *mecaka (= badi) rudrāhe* (= 11) *bhānuvāre*, published in *IP*, 58-64; *HS*, 40-45, *SPS*, 767-768 and fig. 22; *PRN*, 46-49 and fig. 61. The date is verified for Sunday, May 14th, 1357.

6. Dullu well inscription, dated Śaka 1280 Āśvinī (= August-September, 1358); published in *IP*, 68-69, and *SPS*, fig. 31a.

7. Dullu copper-plate dated Śaka 1280, Vikrama 1415, Mārgaśira *badi* 13 *soma*; published in *IP*, 69-72; *HS* 35; *SPS*, fig. 40a. The date cannot be verified, as it corresponds to Tuesday 30th and Wednesday 31st October, 1358.

Two undated inscriptions have also been published, respectively in *IP*, 75, 77; *SPS*, fig. 23n; *PRN*, 43 and fig. 60; and in *IP*, 77, and *PRN*, 44.

[51] *DTMP*, 20b 3; *GR*, 199; *KPGT*, 142b; *Deb-t'er dmar-po gsar-ma*, 39a. For the pinnacle on the Avalokiteśvara chapel in the Jo-bo-k'aṅ see H.E. RICHARDSON, *Op. cit.*, 188. [The Ya-ts'e envoys arrived in Tibet in 1350; *rLaṅs Po ti bse ru*, 442].

[52] *Ti-se*, 32a.

[53] Dated Śaka 1298 Phālguna *badi* 7 *ravi*; published in *HS*, 35, and *SPS*, 772. The date is verified for Sunday, February 1st, 1377.

Pṛthivīmalla, under circumstances which have been aptly sketched by Professor Tucci [54]. The smaller principalities which took its place (foremost among them Jumla) maintained some connection with Buddhism and with Tibet down to the 17th century, by which time they became completely hinduized. Their history is outside the scope of the present paper.

I subjoin a list of the kings of Seṃjā/Ya-ts'e with their dates as far as known:

Nāgarāja/Nāgadeva
Cāpa
Cāpilla/bTsan-p'yug-lde; resided in Ya-ts'e
Krāśicalla/bKra-śis-lde
Krādhicalla/Grags-btsan-lde
Krācalla/Grags-pa-lde (1225)
Aśokacalla/A-sog-lde (1255-1278)
Jitārimalla/'Ji-dar sMal (1287-1293)
Ānandamalla/A-nan sMal
(Ajitamalla/A-'jid sMal) (1299)
Ripumalla/Ri'u sMal (1312-1314)
Sangrāmamalla/San-gha sMal
Ādityamalla (= Ajitamalla) (1321-1328)
Kalyānamalla
Pratāpamalla
Puṇyamalla/Pu-ni sMal (1336-1339); from Gelā or Pu-raṅ
Pṛthivīmalla/sPri-ti sMal (1338?, 1354-1358)

It is difficult to know was happened in Gu-ge proper after the breaking up of the old kingdom in the 12th century. We are reduced to some dispersed scraps of evidence [55].

The first mention of a king of Gu-ge as different from the Ya-ts'e rulers refers to the Gu-ge *c'os-kyi-rgyal-po* K'ri bKra-śis-lde-btsan who in 1215 acted as patron to Ghu-ya-sgaṅ-pa, the first *rdor-'dzin* (head) of the 'Bri-guṅ-pa hermitages around the Kailasa and Manasarovar; the king supported the establishment of a substantial number of hermits (traditionally 55,525) and the creation of meditation cells at Śel-dra, Ñan-ri, Dar-

[54] *PRN*, 109-112.

[55] The *La-dvags rgyal-rabs* (A.H. FRANCKE, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, Calcutta 1925), Tibetan text, 35.27, claims for the Ladakhi king Utpala (end of the 11th century ?) conquests as far Pu-raṅ and Blo-bo (Mustang); to reach these countries, he had to pass through Gu-ge. This far-flung claim has no look of reality; at the utmost, it could be based on some raid of passing effect.

luṅ etc. [56]. This ruler cannot be identified with Krāśicalla/bKra-śis-lde of Ya-ts'e, because our text clearly distinguishes between the two titles (it mentions both kings) and because in 1215 Seṃjā was ruled not by Krāśicalla, but by his grandson Krācalla [57].

Possibly the successor of this ruler was the Gu-ge *rgyal-po* K'ri bKra-śis-dbaṅ-p'yug who, along with his son dPal-mgon-lde, protected the *rdor-'dzin* Ñi-ma-dguṅ-pa, from whom he received religious instruction and to whom he donated large estates *(c'os-gži)* for the support of the rGyaṅ-grags monastery, such as the P'u-g.yu cave of sKar-sdum in Pu-raṅ and others [58]. Ñi-ma-dguṅ-pa was the successor of the first *rdor-'dzin* Ghu-ya-sgaṅ-pa, who came to the Kailāsa in 1215 and stayed there for 25 years [59]. Thus Ñi-ma-dguṅ-pa, and K'ri bKra-śis-dbaṅ-p'yug with him, can be dated in the forties of the 13th century.

The third *rdor-'dzin* Kun-dga'-rgyal-mts'an was invited to rGyal-di-mk'ar of Pu-raṅ by the Gu-ge *rgyal-po* K'ri Grags-pa-lde and his wife *(lha-lcam)* bSam-grub-sgrol-ma, who granted to him Upper and Lower T'aṅ-yab in Pu-raṅ [60]. This may have happened about 1200, because Kun-dga'-rgyal-mts'an's successor, the *rdor-'dzin* Dar-ma-rgyal-mts'an, was a contemporary of the 5th 'Bri-guṅ abbot C'os-rje gCuṅ Ri-bo-c'e, on the see 1255-1279 [61].

Then comes a gap corresponding more or less to the late 13th and to the 14th century. During most of this period Central Tibet was under the rule of the Mongol dynasty of China, locally represented by the Sa-skya abbots [62]. Did the Mongol dominion include Gu-ge as well? The census taken by the Mongols in 1268 probably did not extend to the western territories, but the census of 1287 apparently did so; on that occasion mṄa'-ris sKor-gsum is said to have numbered 2635 *hor-dud* (familial units), excluding 767 *hor-dud* «residing within the territories of the *mṅa'-bdag*, the hereditary chieftain of mṄa'ris who claimed his descent from king

[56] *Ti-se*, 28a. In the parallel text of Guide of Khojarnath, on which see *PRN*, 62-64, this king is called bKra-śis-lde, *c'os-rgyal* of Gu-ge; he visited Khojarnath in Pu-raṅ and protected it from the danger of the river.

[57] See above, p. 373.

[58] *Ti-se*, 31b.

[59] *Ti-se*, 29a, 31b.

[60] *Ti-se*, 31b-32a.

[61] For the dates of the 'Bri-guṅ hierarchs of this period see H. SATO, «Linage of the 'Bri-guṅ-pa in Tibet during the Ming period», in *Tōyō Gakuhō*, 45 (1962/3), 434-452.

[62] The latest general appraisal of Mongol dominance in Tibet is by T.V. WYLIE, «The first Mongol conquest of Tibet reinterpreted», in *HJAS*, 37 (1977), 103-133.

Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po» [63]. This chieftain may have been either the king of Gu-ge or (less probably) the ruler of Pu-raṅ. Later (c. 1330) the Manasarovar district was held by the «authorities» of Pu-raṅ, whatever this may mean [64]. Thus there was in the West a large territory supposed to be ruled by the imperial representatives in Tibet, and a smaller autonomous unit under the local dynasty. From the Mongol angle, at least in the light of Chinese administrative arrangements, Tibet was placed under a military office (*hsüan-wei-ssŭ*) [65] with jurisdiction over the three provinces (*c'ol-k'a*) of Tibet. It was headed by five *hsüan-wei-shih*, one of whom was the Sa-skya temporal administrator, the *dpon-c'en* [66]. Under the *hsüan-wei-ssŭ* there where two military residents (*yüan-shuai*) posted in mṄa'ris sKor-gsum [67]. Summing up, it appears that at the end of the 13th century Western Tibet was under the more or less effective control of imperial officials (almost certainly Tibetans) depending from the *dpon-c'en*, while the kingdoms of Gu-ge and Pu-raṅ maintained their internal autonomy.

Some information on the dynastic history of this period seems to be supplied by the *Guide of Khojarnath*; but its utilization presents difficulties. Not only no parallel list can be found in other sources, but the text seems to be corrupt. It telescopes together K'ri bKra-śis-lde-btsan of Guge and Lha-c'en dṄos-grub-mgon of Ladakh (both being patrons of Ghuya-sgaṅ-pa in 1215) into one K'ri bKra-śis-dṅos-grub-mgon [69], who in his turn is supposed to be a son of sTag-ts'a-k'ri-'bar of Pu-raṅ and a brother of gNam-mgon-lde. Then the *Guide* gives a list of kings apparently issued from gNam-mgon-lde; they are:

K'ri bKra-śis-rgyal-po-lde, K'ri bKra-śis-stobs-ldan-lde, the princely monk (*lha-btsun*) rDo-rje-seṅ-ge, K'ri bKra-śis-bsod-nams-lde [70]. They may be kings of Pu-raṅ, as assumed by Tucci; but the onomastic pattern

[63] S. Ch. Das, «Tibet under the Tatar emperors of China in the 13th century», in *JABS* 73, I, Extra No. (1904), 99. For the source (*rGya-Bod-yig-ts'aṅ*) and the interpretation of S. Ch. Das's materials see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949, 13-14, 251-252 n. 36, 687-688 n. 111; see also the discussion by A. Macdonald, «Préambule à la lecture d'un Rgya-Bod yig-c'aṅ», in *J. As.* 1963, who has shown that the census figures given by Das do not refer to 1268, 56-58, as they purport to do, but to 1287.

[64] S. Ch. Das, *Op cit.*, 102.

[65] On this office see P. Ratchnevsky, *Un code des Yuan*, I, Paris 1937, 93n.

[66] G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 16 and 252 n. 36.

[67] *Yüan-shih* (Po-na-pên edition), 87.14a.

[68] On the *yuan-shuai* see P. Ratchnevsky, *Op. cit.*, 140. Cf. also G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 681, n. 52.

[69] Cf. L. Petech, *The kingdom of Ladakh*, Rome 1977, 20n.

[70] *PRN*, 62-63.

agrees closely with that of the Gu-ge kings, both before and after that period. Thus, without wishing to be positive on this point, we may at least advance a claim for them to represent a fragment of the genealogy of the Gu-ge *c'os-rgyal*.

To the same period (14th century) belong two letters addressed by Bu-ston to an unnamed king of Žaṅ-žuṅ Gu-ge, asking him to protect the Buddhist community and teachers; both are dated on the 15th day of the 8th month of the *[sa-mo-]yos* year, corresponding to August 20th, 1339 [71]. They are less than two months later than the above-quoted letter to bSod-nams-lde/Puṇyamalla, and probably were part a campaign for obtaining patronage in Western Tibet at large. They yield no historical element of relevance.

They 15th century was marked by invasions of foreign armies. Soon after his accession, king Zain ul-Abidin (1420-1470) of Kashmir crossed the Zoji-la, overran Ladakh and penetrated as far as Goggadeśa [72], which is usually identified with Gu-ge.

Somewhat later, in 1447-48, a Hor army threatened Maṅ-yul (Ladakh), the officials of the gold washeries of Gu-ge [and] northern g.Yas-ru, and the woodsmen (*śiṅ-po*) of Byaṅ-'Brog; it was feared that they would penetrate into Tibet proper as well. The invasion was averted, as it was believed, by the famous bridge-building lama T'aṅ-stoṅ-rgyal-po (1385-1464 ?), who built «on the border between Hor and Tibet» the Sa'i-me-rtsa *mc'od-rten* in Byaṅ Ṅam-riṅ, following a prophecy by Padmasambhava [73]. These Hor, or sTod Hor as they are called elsewhere in the same text [74], can only be Turks from Central Asia, most probably from Yarkand or Khotan; that region was ruled at that time by the *amir* Sayyid Ali Dughlat under the loose suzerainty of Esen Bugha, Khan of Mogholistan and descendant of Genghiz Khan. But no hint of raids into Tibet is found in Mirza Haidar Dughlat's *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, which is practically our sole source for 15th-century events in Kashgaria.

In the same period king Blo-gros-mc'og-ldan (c. 1435-1460) of

[71] Collected works (*gsuṅ-'bum*) of Bu-ston, La, 72b-74b and 96a-b.

[72] Jonarāja's *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī*, v. 1106.

[73] *De'i dus Maṅ yul daṅ | Gu ge g.Yas ru byaṅ pa'i gser dpon | Byaṅ 'Brog śiṅ po rnams la Hor dmag yaṅ byuṅ bas*; Biography of T'aṅ-stoṅ-rgyal-po, 136a. On this work see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 162-163. Byaṅ 'Brog, situated in gTsaṅ, was one of the thirteen districts (*k'ri-skor*) of Tibet; G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 681 n. 52. The Hor menace is treated at lenght in T'aṅ-stoṅ-rgyal-po Biography, 136a-140a.

[74] In 1459 T'aṅ-stoṅ-rgyal-po visited some sixty villages of sTod Hor people who had settled in Maṅ-yul (Ladakh); Biography, 162a.

Ladakh obtained a tribute of weapons, horses, yaks etc. from Gu-ge; he claimed overlordship over mNa'ris sKor-gsum [75]. Of course the validity of these claims has still to be tested.

About the same time we get a fairly clear glimpse of a Gu-ge king. This was K'ri Nam-mk'a'-dbaṅ-po P'un-ts'ogs-lde dpal-bzaṅ-po, a contemporary of Tsoṅ-k'a-pa's pupil mK'as-grub-rje (1385-1438), whom he invited to Gu-ge. mK'as-grub-rje sent him a courteous reply [76] and also exchanged letters with the Gu-ge queen K'ri-lcam rgyal-mo [77]; but the invitation was turned down. The *Vaiḍūrya-ser-po* informs us that in the time of king K'ri Nam-mk'a'-dbaṅ-po P'un-ts'ogs-lde an otherwise unknown holy man called Ha-se 'P'ags-pa Ye-śes-brtson-'grus built the temples of Bre-ldan and of Blo-steṅs in Tsaparang, the capital of the Gu-ge [78]. When the famous Sa-skya-pa scholar Ṅor Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po (1382-1457) made his second journey to Glo-bo in 1436, one of his patrons was the Gu-ge *c'os-rgyal* K'ri Nam-mk'a'-dbaṅ-po, who was even ordained as a monk and rebuilt a great monastery [79] (probably Bre-ldan *cum* Blo-steṅs). Thus this king was on the throne in the thirties of the 15th century.

The genealogy of the kings of Gu-ge is preserved by the *Vaiḍūrya-ser-po*; but it seems that some errors have crept into the tradition. The problem revolves around C'os-rje Ṅag-dbaṅ-grags-pa, the apostle of the dGe-lugs-pa school in Gu-ge. He was born in mNa'-ris, went to Central Tibet where he became a pupil of Tsoṅ-k'a-pa (1357-1419), then he returned to Gu-ge and took up his residence at Duṅ-dkar [80]. Three brothers: bKra-śis-'od-lde, K'ri rNam-rgyal-'od and Śākya-'od «of the family of the Gu-ge *c'os-rgyal* [81], heard of him and summoned him to exorcize a she-demon called bKra-pa dpon-mo, whom neither the Sa-skya-pa nor the 'Bri-guṅ-pa had been able to subdue; Ṅag-dbaṅ-grags-pa succeeded in the task. Then the king (whose name is not given), encouraged also by the *dge-bśes sprul-sku* (?) of Sa-skya, who was in attendance at his court, agreed to permit the preaching of Ṅag-dbaṅ-grags-pa. Other missionaries, such as sTod Śes-rab-bzaṅ-po (the founder of the Yellow Church in

[75] *La-dvags rgyal-rabs*, Tibetan text, 37.3-8.

[76] The letter is in mK'as-grub-rje's *gsuṅ-'bum*, Ta, 87b (Tōhoku 5500/36).

[77] *Op. cit.*, Ta, 20c and 88b (Tōhoku 5500/12 and 37).

[78] *VS*, 219b, translation in G. TUCCI, «Tibetan Notes», 486-487 (479-480).

[79] *Life of Ṅor Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po* by dPal-ldan-don-grub, 38b-39a.

[80] bSod-nams-grags-pa, *bKa' -gdams gsar-rñiṅ gi c'os-'byuṅ*, 98a; cf. G. TUCCI, *Op. cit.*, 483 (478n). Rather oddly, the *Vaiḍūrya-ser-po* makes him a native of Ka-liṅ (Kaliṅga ?) «near the southern bank of the Gaṅgā».

[81] This Śākya-'od is probably the Ma-naṅ *lha-btsun* Śākya-'od who preceded Ṅag-dbaṅ-grags-pa as abbot of Ma-naṅ; *VS*, 221a; translation in G. TUCCI, *Op. cit.*, 488 (481).

Ladakh) and Gu-ge rGyal-mts'an-bzaṅ-po, helped to spread the tenets of Tsoṅ-k'a-pa. As the result, the dynasty was converted to the dGe-lugs-pa sect, remaining its staunch supporter down to the end. In due course Ṅag-dbaṅ-grags-pa was appointed abbot of mT'o-ldiṅ and of Blos-staṅ [82]. Two other princes, K'ri dBaṅ-p'yug-lde and K'ri rNam-rgyal-lde (perhaps the same as the K'ri rNam-rgyal-'od above mentioned), founded for him a monastery at Duṅ-dkar [83].

Since Ṅag-dbaṅ-grags-pa, being a pupil of Tsoṅ-k'a-pa, lived in the first quarter of the 15th century, his unnamed patron may have been either K'ri Nam-mk'a'-dbaṅ-po (fl. c. 1436) or, more probably, his predecessor. But in another passage of the *Vaiḍūrya-ser-po* we are told that «after some generations had passad since K'ri Nam-mk'a'-dbaṅ-po» there lived a ruler bearing the curious name *c'os-rgyal* Buddha. His son Blo-bzaṅ-rab-brtan was a follower of Ṅag-dbaṅ-grags-pa, and his queen Don-grub-ma built the Red Temple at Tsaparang [84]. Apart from the fact that the name Blo-bzaṅ-rab-brtan is in contrast with the usual onomastic pattern of the Gu-ge dynasty, the chronology must the faulty: this ruler cannot be at the same time a contemporary of Ṅag-dbaṅ-grags-pa (c. 1420-1430 ?) and have the lived «some generations later» than K'ri Nam-mk'a'-dbaṅ'-po, whose date (1436) is well established. Either the one or the other piece of information must be wrong. As far as our evidence goes, the later datation seems to be the correct one. Firstly, the son of Blo-bzaṅ-rab-brtan lived at the end of the 15th century, as we are going to see presently. Secondly, the *Guide of the Kailāsa* states that the 16th 'Bri-guṅ-pa *gdan-rabs* Kun-dga'-rin-c'en (1475-1527; on the see nominally since 1484, but in effect since 1518) sent to the Kāilasa four *rdor'-dzin* in succession, who were protected by the Gu-ge *rgyal-po* bSod-nams-lhun-grub, the Gu-ge *c'os-rgyal* Blo-bzaṅ-rab-brtan and the Gu-ge *rgyal-po* bKra-śis-mgon [85]. The first and the third of these rulers have nothing to do with Gu-ge; as shown elsewhere, they were the two sons of the Glo-bo ruler A-mgon-bzaṅ-po, i.e. the king Ts'aṅs-pa bKra-śis-mgon (fl. c. 1465-1489) and the abbot (Glo-bo *mk'an-c'en*) rJe-btsun bSod-nams-lhun-grub (1456-1532) [86]. The

[82] *VS* 218b-219a. Abridged translation in G. Tucci, *Op. cit.*, 485 (478). On sTod Śes-rab-bzaṅ-po see L. Petech, *The kingdom of Ladakh*, 168.

[83] *VS*, 222b; translation in G. Tucci, *Op. cit.*, 490 (482). Actually, this kind of name is usually given to kings, not to princes. However, as remarked by Tucci, there is no space for them in the royal list.

[84] *VS*, 219n; translation in G. Tucci, *Op.cit.*, 486-487 (479-480).

[85] *Ti-se*, 33a

[86] See my article «The 'Bri-guṅ-pa sect in Western Tibet and Ladakh», 320.

author of the *Guide*, writing in 1896, pieced together different items of information coming from various sources. Still, his evidence is another element tending to date Blo-bzaṅ-rab-brtan in the seventies or eighties of the 15h century.

The *Vaiḍūrya-ser-po* continues his royal list with the son of Blo-bzaṅ-rab-brtan and Don-grub-ma, called 'P'ags-pa-lha [87]. This king too can be roughly dated, because one of the eight letters sent by the Second Dalai-Lama dGe-'dun-rgya-mts'o (1475-1542) to the king of Gu-ge is expressly addressed to the Gu-ge *bdag-po* 'P'ags-pa-lha [88]. We may place him about 1500. 'P'ags-pa-lha is mentioned in a single leaf containing the colophon of a manuscript of the *rGyud kyi rgyal po ṅan soṅ sbyoṅ ba'i rgyud* [89]. Perhaps we may also identify him with the unnamed Gu-ge *rgyal-po* who was the contemporary of gTsaṅ-smyon Heruka at the time of the latter's third visit to Western Tibet in c. 1500 [90].

'P'ags-pa-lha had two sons, Śākya-'od and Śākya-rin-c'en. One of them may be the «young king» (Gu-ge *bdag-po sku-gžon-pa*) who exchanged letters with the 2nd Dalai-Lama [91].

His (perhaps Śākya-'od's) sons were 'Jig-rten-dbaṅ-p'yug pad dkar-lde, 'Jam-dbyaṅs and 'P'yag-rdor; they lived in the time of the 2nd Dalai-Lama and built the White Temple and the Vajrabhairava shrine at Tsaparang [92]. Foremost among the foundations due to the liberality of 'Jig-rten-dbaṅ-p'yug was that of the mṄa-ris-grva-ts'aṅ, not far from Tsetang in Central Tibet [93], which remained a flourishing centre of dGe-lugs-pa learning during four centuries. For once, the chronology of this king is fairly well established. [In 1537 he invited the Second Dalai Lama to compose a religious tract (Tōhoku Catalogue, n. 5567)]. In 1540 he sent to the Dalai-Lama substantial sums intended for the construction of

[87] *VS*, 219b; omitted in G. Tucci, «Tibetan Notes».

[88] The letter is found in the *gsuṅ-'bum* of the 2nd Dalai-Lama, Ṛī, 22a-23a (Tōhoku 5580/29-36). Another letter Ṛī, 20b) was sent by the Dalai-Lama in his tenth year (1484) in reply to an unnamed Gu-ge *bdag-po*.

[89] *dGe bcu 'dzom pa'i Žaṅ-žuṅ 'di ni | dge ba bcu yi k'rims kyis 'dzin ma'i mk'yon | skyoṅ mk'as sa bdag dPal ldan 'P'ags pa lha | skye dgu'i gtsug na sku mc'ed rgyal gyur cig |* The leaf was found by Professor Tucci in Tibet during his expedition of 1935.

[90] *The life of the Saint of gTsaṅ by rGod-ts'aṅ-ras-pa*, New Delhi 1969, 93a.

[91] *gSuṅ-'bum* of the 2nd Dalai-Lama, Ṛī, 23a-b.

[92] *VS*, 220a; translation in G. Tucci, «Tibetan Notes», 487 (480).

[93] On the mṄa'-ris-grva-ts'aṅ see A. Ferrari, *mK'yen-brtse's Guide to the holy places of Central Tibet*, Rome 1958, 47 and n. 193. Description of the monastery in G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and beyond*, Rome 1956, 125-126.

the mÑa'-ris-grva-ts'aṅ [94]. In 1546 the king himself visited the boy 3rd Dalai-Lama at 'Bras-spuṅs, being accompanied by envoys of his religious teacher Śānti-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an [95]. In 1555 together with Śānti-pa, he again paid homage to the Dalai-Lama; on that occasion he is styled *lha-btsan-po goṅ-ma,* which apparently implies that he had abdicated [96].

'Jig-rten-dbaṅ-p'yug's sons were Ṅag-gi-dbaṅ-p'yug and the *lha-btsun* Śes-rab-'od-zer. The latter held the abbatial chairs of the most important monasteries in Gu-ge: Blo-steṅs, Bye-dkar rNam-rgyal-rtse, Do-śaṅ, Śaṅ-rtse [97].

Ṅag-gi-dbaṅ-p'yug's sons were Nam-mk'a'-dbaṅ-p'yug and the *lha-btsun* Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-pa-ñi-'od. The latter built at Blo-steṅ the chapels of seventeen different *maṇḍalas* and established monthly rites there, chiefly in honour of sMan-bla (Bhaiaṣajyaguru). He held the abbatial sees of mT'o-ldiṅ, of Blo-steṅs, and of bKra-śis-lhun-po at mDa'-pa-sa (i.e. Davadzong of the maps) [98].

About this time Ts'e-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal (c. 1575-1595) of Ladakh claims to have subdued Gu-ge together with Pu-raṅ, Glo-bo and Jumla; he drew from these countries a substantial tribute [99]. No confirmation of this claim is forthcoming from any side, but a passing imposition of Ladakhi suzerainty over Western Tibet is not unlikely.

K'ri Nam-mk'a'-dbaṅ-p'yug was succeeded by his son K'ri Ñi-ma-dbaṅ-p'yug [100]. The latter had two sons, K'ri Grags-pa'i-dbaṅ-p'yug and the *lha-btsun* Blo-bzaṅ-ye-śes-'od. K'ri Grags-pa'i-dbaṅ-p'yug's son was

[94] *VS*, 160b.

[95] *Life of the 3rd Dalai-Lama*, 27b. Śānti-pa, a nephew of rGyal-sras Maitrī-pa who founded the Shangtze monastery, was born at Duṅ-dkar. He is an outstanding figure in the religious life of Western Tibet in the 16th century. He was abbot of mT'o-ldiṅ, of Blo-steṅs at Tsaṇaiang, and of Śaṅ-rtse (Shangtze); later he became abbot of the great monastery of Tashilhunpo, in gTsaṅ; *VS*, 195b, 219a, 220b, 222b-223a. He founded the bKra-śis-lhun-po monastery at mDa'-pa-sa (Dawadzong), on which see G. Tucci, *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, Milan 1937, 149-151; *VS*, 221a, omitted in G. Tucci, «Tibetan Notes». He founded also the dGa'-ldan-c'os-'k'or in the Gro-śod district to the east of the Maryumla; in the late 17th century it was deserted; *VS*, 225b, translated in G. Tucci, «Tibetan Notes», 495 (487).

[96] *Life of the 3rd Dalai-Lama*, 40a. [He is also mentioned in a colophon published by G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, III, 1, 177-178].

[97] *VS*, 220b, 221b, 223a; G. Tucci, «Tibetan Notes», 488, 490, (481-483).

[98] *VS*, 219a, 220a-b, 221a; G. Tucci, «Tibetan Notes», 486, 488 (479,481).

[99] *La-dvags-rabs*, Tibetan text, 38.6-11.

[100] [The *Lha-sras* Ñi-ma'i-dbaṅ-p'yug K'ri-lde is mentioned in a manuscript published by G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, 1, 177.

K'ri Nam-rgyal-grags-pa-dbaṅ-po, who, together whit his uncle the *lha-btsun*, renewed the Blo-steṅs monastery [101]. The two extended an invitation to the First Paṇ-c'en Blo-bzaṅ C'os-kyi-rgyal-mts'an (1570-1662). The Paṇ-c'en arrived at mT'o-ldiṅ on 15. V (= July 7th), 1618; he was received with great honours by the *jo-bo bdag-po*, this being at that time the official title of the Gu-ge ruler, the Chodakpo of the Jesuit missionaries. Accompanied by the king, his uncle and his brother, he visited also Mu-dkar (i.e. Do-śaṅ), Maṅ-naṅ, mDa'-pa bKra-śis-lhun-po and Śaṅ-rtse. The *lha-btsun*, whom the Paṇ-c'en called by the title *žabs-druṅ c'os-rje*, was appointed spiritual head (*bstan-pa'i bdag-po*) of the kingdom. On 13. IX (= October 2nd) the Paṇ-c'en left Gu-ge, performed the pilgrimage around the Kailasa, and then returned to Tashilhunpo [102]. Of course the appointment by the Paṇ-c'en was merely a recognition of the real position of Blo-bzaṅ-ye-śes-'od, who held the abbotship of almost all the important monasteries of the country: mT'o-ldiṅ, Blo-steṅs, rNam-rgyal-rtse, Do-śaṅ, mDa'-pa bKra-śis-lhun-po, Śaṅ-rtse [103].

K'ri Nam-rgyal-grags-pa-bzaṅ-po was suceeded by K'ri bKra-śis-grags-pa-lde, who in 1622 was already on the throne. His grand-uncle maintained his exalted spiritual position for twelve years, till the end of the kingdom [104]. It was during this reign that the Portuguese Jesuits established a mission at Tsaparang; it outlived the Gu-ge kingdom, but had to be abandoned in 1635.

The story of the downfall of the kingdom of Gu-ge was narrated by me elsewhere, and there is no point in repeating it now. In 1630 Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, king of Ladakh, conquered and annexed Gu-ge. The members of the dynasty were at first deported to Ladakh, where the last ruler died. Later, the last scion of the family migrated to Lhasa, where he stayed as a honoured guest for a half a century. As he had only two daughters, with his demise in 1743 the Gu-ge dynasty died out [105].

Nothing can be said about the institutions of the kingdom. The one exception is represented by the long-established custom that the brother or

[101] *VS*, 220a-b.

[102] *Autobiography of the First Paṇ-c'en*, 63b-65a. Cf. *VS*, 219b, 220b; G. Tucci, «Tibetan Notes», 486, 487 (479, 480).

[103] *VS*, 219a, 220b-221b, 223a; G. Tucci, «Tibetan Notes», 486, 488, 490-491 (479, 481, 483).

[104] *VS*, 220b. The name of the last king K'ri bKra-śis-grags-pa is confirmed by an inscription found at Hor-gliṅ by A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, Calcutta 1914, 36. But the Biography of sTag-ts'aṅ-ras-pa, as well as *Ti-se*, 33b and 42b, call him K'ri Grags-pa-bkra-śis.

uncle of the king became a monk and held the abbotships of the most important monasteries; this secured an efficient control of the king over the dGe-lugs-pa, who where the established church of Gu-ge.

Very little is known of the history of Pu-rań, or sPu-hrańs, the region to the south of the lake Manasarovar, with the capital sTag-la-mk'ar (Taklakot). Even its emergence as a separate political unit is subject to some uncertainty. The erliest sources (Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an and 'P'ags-pa, followed in this case by the *La-dvags rgyal-rabs*) seem to deny its autonomy, as they join it with Gu-ge under the rule of Ñi-ma-mgom's second son bKra-śis-mgon. All the other chronicles, starding whit the *DTMP* (1346) and the *GR* (1373 ?), say that an independent kingdom of Pu-rań was started by the third brother lDe-gtsug-mgon; but not a single name of his successors is extant.

Whether the kingdom of Pu-rań was independent from very beginning or broke away from Gu-ge later, the first certain piece of information available concerns the Pu-rań *rgyal-po* Bla-c'en sTag-ts'a-k'ri-'bar and his son gNam-mgon-lde, who in 1215 gave their patronage to the *rdor-'dzin* Ghu-ya-sgań-pa, at the same time as the kings of Gu-ge and of Ladakh [106].

In the same period another 'Bri-guń-pa monk, Seń-ge-ye-śes, came to the Kailasa and meditated for three years at Śel-dra. This supplies us with a valuable chronological check, because he met there the famous scholar rGod-ts'an-pa mGon-po-rdo-rje (1189-1256), who dwelt in the Go-zul cave at the foot the Kailasa from 1213 to 1217. Seń-ge-ye-śes gave initiation to the Pu-rań *rgyal-po* sTag-ts'a [-k'ri-'bar] and to his son A-tig [107].

Yet another hermit, dBon Śes-rab-'byuń-gnas, during his stay in the Kailasa region (1219-1225) passed some time at Khojarnath, where he was protected by the Pu-rań *rgyal-po* Jo-bo A-tig-sman, who donated that famous shrine to him [108].

Summing up, about, 1215-1220 Pu-rań was an independent kingdom under sTag-ts'a-k'ri-'bar and his two sons gNam-mgon-lde and A-tig-sman (unless these are but two names for the same person).

Incidentally, to these 'Bri-guń-pa masters we may add the great

[105] L. PETECH, *The kingdom of Ladakh*, 41-45, based on the Biography of sTag-ts'an-ras-pa and on the accounts of the Jesuits.

[106] *Ti-se*, 28a. The Guide of Khojarnath (*PRN*, 62-63) supplies substantially the same information, although badly corrupted.

[107] *Ti-se*, 31a

[108] *Ti-se*, 29a; *BA*, 605.

Kashmiri scholar Śākyaśrībhadra, usually called K'a-c'e Paṇ-c'en (1141-1239 or 1127-1225), who on his way back to Kashmir after a long stay in Tibet passed the summer retreat in Pu-raṅ [109].

We may suppose that later, at an unspecified date, the kingdom passed under the sovereignty, or at least the suzerainty of Gu-ge, because about 1260 we find the Gu-ge *rgyal-po* K'ri Grags-pa-lde inviting the *rdor-'dzin* Kun-dga'-rgyal-mts'an to the rGyal-di castle of Pu-raṅ and presenting him with estates in the same region [110]. But an autonomous, if not independent, principality continued to exist, since in 1328 a prince of Pu-raṅ by name bSod-nams-lde became king of Ya-ts'e (see above). There is also the fragment of genealogy preserved in the Guide of Khojarnath; but, as suggested above, it may also represent a list of king of Gu-ge.

In the 15th century Pu-raṅ was annexed for a short while by the princes of Glo-bo sMan-t'aṅ (Mustang). We are told that A-mgon-bzaṅ-po of Glo-bo handed over Khojarnath to Ṅor Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po, taking it away from the 'Bri-guṅ-pa who owned that shrine since the 13th century; this may have happened during Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po's third visit to Glo-bo in 1447. In any case, this action can only be explained if the ruler of Glo-bo was master of Pu-raṅ as well [111].However, Pu-raṅ must have returned under the sovereignty of Gu-ge soon after.

Later in the 15th century Pu-raṅ enjoyed some degree of autonomy, but not of independence. When the so-called Gu-ge king bSod-nams-lhun-grub and Blo-bzaṅ-rab-brtan patronized the 16th *gdan-rabs* of 'Bri-guṅ-pa (actually, in the third quarter of the 15th century), we find mentioned along with them one Kun-bzaṅ, who was governor (*sde-pa*) of Pu-raṅ [112].

About 1500, when the «mad saint» of gTsaṅ, i.e. gTsaṅ-smyon Heruka (1452-1507), paid his third and last visit to the Kailasa, he was involved in the long conflict between the ruler of Glo-bo, bDe-legs-rgya-mts'o, and the Pu-raṅ monk-lord *(dpon-btsun)* sÑan-grags fighting over the possession of the casle of rGyal-di. At that time Pu-raṅ continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of Gu-ge. A treaty was concluded in the end,

[109] *BA*, 1063-1064. On K'a-c'e Paṇ-c'en see G. TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 335-336; H. HADANO, «Kaśmīra-mahāpaṇḍita Śākyaśrībhadra», in *Bunka*, 21 (1957), 656-676; A. MACDONALD, «Préambule à la lecture d'un Rgya-Bod yig-chaṅ», in *J. As.* 1963, 94-96.

[110] *Ti-se*, 31b.

[111] *Ti-se*, 32b. For a reconstruction of the historical background see my article «The 'Bri-guṅ-pa sect in Western Tibet and Ladakh», 312.

[112] *Ti-se*, 33a.

by which Pu-raṅ passed again under the sway of Glo-bo; [113] but this situation did not last for long.

The last time we meet with a ruler of Pu-raṅ is in the mid-16th century, when the Pu-raṅ governor *(sde-pa)* bSod-nams-rab-brtan, a contemporary of the Gu-ge king 'Jig-rten-dbaṅ-p'yug Pad-dkar-lde, protected the famous scholar lDan-ma Kun-dga'-grags-pa, who later was to migrate to Ladakh where he gave a new impetus to the 'Bri-guṅ-pa sect [114].

In the early 17th century, at the time of the downfall of the kingdom of Gu-ge, we find no longer any mention of a governor or tributary prince of Pu-raṅ. The country, in a condition of advanced economic and cultural decay, was fully integrated into Gu-ge.

At the end of this study we may the following points as established.

1. There is a strong probability (but no actual proof) of foreign dominance breaking into the Western Tibetan «coṇfederation» at the beginning of the 12th century.

2. The Western Tibetan kingdom disintegrated about the middle of the 12th century, and at the same time the Khāsa kingdom of Ya-ts'e / Seṃjā came into being.

3. Except for Nāgarāja / Nāgadeva and perhaps Cāpilla / bTsan-p'yug-lde, the Khāsa kings of Seṃjā / Ya-ts'e were not rulers of Gu-ge, although the Tibetan chronicles accept them as such.

4. There is an irreconcilable disagreement between the Tibetan chronicles and the Dullu inscription about the origin of the Gelā family of Puṇyamalla, which succeeded the Nāgarāja dynasty at Seṃjā; and this in spite of the otherwise almost complete agreement of the two royal lists.

5. A kingdom of Gu-ge independent from Ya-ts'e continued in existence almost without interruption from the 10th century to 1630.

6. Pu-raṅ was an independent state possibly in the 10th and certainly in the 13th century; after that it became an autonomous province of Gu-ge, till it was wholly incorporated into it.

[113] *The life of the Saint of gTsaṅ*, 687b-98b. The events are also alluded to in *Ti-se*. 32b; but the chronology is wholly faulty.

[114] *Ti-se*, 33a. On lDan-ma's role in Ladakh see *The kingdom of Ladakh*, 29.

ABBREVIATIONS

BA	=	G. ROERICH (transl.), *The Blue Annals*, Calcutta 1949-1953.
DTMP	=	*Deb-t'er dmar-po: The Red Annals*, I (Tibetan text), Gangtok 1961.
GR	=	*rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, ed. B.I. Kuznetsov, Leiden 1966
HS	=	*Himavat Saṃskṛti*, I/1, VS 2016 (= 1959 A.D.).
IP	=	*Itihās Prakāś*, II/1, Kathmandu VS 2013 (= 1956 A.D.).
KPGT	=	*mKhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, Part 4 (Ja), New Delhi 1962.
MHN	=	L. PETECH, *Mediaeval history of Nepal*, Rome [1984].
PRN	=	G. TUCCI, *Preliminary Report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*, Rome 1958.
SPS	=	YOGI NARAHARINATH, *Sandhipatrasaṅgraha*, Kathmandu VS 2022 (= 1965 A.D.).
Ti-se	=	History of the 'Bri-guṅ-pa establishments in the Manasarovar-Kailasa region, written in 1896 by the 34th 'Bri-guṅ *dguṅ-rabs* dKon-mc'og-bstan-'dzin-c'os-kyi-blo-gros 'P'rin-las-rnam-rgyal: *Gaṅs c'en Ti se daṅ mts'o c'en Ma dros pa bcas kyi sṅon byuṅ gi lo rgyus mdor bsdud su brjod pa'i rab byed śel dkar me loṅ*.
Vajracharya 1965	=	DHANVAJRA VAJRACHARYA, «Karṇālī-pradeś ko itihās ek jhalak», in *Pūrṇimā*, 6 (2022 VS = 1965 A.D.), 14-29.
Vajracharya 1971	=	DHANVAJRA VAJRACHARYA, «Karṇālī-pradeś ko aitihāsik rūprekhā», in BHIM PRASAD SHRESTH (ed.), *Karṇālī-pradeś: ek biṭo adhyayan*, Jumla 2028 V.S. (= 1971 A.D.), 11-44.
VS	=	*Vaiḍūrya-ser-po*, by the regent Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o.

SANG-KO, A TIBETAN STATESMAN IN YÜAN CHINA *

The present paper seems to concern more China than Tibet. But in the 13th century both countries were part of a higher unit represented by the huge Mongol empire and thus this period is marked by a constant interplay of the three components. The story of Sang-ko is a good instance in case.

The Mongol conquerors of China made a large use of foreigners in the upper levels of their administration, not always with success. Qubilai started his career as emperor giving his confidence to a group of Chinese Confucian officials; but in the second half of his long reign he preferred to entrust the civil and financial machinery of his government to non-Chinese elements, first to Ahmad (d. 1282), then to Sang-ko.

Sang-ko 桑哥 is by no means an unknown person, and no modern account of the Yüan dynasty would be complete without some lines dedicated to his activities in the financial field. However, our knowledge of him is onesided and incomplete, because the material hitherto utilized was drawn from Chinese sources only, and because these sources are completely silent about his early years.

The main body of our information comes from his official biography in the History of the Yüan dynasty, which is a rather poor production [1].

* The additions published under the title 'Sus-pa' and 'hun-rtsen'; a correction to 'Sang-ko, a Tibetan statesman in Yüan China, in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, 38 (1984), 219-220, have been integrated in the main article.

[1] *Yüan-shih* (henceforward: *YS*), Po-na-pên edition, 205. 16b-23b. Translated by H. FRANKE, *Seń-ge, das Leben eines uigurischen Staatsbeamten zur Zeit Chubilai's, dargestellt nach Kapitel 205 der Yüan-Annalen*, in *Sinica* 17 (1942), 90-113. Other biographies are found in *Hsin Yüan-shih*, 223. 13a-19b; *Yüan-shih lei-pien*, 13, 7b seqq.; *Yüan-shih hsin-pien*, 55. 8a seqq.; *Yüan-shu*, 96. 11b seqq.; *Mêng-wu-êrh shih-chi*, 106. 10a seqq. I was unable to consult these texts, with the exception of the *Hsin Yüan-shih*, and I do not know whether they contain any additional evidence. — Rashīd ud-dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tevārīkh* contains a chapter entitled «Tale of Sanga the Uighur, who became the Qa'an's vizier after the Emir Ahmad, and of his later end»; J.A. BOYLE, *The successors of Gengis Khan*, New

The entries in the basic annals (*pen-chi*) of the History are helpful, but the earliest of them goes back to 1286 only [2], i.e. five years before Sang-ko's tragic end. As far as I know, no recent study on this subject is extant, although Japanese scholars have dealt at some length with his activities in connection with Buddhist affairs in China [3].

There exists, however, a Tibetan text which throws some welcome flashes of light on this interesting figure. This is the *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ*, compiled in 1434 by Śrībhūtibhadra [4]; it contains a sketchy biography of Sang-ko, marked by a strong bias in his favour. It supplies a much-needed corrective to the Chinese account, which relegates Sang-ko among the treacherous officials.

The first problem which needs clarification is the name Sang-ko. The general opinion is that this is a transcription of Tibetan Seṅ-ge; it has been unanimously accepted since the commissioners of the Ch'ien-lung period «reformed» the spelling of foreign names in the *Yüan-shih* and several 18th century works as Seng-kê 僧格 [5], and above all since H. Franke introduced it into the very title of his translation of the biography. Rashīd ud-dīn spells the name as S.nk.h, i.e. *Sanga* or *Sange*. The Tibetan texts waver between the forms Saṃ-gha, Zam-gha, Zam-k'a; and this shows that Sang-ko is definitely not a transcription of Seṅ-ge. Phonetically, it is a quite regular transcription of the Sanskrit word *saṅgha*, which is not normally employed (unless in composition) as a personal name. Saṅgha may be a truncated form, or else a Sanskritization of a vernacular name. Actually the Tibetan forms go back, directly or indirectly, to the Chinese

York-London 1971, 293-297; Ju. P. VERCHOVSKIJ, *Rašid ud-din, Sbornik letopisej*, II, Moscow-Leningrad 1960, 190-192. But it is taken up almost entirely by the so-called persecution of the Muslims and contains no biographical material about Sang-ko, with the exception of the tale of his end. Moreover, the «persecution» took place in 1280, long before Sang-ko's ministership; see P. RATCHNEVSKY, *Rašīd ud-dīn über die Mohammedaner-Verfolgungen in China unter Qubilai*, in *CAJ* 14 (1970), 163-180.

[2] *YS*, 13. 11a.

[3] S. NOGAMI, *Gen no senseiin ni tsuite (On the* Hsüan-cheng yüan *of the Yüan dynasty)*, in *Asiatic Studies in honour of Tôru Haneda*, Kyoto 1950, 779-796 (specially 785-788); T. FUJISHIMA, *Genchō ni okeru seiji to bukkyō (Government and Buddhism during the Yüan dynasty)*, in *Ōtani daigaku kenkyū nenpō* 27 (1974), 143-186 (specially 151-152).

[4] On this highly authoritative work see A. MACDONALD, *Préambule à la lecture d'un Rgya-Bod yig-chaṅ*, in *J.As.* 1963, 53-159. The following quotations are from the Thimphu edition of 1978, vol. I, collated with the microfilm of the ms. in the Densapa library, Gangtok, which I owe to the kindness of Professor K. Enoki, Tokyo.

[5] See e.g. *Hsü T'ung chih*, ch. 619, 6659-1; *Hsü Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, ch. 9, 1854/3-2855/1 (Commercial Press edition of 1937).

one; probably people in Central Tibet had no direct knowledge of Sang-ko's personal name.

The next question is his nationality. His official biography is silent on this point. According to Rashīd ud-dīn he was an Uighur, and the same opinion is held by the *Hsin Yüan-shih*. Indeed, the same Sangga was in use among the Uighurs; we know e.g. a prince Sangga belonging to the family of the *idiqut* rulers of Uighuristan. The matter is placed under a new light by the *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ*, which states that Saṃ-gha was a member of the bKa'-ma-log tribe (f. 207a). Another passage of the same work, purporting to be a speech delivered by Qubilai to Dashman, his envoy to Tibet, gives an explanation of some sort: «At the time of the former Tibetan kings, during the time of the emperor T'ang T'ai-tsung (626-646), many Tibetan soldiers went as far as Ri-bo rtse-lṅa (the Wu-t'ai-shan holy mountain in China). A large unit (*dmag-ts'an*) called bKa'-ma-log was posted at Ba'u-diṅ-hu (Pao-ting fu)» [6] (f. 195b). This rather cryptic statement is enlarged upon and clarified in a third passage, according to which in ancient times king K'ri-lde-sroṅ-btsan (Sad-na-legs, 799-815) sent troops against the Bhaṭa Hor (in this case perhaps the Uighurs) and posted a garrison of 900 soldiers at the border between Tibet and Hor. As no order (*bka'*) to withdraw reached them, they never returned (*ma-log*) to Tibet, and therefore they were called bKa'-ma-log. Many agricultural and pastoral Tibetan clans (*bod 'brog sde ts'an*) descended from them(*GBYT*, II, 70b-71b) [7]. Thus we may be fairly certain that Sang-ko was a border Tibetan belonging to a partly Uighurized family; as a matter of fact this had been already guessed by Otto Franke [8].

According to the Chinese biography, Sang-ko was a pupil of the State Preceptor (*kuo-shih*) Dam-pa Kun-dga'-grags (1230-1303) [9]; but

[6] This seems to be Pao-ting hsien, five *li* to the south of Ching-ch'uan hsien in Western Kansu; *Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta-tzŭ-tien*, 577/2.

[7] Copied by the Fifth Dalai-Lama in his life of Blo-gsal-rgya-mts'o, in vol. TA of the *gsuṅ-'bum* (Tōhoku Catalogue 5599), 21a.

[8] O. FRANKE, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, V, Berlin 1952, 244-245.

[9] Short biographies of Dam-pa (Tan-pa) are found in *YS*, 202. 3a-b, and in *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* (T. 2036, vol. XLIX), 725c-726a. He was the author of a genealogy (*gduṅ-rabs*), as stated in the colophon of the *'Dzam gliṅ byaṅ p'yogs kyi t'ub pa'i rgyal ts'ab c'en po dpal ldan Sa skya pa'i gduṅ rabs* etc.; also G. TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (henceforward: *TPS*), Rome 1948, 155. It is difficult to tell whether he was identical with Gya-a-sñan Dam-pa Kun-dga'-grags, a pupil of Sa-skya Pandita and of 'P'ags-pa, mentioned in the Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai-Lama, 58a (= *TPS*, 627). [In the *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ* he is mentioned only once, with the name Slob-dpon Dam-pa Kun-dga'-c'os-skyoṅ (f. 201b). On him see now H. Franke, *Tan-pa, a Tibetan Lama at the court of the Great Khans*, in *Orientalia Venetiana*, I, Florence 1984, 157-180].

when the pupil had come to political power, he avoided speaking of his master and wholly repudiated him [10]. Nothing of this is found in the *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ*, which gives a quite different account of his rise. Sang-ko had a good command of Mongolian, Chinese, Uighur, Tibetan and other languages [11]. Being a good interpreter, he met 'P'ags-pa in mDo-smad on the Chinese Tibetan border; this happened probably on the occasion of 'P'ags-pa's journey to China in 1268. He asked to be attached to the political suite (*śes-moṅ 'dab-p'ar*) of the Lama and was appointed *lotsawa*, i.e. interpreter. Later he became also the *zu-gur-c'e* (Mong. *sügürči*) of 'P'ags-pa [12] (f. 207a). A trace of this connection seems to be found in the literary works of the Sa-skya abbot. In 1279, one year before his death, 'P'ags-pa, then dwelling at C'u-mig in Central Tibet, composed two short religious tracts upon the request of his disciple Lotsawa Saṃgha [13]. There is a real possibility that this man may be identical with our Sang-ko, the attendant and interpreter of the Lama.

I think the Chinese and Tibetan account are not necessarily incompatible; Sang-ko may have studied for some time with Dam-pa, before he attached himself the rising fortune of the Sa-skya abbot.

'P'ags-pa, being well pleased with Sang-ko's outstanding command of various languages, sent him repeatedly to emperor Qubilai. The latter, considering kim a knowledgeable and capable man, took him away from

[10] *YS*, 202. 16b.

[11] This detail is found in *YS*, 202. 16b.

[12] The title *sügürči* is of rare occurrence; it means «parasol bearer», practically «keeper of the robes». It is listed in the *Cayan teüke* among the officials who should compose the court of a high Lama; K. SAGASTER, *Die weiße Geschichte*, Wiesbaden 1976, 138. See P. PELLIOT, *Les mots mongols dans le Koryŏ-sa*, in *J.As.* 1930/2, 26n; F. CLEAVES, *The Fifteen Palace poems by K'o Chiu-ssŭ*, in *HJAS* 20 (1957), 438-440 n. 41; G. DOERFER, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* I, Wiesbaden 1963, 357-358. In Tibetan, the term occurs in the *sMe-bdun žes pa skar-m'ai mdo*, ap. B. LAUFER, *Zur buddhistischen Literatur der Uiguren*, in *T'oung Pao* 8 (1907), 394.

[13] They are nn. 156 and 158 in the Tokyo edition of the Sa-skya *bka'-'bum*; see the colophons of both in vol. VII, 111-1 and 114-1. Of course Sang-ko's request to 'P'ags-pa does not imply that he was in Tibet in 1279. Another person with a similar name was the Uighur monk Saṅghamitra, a specialist on Abhidharma, who in 1255 prompted 'P'ags-pa, then a young man residing on the banks of the T'e-le river on the border between China and Mongolia in order to undergo his full ordination, to compile two small religious works (n. 82, also contained in the bsTan-'gyur, n. 4621 in D.T. SUZUKI'S *Catalogue*; and n. 120). See also *'Dzam-gliṅ ... Sa-skya-pa'i gsuṅ-rabs*, 99a. But this man cannot be identified with Saṃ-gha/Sang-ko, because of the difference of titles and of religious background, and because he was apparently older than 'P'ags-pa, or at least of the same age. I owe thanks to Mr. J. Szerb, of Budapest, for having drawn my attention to these texts.

the Lama and appointed him to official rank, in which capacity he showed himself very successful (*go-c'od-po*) (f. 207a).

[The first mention of Sang-ko as an imperial official is found in a document of 16th August 1272. At some time before that date, acting upon an imperial order, he had commuted the death penalty and liberated a man convicted of having performed hostile magic against the all-powerful minister Ahmad [14]]. The office to which he belonged is not stated, but it was certainly the *tsung-chih yüan*, created in 1264 or shortly later under the direction of the State Preceptor (*kuo-shih*; after 1269 Imperial Preceptor, *ti-shih*).

The protection of the Lama had never failed him, and the *rGyal-Bod yig-ts'aṅ* relates a curious tale on this. Sang-ko «had built a garden pavillon near the Me-tog ra-ba [15], especially intended for religious discourses with the Lama. The *t'a'i-sa* [16] considered this an offence and threw him into jail. At that time an image (*sku*) of the Twelve Deeds of the Buddha that was at Ka-le-hu (?) was fetched [to the capital] and there were music performances and theatrical shows, to which the emperor too intervened. He sent to fetch the Lama to the place where the circumambulation and the spectacle were performed. The Lama said: 'In my Tibet, the father of a son who is shut into prison is ashamed (read *ṅo-ts'a* for *ṅo-mts'ar*) even to go out in the street. My Saṃ-gha had erected a small looking pavillon in order to have religious discourses with me; the *t'a'i-sa* considered this on offence and has clapped him into prison. I will not come.' This was communicated to the emperor, and the latter issued a mandate saying that if [Sang-ko] wished to look at the cell of the Lama, this was not to be held as an offence against him, and telling [again] the Lama to come to the show. And thus he absolved Saṃ-gha from any guilt and treated him in the patron-protegee (*yon-mc'od*) relationship» [17].

[14] [P. RATCHNEVSKY, *Un code des Yuan*, IV, Paris 1985, 37-38].

[15] The Me-tog-ra-ba monastery was the official residence of the *ti-shih*, apparently within the precincts of the imperial palace.

[16] *T'ai-sa* was the office (*sa*) of the *[yü-shih]t'ai*, i.e. the censorate. Another passage of the *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ*, 195b, gives a short account of the three courts (*k'rims-ra*) of the censorate, central and provincial.

[17] *K'oṅ gis; Me tog ra ba'i c'en gyi rtsar: bla ma la c'os žu ba'i: sgos kyi 'ts'al k'aṅ cig byas pa la: t'a'i sas skyon bzuṅ nas: Saṃ-gha brtson du k'yer skabs su: ka le hu na: Saṅs rgyas kyi mdzad pa bcu gñis sku bžugs pa: spyan draṅs nas: 'Dzam bu'i gliṅ gi rol mo daṅ: ltad mo yod pa la: rgyal po'aṅ byon nas: skor ba daṅ: gzigs mo mdzad pa'i sar: bla ma gdan 'dren du btaṅ pas: bla ma'i gsuṅ nas: ṅed kyi Bod yul na: bu brtson du k'yer ba'i p'a de: sraṅ la 'gro ba la'aṅ ṅo mts'ar byed | ṅa'i Saṃ-gha ṅa la c'os žu ba la dmigs pa'i k'aṅ c'uṅ cig byas pa la: t'a'i sas skyon bzuṅ nas: btson du k'yer 'dug: ṅa mi yoṅ*

This anecdote serves at least to show how Sang-ko was always supported by 'P'ags-pa; the Lama had introduced him in the first instance to the emperor, and now threw the weight of is influence on the scales in his favour [18].

What was Sang-ko's rank in 1272 is not stated; but according to our Tibetan source he had already become a president (*mi-dpon*, corresponding to Chin. *yüan-shih*) of the *tsung-chih yüan* [19] before 'P'ags-pa's final departure for Tibet in 1275.

Sang-ko's work in the *tsung-chih yüan*, which in the seventies of the century performed above all financial duties, laid the basis for the dazzling second half of his career. At the same time, being 'P'ags-pa's protegee, since the very beginning he was closely connected with Tibetan affairs. This connection came to a climax in 1280; the events of that year, however, are narrated in the *rGyal-Bod yig-ts'aṅ* alone: «The Lama left for Sa-skya [at the end of 1275]. Then, as the *dpon-c'en* Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po was breaking his oath, a request was made to the emperor. And since the latter was closely connected personally with the Sa-skya-pa, he decided to do him service. He issued a mandate to the effect that a powerful official army (*k'rims-dmag*), headed by the *mi-c'en* Saṃ-gha, was to march [to Tibet]. Saṃ-gha submitted that, as the valleys in dBus and gTsaṅ were narrow there was no room for a large army; in addition to a core division of 7 myriads of Mongol soldiers, there were about 100.000 militiamen assembling from mDo-stod and [mDo-]smad; and these being amply sufficient, a mandate to this effect should be issued. Thus, after orders had been passed accordingly, the official troops started on the march (read *bteg* for *stegs*). When they arrived at Me-tog-luṅ in 'O-yug, as the terrain was open (?), they intended to take the route into Lha-Śaṅs [20]. [But] at C'abs-mi-groṅ there was the cup-bearer of Bla-ma 'P'ags-pa, who

gsuṅ nas: goṅ ma la žus pas: bla ma'i gzim k'aṅ la dmigs pa yin na: k'o la skyon ma bzuṅ po t'oṅ: bla ma la: ltad mo la byon gyis gsuṅs pa'i luṅ byuṅ pas: Saṃ-gha ñes pa las grol: yon mc'od žal 'dzoms: (ff. 207a-208b).

[18] Another famous man who is said by the *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ* to have been protected by 'P'ags-pa was Bayan of the Barin, the general who conquered South China for Quibilai.

[19] Actually the *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ* employs the term *son-jiṅ-dben*, China. *hsüan-cheng yüan*. This is a flagrant case of antecipation, as the *tsung-chih yüan* received this new name in 1288 only. Another instance of the same undue antecipation is found e.g. in *YS*, 130. 7b.

[20] On 'O-yug and Śaṅs see A. FERRARI, *mK'yen-brtse's Guide to the holy places of Central Tibet*, Rome 1958, 68-69 and notes 600 and 612.

was friendly with the *mi-c'en* Saṃ-gha and whose name was *slob-dpon* Blo-gros-bzaṅ-po. He came to the encampment for a tea-meeting. [Sang-ko] questioned him during his visit, and thus he could deviate his march into Laṅ-'gro [21]. Giving this assignment (?) to the Mongol troops, first of all he undertook to destroy (?) the earthworks (*sa-mk'ar*) of Laṅ-'gro K'aṅ-dmar. After this he made a fierce bombardment with catapults (?) on the castle of dPal-rnams Bya-rog-ts'aṅ [22], [and after having taken it] he had Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po executed. This completed the action of the great army» [23].

The events accompanying the death of 'P'ags-pa are very confused. It is not clear (the sources being contradictory) wheter Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po was held responsible for the death of the Lama, or the cup-bearer simply sowed discord between the two and after the death of the Lama this contrast was charged against Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po [24]. In any case, it seems that Sang-ko's expeditionary force arrived in Tibet immediately after the death of the Lama, which happened on 15th December 1280; the execution of Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po certainly took place in 1281 [25].

[21] A place called C'ad-pa-ltag in Laṅ-'gro occurs in the *Deb-t'er sṅon-po*: G.N. ROERICH, *The Blue Annals*, Calcutta 1949-1953, 193. It should be located somewhere in the same region as 'U-yug and Śaṅs.

[22] This place is called Bya-rog rdzoṅ in the *Deb-t'er sṅon-po* (G.N. ROERICH, *op. cit.*, 582) and Ñaṅ-smad Bya-rog rdzoṅ in the *Deb-t'er dmar-po gsar-ma*, ed. transl. G. TUCCI, Rome 1971, 186. It should be looked for in the district of Pa-snam (dPal-mams of our text).

[23] *Bla ma Sa skyar byon: dpon c'en Kun dga' bzaṅ pos: dam ñams byas pa'i rgyu rkyen gyis: goṅ du žu ba btaṅ pas: Sa skya pa daṅ sgos su 'brel c'e bas: žabs tog grub par dgoṅs nas: mi c'en Saṃ ghas mgo byas: k'rims dmag stobs c'e ba 'grim gsuṅ pa'i luṅ byuṅ pas: Saṃ gha: Bod dBus gTsaṅ sa roṅ dog: dmag po c'e śoṅ sa med: rtsa ba'i Hor dmag k'ri ts'o bdun gyi steṅ du: mDo stod smad deṅ bcas pas: dmag 'bum p'rag cig lhag yoṅ: des 'c'un pas: de bžin gyis: bka' gnaṅ dgos žus pas: de ltar yin c'ug gsuṅ pa byuṅ nas: k'rims dmag stegs: 'O yug Me tog luṅ du sleb pa daṅ: sa k'ad yaṅ: sa k'ad yaṅ pas: Lha Śaṅs naṅ la dmag lam byed rtsis yod pa: C'abs gi groṅ na: bla ma 'P'ags pa'i gsol ja ba: mi c'en Saṃ gha daṅ grogs mc'ed: slob dpon Blo gros bzaṅ po bya ba yod pa des: dmag sgar du ṅa žal la byon | mjal ba'i žu 'bul byas pas: dmag lam Laṅ' gro naṅ la skyog t'ub: Hor dmag gi k'a bebs: t'ul'jug la: Laṅ 'gro K'aṅ dmar gyi sa mk'ar p'abs babs blaṅ: de rtiṅ: dPal rnams Bya rog ts'aṅ gi mk'ar la: gyogs drag po byas nas: Kun dga' bzaṅ po k'rims la sgral: dmag po c'e'i bya ba mt'ar p'yin par byas:* (f. 208a-b).

[24] On the role of Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po see also my study *Tibetan relations with China and with the Mongols*, in M. ROSSABI, *China among equals*, Un. California Press 1983, 188.

[25] The date is given in *Deb-t'er dmar-po gsar-ma*, 186; also in DPA'-BO GTSUG-LAG, *mK'as-pa'i dga'-ston*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1961, 796, where the name of Sang-ko is spelt as Zaṃ-gha.

After this military promenade and the elimination of the culprit, Sang-ko turned to administrative work. He went to Sa-skya and laid there the foundations of a building, the bCags-c'uṅ Braṅ-k'aṅ-śar, with the pinnacle on its gate executed in the Chinese style [26]. Then he disbanded and sent home the larger part of his force. With the rest he proceeded to strengthen the military grasp of the Mongol government over Tibet. «A unit of hundred sixty soldiers from sPom-p'or-sgaṅ [27] under the command of Ñi-ma-mgon and Dar-dge was posted [at Sa-skya] as the bodyguard of Dharmapāla [28]. He posted seven hundred out of the 7000 Mongol soldiers to watch over the frontier of sTod Hor [29]. At gNam-gon-sar he placed Mongol soldiers to the number of four hundred under the command of U-dmar-c'ag. Soldiers from sBa-rag under the command of Dhvo-t'a were posted at Se-ri-roṅ. Soldiers from Us-p'ur were placed at lCag-rtse K'ri-k'u and Ya-'brog, to keep the Duṅ-reṅ(?) in submission [30]. In the northern passes, such as 'Dam-na-mar, Naṅ-roṅ etc. he posted also the rDor-ban T'u-man (Dörben Tümen) troops for the general service of the [Sa-skya] see; this garrisoning was due to the kindness of Saṃ-gha» (ff. 208b-209a).

This was the first permanent occupation of Tibet by imperial troops, strategically distributed at the centre of the country and on its borders. Sang-ko's organization seems to lie at the basis of the list of military and civilian officers in Tibet described in *Yüan-shih*, 87.10a-11a.

After these purely military measures Sang-ko took in hand the reorganization of the mail service in Tibet, which had been set up in 1269 [31]. It consisted of a series of 28 postal stations, large (*'jam-c'en*) or small (*'jam-c'uṅ*), each of them being run and staffed by the headmen and families of a special postal district assigned to it, as one of the forms of labour taxation imposed on the Tibetans [32]. «The mail stations of the

[26] This building in the Sa-skya complex cannot be identified by the means at my disposal.

[27] sPob-bo-ra-sgaṅ (sPom-bor-sgaṅ) in T.V. WYLIE, *The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad*, Rome 1962, 98.

[28] 'P'ags-pa's nephew Dharmapālarakṣita (1268-1287) succeded his uncle, first as abbot of Sa-skya and then (1283) as Imperial Preceptor.

[29] In the period under consideration sTod Hor was the usual name of the Chagatai khanate in Central Asia.

[30] All these names are difficult to identify.

[31] On this subject see my paper quoted above, n. 24.

[32] The organization and functioning of the personnel of the mail service is described by P. OLBRICHT, *Das Postwesen in China unter der Mongolenherrschaft*, Wiesbaden 1954, 47-50, 59-80.

northern section [included] the *'jam-c'en* of Srog, Śag, rTsi-bar, Śa-po, rKoṅ, dGon-gsar and Gya-ba [33]. The regulations (read *bka'-ts'igs*) for the inhabitants of the districts (*k'ri-skor*) of Central Tibet compelled to reside permanently [in the north] implied an enormous amount of exertions; as the Tibetans could not stand them, they again and again fled away, and the mail personnel could not be kept upto number. Even for the official travellers (*gser-yig 'grul-pa*) of Mongolia and Tibet, the compulsory service (*o ger ga'i 'u-lag*; from Mong. *egürge-yin ulaγ*) on the stages fell upon their own shoulders. And therefore, upon the general request, the *mi-c'en* Sam-gha employed the soldiers of Ud-p'ur, sBa-rag etc. dwelling in the north individually as drivers... of the mail stages [34]. The districts of dBus were commanded by law to supply to the Mongols, out of their family units (*dud rta-mgo*) [35], pack horses, riding animals, goats, barley as mail provisions, tents (*p'ya-t'er*), felt tents (*sbra*), saddles, cushions, loading ropes, fuel, quilts and medicines, together with men (*dud-mi*). The people of dBus not obliged to reside in the north [acted as] mail carriers (read *skyer* for *skyor*) of the Tibetan provisions for the Mongol soldiers; on these [and] on the travellers coming year by year the mail compulsory service was not imposed. This benefit to all [was due to the] favour of Saṃ-gha» [36].

The emperor was apparently well pleased with the action of his envoy to Tibet, which, however, is told in the Tibetan sources only. [The only passing hint to Sang-ko's Tibetan campaign in the Chinese texts is found in the account of the mission of Tu-shih, whom Qubilai in 1280

[33] Not a single one of these names can be localized.

[34] The words *zab-bri* are unclear to me.

[35] *Dud* or *hor-dud* (Mongol firestead) were the basic elements of the administrative organization and of the census in Tibet. The *rta-mgo* was an aggregate of fifty *hor-dud*. See my study *The Mongol census in Tibet*, in *Tibetan Studies in honour of Hugh Richardson*, Warminster 1980, 234.

[36] *De p'an la: byaṅ k'a'i 'ja' mo: Srog: Śag: rTsi bar: Śa p'o rKoṅ: dGon sar: Gya ba rnams kyi 'jams c'en: Bod dBus pa k'ri skor rnams kyi 'dzin mk'an k'or mar sdod dgos pa'i: dka' ts'igs: spyoṅ sbyod śin tu c'e ba cig yod par 'dug ciṅ: Bod mi rnams kyis byaṅ ma t'ub par: yaṅ yaṅ bros nas: 'jams graṅs por ma zin pas: Hor Bod kyi gser yig: 'grul pa la'aṅ: sa rims o ger ga'i 'u lag raṅ la bab pa'i don la: t'ams cad kyis žu ba bžin: mi c'en Saṃ ghas Ud p'ur daṅ: sBa rag la sogs kyi dmag mi: byaṅ k'ar yod pa rnams: 'ja' mo'i zab bri 't'en mi la: t'a dad du bžag nas: dBus pa k'ri skor rnams kyis: dud rta mgo'i steṅ nas: rta k'al pa: gžon ma: śas lug: 'jams brgyags kyi nas: p'ya t'er: sbra: sga: gdan: k'al žags: t'ab c'a: gdan c'as: sman rin: dud mi daṅ bcas pa: Hor la gter ba'i k'rims bcas nas: dBus pa: byaṅ du sdod mi dgos pa: Hor dmag rnams la: Bod rdzas kyi 'jams skyor: 'di rnams: lo lo bžin soṅ pa 'k'rul pa rnams la: 'ja' mo 'u lag kun ma stoṅs pa byuṅ pas: kun la p'an pa 'di'aṅ: Saṃ gha'i drin:* (ff. 209a-210a).

sent out to discover the sources of the Huang-ho. The narrative was compiled by P'an Ang-shao in 1315, on the basis of information supplied by Tu-shih's younger brother Kököčü [37]. The latter intended to join Hsiang-ko (i.e. Sang-ko), «who had gone to suppress K'un-ko-tsang-pu (Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po; «but adverse circumstances forbade his journey [38]]. Sang-ko's influence started to increase rapidly after the murder and posthumous condemnation of the all-powerful Muslim minister Ahmad in 1282; but the connection (if any) between the two men is completely obscure [39]. Already two years after this event Sang-ko [held a high rank in the Mongol administration; in the 3rd month (April-May) of 1284 he appears with the titles of *tzŭ-tê ta-fu*, president (*yüan-shih*) of the *tsung-chih yüan* and concurrently in charge of the affairs of the *kung-tê shih-ssu* [40]]. His prestige with the emperor was such, that he and an obscure member of the Chiang-hsi office of the tea monopoly called Lu Shih-yung 盧世榮 were able to persuade him that the revenue of the empire could be increased by ten-fold. As a result, Qubilai was prevailed upon to appoint Lu Shih-yung as joint minister of the right (*yu-ch'eng*) of the Central Secretariat (*chung-shu sheng*), in spite of the strong opposition offered by the state councillor (*ts'an-i chung-shu shêng shih*) Buγumu (4th December, 1284); the new minister was entrusted with the reform of the currency and finance of the empire [41]. The shortlived but important ministry of Lu Shih-yung does

[37] It is found in the *Cho-keng-lu* of 1366, from where it was copied with some additional material into the *Yüan-shih*. It is included also as an independent work in the *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng chien-pien*, fasc. 754. See now H. FRANKE, *Nichtchinesische Ortsnamen im Quellgebiet des Huang-ho nach den Aufzeichnungen der Expedition unter Qubilai (1981)*, in *Documenta Barbarorum, Festschrift W. Heissig*, Wiesbaden 1983, 100-101.

[38] This passage was noticed for the first time, but the names were not recognized, by E. BOTTAZZI, *Un'esplorazione alle sorgenti del Fiume Giallo durante la dinastia Yüan*, in *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, 19 (1969), 13.

[39] The *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ*, f. 210a, tells us that «after his tour in Tibet he was appointed *c'in-saṅ (ch'êng-hsiang)* of the *coṅ-žu-žiṅ (chung-shu-shêng)*». But this statement is both premature and inexact.

[40] *Pien-wei-lu*, Taishō n. 2116, vol. LII, p. 776a. The *Tsung-chih-yüan* was originally a sort of secretariat of the *ti-shih* and was connected with the administration of the West Tibetan countries the *kung-tê shih ssŭ*, at the beginning a body in charge of Buddhist pious work, had became an office superintending the Buddhist clergy of China. See D. FARQUHAR, *Structure and function of the Yüan government*, in J.D. LANGLOIS (ed.), *China under Mongol rule*, Princeton 1981, 47-48.

[41] Life of Lu Shih-yung in *YS*, 205. 9a-16b (= H. FRANKE, *Geld und Wirtschaft in China unter der Mongolen-Herrschaft*, Leipzig 1949, 61-74). Life of Buγumu in *YS*, 130 7b Cf. also *YS*, 13. 9b.

not concern us here; in any case, his dismissal and imprisonment (25th May, 1285) did not impair Sang-ko's position at the imperial court.

In 1285 and 1286 he was connected with the unsavoury affair of the Tibetan (or Hsi Hsia?) monk Yang-lien-chên-chia 楊璉真加, superintendant of Buddhism (*shih-chiao tsung-t'ung*) in South China. As head of the *tsung-chih yüan* and thus his superior, Sang-ko had permitted him, without the knowledge of the emperor, to violate and loot the tombs of the Sung emperors at Shao-hsing near Hang-chou [42]. But this revolting act was not considered a heinous crime at that time.

The climax in Sang-ko's ascent came in 1287. On 25th March of that year an imperial decree reestablished the Supreme Secretariat (*shang-shu sheng*), which had been abolished in 1272, and appointed Sang-ko and his associate Temür as vice-chancellors (*p'ing-chang chêng-shih*) [43]. His eminent position was formalized on 11th December 1287, when he was appointed chancellor of the right (*yu ch'êng-hsiang*) in the Supreme Secretariat, an office practically corresponding to that of prime minister; he continued to hold concurrently the presidency of the *tsung-chih yüan* and the direction (*ling*) of the *kung-tê shih ssŭ*, a body which was in charge of Buddhist pious works. On the same occasion a series of appointments in the senior ranks of the Supreme Secretariat, all of them made upon Sang-ko's proposals, ensured his absolute control of the new organ of government [44]. [One year later his control over Tibetan affairs became absolute. On 15th December, 1288, the *tsung-chih yüan* was transformed into the Department for Buddhist Affairs (*hsüan-cheng yüan*), holding the exalted rank 1-b, and Sang-ko continued as its head [45]. Shortly later the *kung-tê shih-ssu* was tacitly merged into it].

The resurrection of the Supreme Secretariat was apparently due to the fact that the head of the Central Secretariat (*chung-shu shêng*) was a respected Mongol nobleman, An-t'ung (1245-1293), a great-grandson of Gengis Khan's general Muqali; he had been appointed chancellor of the right in the Central Secretariat as a far back as 1265. In 1277 he had been treacherously seized and handed over to Qubilai's arch-enemy Qaidu. He

[42] P. DEMIÉVILLE, *Notes d'archéologie chinoise II, Les tombeaux des Song méridionaux*, in *BEFEO*, 25 (1925), 461-462; *id.*, *La situation religieuse en Chine au temps de Marco Polo*, in *Oriente Poliano*, Rome 1957, 214-215; S. NOGAMI, *Sôka to Yôrenshinga* (*Sang-ko and Y.*), in *Ôtani daigaku kenkyû nenpô* 11 (1959), 1-26. On Yang-lien-chia's later activity see H. KARMAY, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, Warminster 1975, 24.

[43] *YS*, 14. 14a-b.

[44] *YS*, 14.20b.

[45] *YS*, 15.317.

was freed in 1284 only, and on January 4th, 1285, he was reinstated in his old office, keeping it till his retirement in 1290 [46]. Apparently, the emperor was unwilling to remove him to make place for his new favourite, a mere upstart. On the other side, it was understood that Sang-ko was to be free from any supervision and to depend directly from the emperor; thus the most practical solution was the revival of the Supreme Council as a parallel government [47].

In this new office Sang-ko was the driving force behind the reform of the currency launched in April—May 1287 upon lines suggested long before by his subordinate, the old Sung official Yeh Li, who soon became joint minister of the right (*yu-ch'êng*); during the following years Sang-ko continued to supervise the working of the reform [48].

Sang-ko's Tibetan biography too has something to say of his financial activity. «After his appointment as Chancellor or the Central Secretariat he changed into paper money the bronze coins previously circulating, and his service in the treasury brought great benefit to the empire and gained him great fame» (f. 210a). Curiously, this text seems to echo Marco Polo's enthusiastic approval of the Mongol paper currency. But the statement is not correct, because the withdrawal of the copper coins had taken place earlier. This measure was first taken in 1280 in the territories of the conquered Sung empire; in 1285 Lu Shih-yung extended it to the whole realm [49]. The Tibetan text is wrong in the chronological setting, but the fact may be historical; Sang-ko was certainly involved in Lu Shih-yung's financial schemes.

The following paragraph of the *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ* supplies interesting information. «Because in the beginning high officials (*mi-dpon*) accepted bribes [50], there were many high officials who incurred [in the pen-

[46] See the life of An-t'ung in *YS*, 126. 1a-4a, and the table in *YS*, 112. 8a-9a. Cf. P. PELLIOT, *Notes on Marco Polo*, II, Paris 1963, 796, and P. PELLIOT-L. HAMBIS, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, Leiden 1951, 371-372.

[47] However, H. FRANKE, *Ahmed, ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Chinas unter Qubilai*, in *Oriens* 1 (1948), 225-226, has justly remarked that the Supreme Council in Yüan time reappears on the scene every time an increased activity in the financial policy was developped.

[48] H. FRANKE, *Geld und Wirtschaft in China*, 77-81.

[49] H. FRANKE, *Op. cit.*, 55 and 75.

[50] The Tibetan expression [*g*]*sus pa za-ba* litterally means «to eat the belly». It is closely related to the Chinese *yao tu-p'i* «to demand belly», an idiom in the Mongol-Chinese officialese of the 14th century meaning «to accept bribes». See L.S. YANG, *Marginalia on the Yüan-tien-chang*, in *HJAS*, 19 (1956), 46-48 (= *Excursions in sinology*, Cambridge Mass. 1969, 130-132). Therefore, *gsus-pa zla-ba* means «to accept (or: to take) bribes».

alty for this] crime; but the law had became lax on this point. Sang-ko *ch'êng-hsiang* reestablished an ancient custom in the China of former times. To the officials of all departments, high and low, outer and inner, he gave a money allowance (*hun-rtsen*) [51] for food and clothing, together with red (i.e. inferior) rice for their families. He re-enacted the law prohibiting the accepting of bribes, and this law became red (i.e. stringent). The people were very happy [for this]. Down to the present day the *hun-rtsen* assigned to officials recalls the kindness of Sang-ko» [52].

If we compare this text with the historical facts as registered in the Chinese sources, we find that a regular salary for officials had been introduces as early as 1260/1, while a rice allowance was not granted until 1303; the statement of the *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ* is incorrect as it stands. It may, however, contain a vague allusion to two imperial decrees of that time. The first, issued in 1285, divided the salary of the officials of all the nine ranks into three classes, according to the importance of the office held [53]. The second decree, of the 2nd month of 1286, taking into account the general rise of prices, increased the salary of officials, both metropolitan and provincial, by fifty p.c. [54].

The *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ* winds up this subject by remarking that Sang-ko considered his action in religious matters, in the postal service, in almsgiving etc. as a service performed to his Lama, which entailed manifold benefits to many people (f. 210b). The rest of his political life is passed under silence in the Tibetan text, and the Chinese biography remains our sole source for the four years of Sang-ko's activity as the real head of the government. As this period is fairly well known through H. Franke's translation, I shall not tell the tale once more.

[51] The Chinese original of *hun-rtsen* is almost certainly *fen-ch'ien* 分例, «allotted money». It does not seem to occur in the texts, but the identification is proved by the spelling *hun-tsen* of the words *fen* and *ch'ien* in the 'P'ags-pa script. For *hun* see M. NAKANO, *A phonological study in the 'P'ags-pa script and the Meng-ku Tzŭ-yün*, Canberra 1971, 118, no. 371. For *tsen* see L. LIGETI, *Le Po-kia-sing en écriture 'P'ags-pa*, in *Acta Orient. Hung*, 6 (1956), 42, no. 112.

[52] *Daṅ po mi dpon rnams kyis: sus pa za ba'i don la: mi dpon ñes pa p'og pa'aṅ maṅ po byuṅ: k'rim kyaṅ yaṅ por soṅ: Saṃ gha c'iṅ saṃ gyis: sṅon rGya nag po'i dus kyis: srol rñiṅ pa cig stsal nas: p'yi daṅ naṅ gi k'rims ra c'e c'uṅ gi: mi dpon rnams la: bza' rgyu daṅ: gon rgyu'i hun rtsen: bud med la sogs pa la'aṅ za 'bras dmar po daṅ bcas pa byin nas: sus pa mi za ba'i k'rims bcas pa: k'rims dmar por soṅ: mi sde'aṅ skyid: da lta'i bar du: mi dpon rnams la: hun rtsen 'jags pa'aṅ: Saṃ gha c'iṅ saṃ gi drin dran par byed:* (f. 210a-b).

[53] P. RATCHNEVSKY, *Un code des Yuan*, I, xxxv.

[54] P. RATCHNEVSKY, *op. cit.*, xxxvii; *YS*, 96. 1b.

The circumstances of Sang-ko's downfall are related in diametrically opposed terms in the Chinese biography and in the *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ*. For the former, his overbearing behaviour, his tyranny and his corruption were finally brought to the notice of the emperor by the censors and by a group of officials, whereupon his arrest and execution were decreed. The *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ*, on the other hand, is strongly in favour of Sang-ko and its account is therefore quite different. «Sang-ko *ch'êng-hsiang*, being both wise and wealthy, aroused the envy of many Mongols. As the means of the treasury had been used without thrift, he intimated to the imperial guardsmen (*res-pa*) [55] that [for this] he was curtailing [their] authority [56]. Because of this they circulated the rumour that the *ch'êng-hsiang* (read *gyis* for *gyi*) had taken [valuable] things as bribe. The Guardsmen addressed themselves to the emperor on his way back [to the capital] and presented a formal complaint. The emperor said: 'How the authority of the Guardsmen is established (*'c'os*), is uncertain. What has this to do with Sang-ko? After having taken bribes [themselves], people profer charges against him. [Merely] because they say that he owns property, how could I start an enquiry upon [his] crimes?' [57] Although [the emperor] had not acceded to their request, the Guard officers (*res-dpon*) [58] summoned the guardsmen and then repeated the request; and pondering upon this, [the emperor] devised a means to calm them down. He ordered to Sang-ko: 'You and U-lug (Ürlük) [59] do what is expedient'. Sang-ko offered a great banquet, placing Ürlük on the seat of honour. Sang-ko himself presented him with a bonnet, a robe and girdle, acting as his *an-ta (anda)* [60]. But

[55] The word *res pa* means «one who takes turns» in doing something. It is a literal translation of Mongolian *kešikten*, imperial guardsmen. The Guard (*kešik*) was created by Gengis Khan himself and was divided into four shifts, doing turns of service of three days each. They were under the hereditary command of the descendants of Boro'ul, Bōrju, Muqali and Čila'un. See HSIAO CH'I-CH'ING, *The military establishment of the Yuan dynasty*, Cambridge, Mass., 1977, 34-44.

[56] This passage is not clear and I may have misunderstood it.

[57] Here again the translation is uncertain.

[58] When Bayan was sent by Hülegü to the court of Qubilai, he was Hülegü's *res-dpon; rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ*, 200b.

[59] Ürlük Noyan is a honorific name granted by Qubilai to Üs Temür (1242-1295), a grandson of Gengis Khan's campanion Bōrču and a high official in the censorate. His biography is in *YS*, 119. 20a-22a; but it makes no mention of his hostility to Sang-ko, whose name does not appear at all. Cf. P. PELLIOT-L. HAMBIS, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, 341-350. The appointment of Ürlük Noyan to office is mentioned also in *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ*, 200b-201a.

[60] The sworn brothers (*anda*) are a well known institution of the early Mongols, the best known instance being Gengis Khan and Jamuqa.

[Ürlük] said: 'I do not want a special bonnet, robe or girdle. As [the food served at] the banquet is a present of the emperor, I have eaten it'; then he went away. After this, the guardsmen called the Guard officers and Ürlük Noyan [61] and said of (?) Sang-ko that he had committed the same crime as before. Eventually [the emperor] said: 'When you falsely accused him because of his property, how could we take this as a crime? But the property of the empire is not his (?: read *k'o'i* for *ṅa'i* ?). If things are so, I myself (read *gis* for *gi*) will make an enquiry'» [62].

Upto this point the emperor had supported his favourite; but then the adversaries made an impression upon his mind, and the ruler became suspicious and eventually turned against him [63].

«[His] crimes, well known to the emperor had been kept secret because formerly he held Sang-ko in great esteem and loved him; but later they came out in the open. [The emperor] said: Sang-ko, when I sent you from Śaṅ-rdo (Shang-tu, the summer capital) to Ta'i-tu (Ta-tu, the winter capital), on the route by which the imperial convoy (*'ur-rdo*) was progressing you sat down on the seat on which I used to sit in the shadow of a tree. [Secondly,] a box of fruits having been sent to me from Ta'i-tu, you broke the seal (*hūṃ-la*) [64] and ate this food-offering; was this not a crime? [Thirdly,] as I am very stout, my dirty robes have to be washed, and when they are sewn up again, they become too tight for me. For this reason the Chinese weavers [make] seamless robes, and the web has two

[61] The part played by the censor Ürlük Noyan in this affair can be better understood if we remember that he, being the grandson of Bōrču, was a commander of the second shift of the Imperial Guard.

[62] *Yaṅ don cig la: Saṃ gha c'iṅ saṃ: śes rab c'e: loṅs spyod ldan pas: Hor maṅ po'i mig tu ma śoṃ par: k'oṅ gis: gan pa'i c'a rkyen ma p'aṅs byas nas: res pa la: śe moṅ la mnan zer ba'i don la: c'iṅ |saṃ|gyi c'a rkyen sus par blaṅs zer ba'i skad byas nas: goṅ ma'i p'yir 'byon pa'i lam du: res pa rnams kyis žus: rtug śer byas pas: luṅ gis res pa'i śe moṅ ji ltar 'c'os | ṅes śes med: Saṃ gha la don ci yod: bsus pa zos nas: gžan gyis rtug mor: k'o la c'a rkyen 'dug zer nas: ñes pa ts'ol ba ga na ñan gsuṅs nas: žu ba ma bžes kyaṅ res dpon rnams kyis: res pa rnams bskul nas: bskyar gin žus pas: de dgoṅs nas: gnon t'abs mdzad: Saṃ gha la: U lug daṅ: k'yed gñis 'p'rod pa gyis gsuṅs pa byuṅ nas: Saṃ ghas: U lug guṅ gral la bžag: ston mo bzaṅ po byin nas: Saṃ gha raṅ gis: rke rags p'ul: an ta byed byas pas: žva: gos: ske rags k'yad par mi 'dod: ston mo: rgyal po'i gsol ras yin pas zos yod zer: bžud skad: de rtiṅ yaṅ: res pa rnams kyis: res dpon rnams daṅ: U lug No yon bskul nas: Saṃ gha la: snar bžin skyon bzuṅ ste žus pa'i mt'ar | k'o'i c'a rkyen la sñad nas: ñes pas len du gar ñan: rgyal k'ams kyi c'a rkyen rnams ṅa'i min: da yin na: ṅa raṅ gi dri ba byed gsuṅs* (ff. 210b-211b). The last sentences are not clear.

[63] The same events are related from a different angle in Sang-ko's Chinese biography.

[64] *Hūṃ la* or *huṅ-la* (B. LAUFER, *Loan words in Tibetan*, n. 236) is the Chinese *hung-la*, red wax.

... (*ston-pa*) [65]. But I am told you have three. Is it not a crime that you should do better than I?' After having put these three questions, [the emperor] said: 'What sort of a man exists today, who is able to manage the affairs of the empire?' Sang-ko replied: 'There is only one and no other'. [The emperor] asked: 'Who is this single man?' The *ch'êng-hsiang* pointed his finger to his nose. Upon this, the emperor handed him over to the messengers [of the law] and rose» [64].

Inspite of the paramount importance given to matters of etiquette in the Chinese penal code, in this case they seems to represent merely a decent cloak under which to condemn Sang-ko without churning up too much mud by a serious enquiry into his financial transactions, in which many officials were involved. The *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ* narrates this clearly fictitious scene in order to show how Sang-ko, the wise and capable minister, was condemned upon insignificant pretexts, solely because of the envy of his enemies, foremost among them the imperial guardsmen; the latter play a role in the events which is utterly unknown to the Chinese sources.

Of course the account of Sang-ko's downfall in the Chinese biography is quite different. The charges against him were based mainly upon irregularities in the state service and more generally upon his oppression and corruption. The first officials who came forth with their accusations were Yeh-li Shen-pan, Yisün Temür and Ch'ê-li; at a later stage, Sang-ko's old adversary Buγumu and Ebügen. The decisive charges were brought forward by Ürlük on March 15th, 1291, and put into a regular, official form by the censor Tu Ssŭ-ching on the the following day; they were discussed in a general conference of the highest officials in the presence of the emperor. The meeting ended with the dismis-

[65] The special meaning of *ston-pa*, which is the key word in this sentence, is unknown to me.

[66] *Saṃ gha la sṅar rtsis c'e: p'aṅs byed pa'i don du; rgyal po raṅ gi mk'yen pa'i ñes pa: gsaṅs zin rnams: p'yis rdol ba la: Saṃ gha k'yod: Śaṅ rdo nas: Ta'i tur mṅags dus: 'ur rdo 'grim pa'i lam du: śiṅ sdoṅ po'i rtsa ba: ṅed sil grib la sdod pa'i k'ri t'og tu k'yod kyi sdad pa daṅ: Ta'i tu nas: ṅed la bskur ba'i se t'og gi sgam: hūṃ la śig nas: zas p'ud k'yod kyi zos pa'i ñes pa med dam: yaṅ ṅed lus rtul c'e bas gos dri ma can bkrus te | skyar nas rtsem dus dog por 'gro yin 'dug pas: de'i don la: rgya mi t'ag mk'an gyis: gos srubs med: t'ag la ston pa gñis yod pa: k'yod la gsum 'dug zer: ṅa las lhag pa byed pa k'yod kyis ñes pa min nam gsuṅ ste: dri ba gsum po mdzad rtiṅ la: deṅ saṅ: rgyal k'ams kyi bya ba p'er ba'i mi ji 'dra yod gsuṅs pa'i: mi cig gda': gžan mi dug žus pa daṅ: cig po so yin gsuṅ: c'iṅ saṅ k'o raṅ gi sna la 'dzub mo gtsugs byuṅ: de p'o ña la bskur nas btaṅ ba'i rjes na p'ar:* (ff. 211b-212a). Compare the quite different account in Rashid uddin: J.A. BOYLE, 295-296; Ju. P. VERCHOVSKIJ, 191-192.

sal and arrest of Sang-ko. On March 26th the property of his family was confiscated. Then followed a long delay, perhaps because of some hesitation by the emperor. Eventually, Sang-ko was executed on August 17th, 1291 [67].

It is a revealing example of the confusion brought into the *Yüan-shih* by the haste of its compilation that other accounts of Sang-ko's end are included in it. Thus the biography of the famous painter and official Chao Mêng-fu attributes Sang-ko's downfall mainly to his initiative [68]. Prince Učičar (1249-1311) too appears among the accusers; he obtained 400 *liang* of red gold, 3500 *liang* of white gold, besides irrigated fields, mills and villas confiscated to Sang-ko [69].

The *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ* concludes its story with the (certainly unhistorical) repentance of the emperor and the punishment of the slanderers. «[The emperor] sent a man to see what the *ch'êng-hsiang* was saying. [This man] related that, while going to the execution place, [Sang-ko said]: 'You shall perform [your task] with a sharp weapon, with light hands and quickly'. The executioners replied: 'We are not going to listen to your prating. We know very well ourselves how to do it'. The emperor said: 'Now that my Sang-ko has gone, this causes me great sorrow'. And he issued a mandate to the effect that those bad men should be punished with 107 strokes of the bamboo each. There was a saying that, if 'P'ags-pa had been alive at that time, he would have died out of compassion. Although [Sang-ko] died in this manner, since he was a regularly appointed minister entrusted with the seal, we have written the circumstances [of his life]» [70].

Thus the whitewashing of Sang-ko's memory is complete. And yet, Śrībhūtibhadra's sympathetic account does not appear to represent the

[67] *YS*, 16. 14b, 15a, 15b, 20b; 130. 9a-10a; 205. 22a-23a (= H. FRANKE, «*Seṅge*», 108-110).

[68] *YS*, 172. b-8a c 9.

[69] *YS*, 119. 23a. On Učičar see P. PELLIOT-L. HAMBIS, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, 377.

[70] *C'iṅ sam ci zer ltar mi btaṅ pas: k'oṅ sgrol ba'i sar slebs rtsa na: k'yed rnams kyis: mts'on rno ba daṅ: lag yaṅ ba: myur ba'i t'abs kyis byas yod 'dug pa la: sgrol mk'an gyis k'yod kyi bzlas pa'i k'ar mi' gro: ji ltar byed: ṅed kyis śes śes pa yin mod zer ba žus pas: rgyal po na re: ṅa'i Saṃ gha 'gro k'ar: sems sdug du bcug 'dug: mi ṅan de rnams la: dbyug pa brgya daṅ bdun re rgyob gsuṅ pa'i luṅ byuṅ zer: dus de rtsa na: bla ma 'P'ags pa bžugs na: t'ugs rje la rten nas ts'e t'ar 'gro zer ba gleṅ par gda' | 'di 'das kyaṅ: p'yag rjes can gyi: blon po bzaṅ po yin par 'dug pas gnas lugs bris pa yin no* || (f. 211a-b).

whole, nor even the greater part, of public opinion in Tibet. A text of the 17th century narrates that in the time of Sang-ko's ascendancy an influential monk, Ts'al-pa dGa'-bde-mgon-po (d. 1310), «went seven times to the Chinese court on behalf of the Ts'al monastery and comunity. He was subject to the constant watching by a servant of the *mi-c'en* Zam-k'a Lha-pa and many charges were brought against him. Once, when he had put on under his robe a garment adorned with the figure of a dragon with five claws given to him on the occasion of a secret interview with the emperor, Zam-k'a had him dragged to the tribunal and caused his upper garment to be torn away. Seeing that under it was an imperial robe, Zam-k'a became afraid. Shortly afterwards, when Zam-k'a was disgraced, dGa'-bde-mgon-po drank to the content of his heart, became drunk and sang a song» etc. [71]. This goes to show that even high-ranking Lamas came under Sang-ko's suspicions, to the point that their lives were in danger. This contrasts rather sharply with the amiable picture drawn by the *rGya-Bod yig-ts'an*. Apparently the Chinese point of view is not without justification.

In the way of conclusion, I would give a word of caution. It was never my intention to give an appraisal of Sang-ko's work as statesman and financier. This would require a thorough study of the relevant sources of the Yüan period, historical, juridical and literary, which I did not undertake. My intent was merely to present some interesting materials drawn from the Tibetan texts. On the whole, it is beyond doubt that the short period during which Sang-ko was to all effects and purposes the head of the Mongolo-Chinese government, was a landmark in the field of the financial history of the empire. Whether his activity was wholly negative, as the official Chinese sources would like us to believe, is a question that must be left open for the present.

[71] Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai-Lama, 62b (= G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 629.

XXV. — XYLIE T.V., *The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad.*

XXVI. — CONZE E., *The Gilgit manuscript of the Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā. Chapters 55 to 70 corresponding to the 5th Abhisamaya.* Text and English translation. (*Literary and Historical Documents from Pakistan* - 1).

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